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THE  
HISTORY OF THE POPES,  
THEIR CHURCH AND STATE,  
IN THE  
SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

BY  
LEOPOLD RANKE.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE LAST EDITION OF THE GERMAN, BY

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<i>In the List of Popes and Sovereigns at the date</i>				Page	col.	line	
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1605	—	Leo XI. Paul V.	} <i>in some of the copies.</i>	138	2	36	<i>read Franz Koster</i>
				160	1	16	<i>from bottom, read Collegium Romanum</i>
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39	2	42	<i>read Antonio dei Pagliarici</i>	191	2	39 & 45	— <i>Mayenne</i>
—	—	48	— <i>Vittoria Colonna</i>	232	1	5	— <i>independence</i>
53	2	12	— <i>to the latter, men were not</i>	260	2	17	— <i>Spada</i>
56	2	13	— <i>Dogana</i>	265	2	1	— <i>Vatican</i>
78	1	21	— <i>Julius III.</i>	321	2	21	— <i>Clement XII.</i>
82	2	17	<i>from bottom, read and he hopes</i>	322	2	25	— <i>Benedict XIV.</i>
83	2	42	<i>read Hieronymo Soranzo</i>	323	2	13	<i>Molinist</i>
110	1	23	<i>from bottom, read Forli</i>				



# LIST OF THE POPES AND LEADING SOVEREIGNS OF EUROPE

IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

	POPES.	EMPERORS.	KINGS OF FRANCE.	KINGS OF SPAIN.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.
1492	Alexander VI.	Frederick III.	Charles VIII.	Ferdinand and Isabella.	Henry VII.
1493	. . . . .	Maximilian I.			
1498	. . . . .	• . . . .	Louis XII.		
1503	Pius III.				
1503	Julius II.				
1504	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	Philip I.	
1509	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	Henry VIII.
1513	Leo X.				
1515	. . . . .	. . . . .	Francis I.		
1516	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	Charles I. (Emp. Chs. V.)	
1519	. . . . .	Charles V.			
1522	Adrian VI.				
1523	Clement VII.				
1534	Paul III.				
1547	. . . . .	. . . . .	Henry II.	. . . . .	Edward VI.
1550	Julius III.				Mary.
1553	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	Philip II.	
1556	. . . . .	Ferdinand I.	. . . . .	. . . . .	Elizabeth.
1558	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
1559	Pius IV.	. . . . .	Francis II.		
1560	. . . . .	. . . . .	Charles IX.		
1564	. . . . .	Maximilian II.			
1566	Pius V.				
1572	Gregory XIII.				
1574	. . . . .	. . . . .	Henry III.		
1576	. . . . .	Rodolph II.			
1585	Sixtus V.				
1589	. . . . .	. . . . .	Henry IV.		
1590	Urban VII.				
1590	Gregory XIV.				
1591	Innocent IX.				
1592	Clement VIII.				
1598	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	Philip III.	
1603	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	James I.
1605	Leo XI. Paul V.				
1610	. . . . .	. . . . .	Louis XIII.		
1612	. . . . .	Matthias			
1619	. . . . .	Ferdinand II.			
1621	Gregory XV.	. . . . .	. . . . .	Philip IV.	
1623	Urban VIII.				
1625	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	Charles I.
1637	. . . . .	Ferdinand III.	. . . . .	. . . . .	
1643	. . . . .	. . . . .	Louis XIV.		
1644	Innocent X.				
1649	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	The Commonwealth.
1655	Alexander VII.				
1658	. . . . .	Leopold I.			
1660	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	Charles II.
1665	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	Charles II.	
1667	Clement IX.				
1670	Clement X.				
1676	Innocent XI.				
1685	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	James II.
1689	Alexander VIII.	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	William and Mary.
1691	Innocent XII.	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
1700	Clement XI.	. . . . .	. . . . .	Philip V.	



## AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE power of Rome in ancient and medieval times is universally known, and in modern times she has also enjoyed a grand epoch of renovated empire. After the revolt from her rule which befel her in the former half of the sixteenth century, she succeeded in once more constituting herself the centre of faith and opinion for the Latin nations of Southern Europe, and made bold, and not unfrequently prosperous attempts, to reconquer her authority over those of the North.

This period of the reconstruction of a mixed spiritual and temporal power, its renovation and internal reform, its progress and decline, it is my purpose to portray, at least in outline; an undertaking which, however imperfectly I may have accomplished it, I should not even have thought of attempting, had I not found opportunity to avail myself of certain aids hitherto unknown. It is my duty in the first place to indicate generally the nature and the source of those aids.

I have already laid before the public the contents of our Berlin MSS.: but how much wealthier is Vienna in treasures of this kind than Berlin!

Besides its Teutonic basis, the character of Vienna exhibits an European feature: the most diversified manners and tongues meet here, from the highest to the lowest station, and here Italy in particular enjoys a living representation. The collections too of this city are of a more comprehensive character, a fact originating directly in the policy of the state and its position among nations, its ancient alliance with Spain, Belgium, and Lombardy, and its intimate relations of neighbourhood and religion with Rome. Hence, even the original collections of the imperial library, though bearing only on national topics, are of great value. To these some foreign acquisitions have subsequently been added. There have been purchased from Modena, from the house of Rangone, a number of volumes similar to our Berlin "Informazioni;" from Venice, the invaluable MSS. of the doge Marco Foscarini, amongst which are his own preparatory notes for the continuation of his literary work, "Chronicles of Italy," of which no trace is elsewhere to be found. There is also preserved a rich collection of historico-political MSS., left by Prince Eugene, comprehensively and judiciously planned by that distinguished statesman. The reader is animated with pleasure and with hope, as he peruses the catalogue: amidst all the unsatisfactoriness of printed books, what an unwrought mine of information is here! a whole futurity of study! And yet but a few steps further, and Vienna lays before us still more valuable stores. The imperial archives contain, as might naturally be surmised, the most important and trustworthy records and materials for the elucidation of German and general history, and more especially of that of Italy. True it is, by far the greater part of the Venetian archives have, after many vicissitudes, found their way back to Venice; but there is still extant in Vienna no small quantity of Venetian papers; despatches, original or copied; extracts from them for the use of the state, called rubricaries; reports, of which in no few instances no second copy exists, and which are of great value; official registers of government functionaries; chronicles and diaries. The details which will be found in these volumes respecting Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V., are for the most part derived from the Vienna archives. I cannot sufficiently laud the unrestricted liberality with which access to these has been granted me.

I ought by all means to particularize in this place the many and various services rendered me towards the furtherance of my task, both at home and abroad ; and yet a scruple, whether just or not I cannot tell, occurs to me. I should have to record a multitude of names, and among them some of high note : my gratitude would almost look like boasting, and give to a work, that has every reason to appear in modest guise, an air of ostentation that would ill become it.

Next to Vienna, my attention was chiefly turned to Venice and Rome.

In Venice it was formerly the almost invariable practice of the great houses to have cabinets of MSS., in addition to their libraries. The contents of the former related as a matter of course principally to the affairs of the republic ; they served to show the part taken by the respective families in public affairs, and were preserved as records of the house for the instruction of its younger members. A few of these private collections are still in existence, and I had access to one or two such. But vastly the greater number were lost in the fatal 1797, or have subsequently perished ; and if more of them have been preserved than might have been expected, the credit of this is chiefly due to the librarians of St. Marc, who strove in the general wreck to save as much as the utmost capabilities of their institution allowed. This library possesses an ample stock of MSS., which are of indispensable importance towards the history of the city and the government, and which even throw some light on that of Europe in general. Still we must not expect too much of this collection : it is a somewhat immature assemblage of private ones casually brought together, without completeness or unity of plan. It is not to be compared with the wealth of the government archives, particularly as these are now arranged. In my inquiry into the conspiracy of the year 1618, I have already given an account of the Venetian archives, which I will not here repeat. The documents of most interest for me, as regarded my Roman investigations, were the reports of ambassadors on their return from the papal court. But for this subject too I had much reason to wish for additional aid from other collections : lacunæ are no where avoidable ; and these archives have necessarily sustained many losses in their various wanderings. I found altogether eight-and-forty reports respecting Rome, the oldest of them belonging to the year 1500 ; nineteen of them being of the sixteenth, twenty-one of the seventeenth century, a nearly complete series with but few breaks here and there ; while the eighteenth century numbered but eight, but these very instructive and welcome. In far the greater number of cases I saw and made use of originals. They contain a great multitude of interesting notices, the fruits of direct personal observation, embodying evanescent contemporary traits. Thus it was that first prompted and encouraged me to the task of composing a continuous narrative.

The means of authenticating and extending these materials could manifestly be found only in Rome.

But was it to be expected, that in that city a foreigner and an alien in religion should be allowed freely to ransack the public collections in order to unveil the secrets of the papedom ? This would not perhaps have been quite so ill-advised as it may appear, for no search can bring any thing to light worse than vague conjecture surmises, or than the world has already made up its mind to believe. I cannot boast, however, that the thing was so. I was allowed to take cognizance of the treasures of the Vatican, and to make use of a number of volumes : still I was by no means indulged with the freedom I could have desired. Fortunately, however, other collections were thrown open to me, from which very extensive and authentic, if not complete, materials were to be gathered. In the palmy days of aristocracy—that is, especially in the seventeenth century—it was customary throughout all Europe for the noble families that administered affairs of state, to hold in their hands a portion of the public documents. No where, perhaps, did the practice prevail to a greater extent than in Rome. The pope's kinsmen, who at all times possessed supreme power, were in the habit of bequeathing, as heir-looms to the families they founded, a large portion of the state papers they had collected during their tenure of authority. These constituted a part of the family endowments. In the palaces they built there were always a few rooms reserved, usually on the upper floor, for books and MSS., which it was a point of honour with succeeding generations to fill as creditably as their predecessors had done. Thus, in a certain respect, the private collections are also the public ones ; and the records of the state became dispersed, without a word of objection from any one, throughout the houses of the several families that had exercised the control of public affairs. Somewhat in the same way it happened that the lavish expenditure of the public wealth enriched the papal families, and that the Vatican gallery, though distinguished for the number of masterpieces it contains, cannot yet be compared in extent and in historical importance with some private collections, as for instance the Borghese or the Doria. Thus it is that the MSS. preserved in the Barberini, Chigi, Altieri, Albani, and Corsini palaces are of inestimable value as regards the history of the popes, their ecclesiastical and their civil policy. The state record office, which has been but recently founded, is chiefly worthy of note for its collection of registers illustrative of the middle ages : the investigator of a part of that

period will find there much that is worth his attention, though, as far as I am aware, it does not promise much for later centuries. If I have not been purposely deceived, it sinks to nothing in comparison with the splendid wealth of the private collections. Each of these, as may be supposed, embraces more especially the period occupied by the pope of the family; but since the pope's relations continued in high station after his death, since every one is eager to enlarge and complete a collection he has once begun, and Rome, where a trade in MSS. had sprung up, offered opportunities enough to this end, there is not one of these private collections but contains useful illustrations of other periods also, both recent and remote. The richest of them (in consequence of valuable documentary bequests) is the Barberini: the Corsini was arranged from the very beginning with the utmost circumspection and discrimination. It was my good fortune to be allowed the use of all these collections, and of others of less importance, sometimes with the most unrestricted freedom. They presented to me an unlooked for prize in the shape of authentic materials, directly bearing on my subject, consisting of the correspondence of nunciatures, with the instructions imparted to them, and the reports they sent back; copious biographical details of numerous popes, related with so much the more freedom as they were not destined for the public eye; biographical accounts of distinguished cardinals; official and private journals; inquiries respecting special occurrences and circumstances; opinions and advices; particulars concerning the administration of the provinces, their trade and manufactures; statistical tables and computations of income and expenditure. All these were for the most part hitherto wholly unknown, and they are generally the work of men having an intimate practical knowledge of their subject, and of a trustworthiness which does not indeed preclude the exercise of searching and discriminating criticism, provided only it deal with them in the spirit it generally evinces towards well-informed contemporaries. The oldest of these MSS. which I had an opportunity to make use of, related to the conspiracy of the Foscari against Nicholas V. I met with only two pertaining to the fifteenth century: as we enter on the sixteenth century, they become at every step more copious and numerous; they follow the whole course of the seventeenth century, in which so little is confidently known of Rome, affording information the more welcome in proportion to the previous scantiness of our knowledge: on the other hand, they decline in number and intrinsic worth after the beginning of the eighteenth century: but those were times when court and state had already lost no small portion of their efficiency and importance. I will go through these Roman MSS., as well as the Venetian, in detail at the end of the work, citing whatever has struck me as worthy of attention, and which I could not include in the body of the narrative. Indeed, the huge mass of materials now before us in many printed and manuscript papers, makes a strict observance of limits indispensable.

An Italian, a Roman, or a Catholic, would enter upon the execution of the task in a totally different manner from that I have pursued. He would, by the expression of personal veneration, or perhaps, as matters stand at present, of personal hatred, give his work a peculiar, and, I doubt not, more brilliant colouring; in many things too he would be more copious in detail, more ecclesiastical, more local. A Protestant and a native of Northern Germany cannot compete with him in these respects. The latter's feelings with regard to the papal power are much more those of indifference: he must, therefore, from the outset renounce that warmth of tone and colouring which springs from partial or hostile prejudice, and which might perhaps produce a considerable impression in Europe. In reality we feel but little interest in mere matter of ecclesiastical and canonical detail, whereas on the other hand our position affords us other, and, if I am not mistaken, more just points of view, from which we may contemplate history\*. For what is it in this our day that can make the history of the papal power of importance to us? Certainly not its special bearing upon ourselves, seeing that it no longer exercises any real influence over us; nor is it any solicitude it excites in us: the times when we had anything to fear are gone by; we are too fully secure to harbour any apprehension. It can be nothing else than its development and range of action on the great scene of the world's history. The papal power was not after all so fixed and inflexible as is commonly supposed. If we put out of consideration those principles in which its very existence is essentially involved, and which it cannot abandon without consigning itself to certain ruin, we shall find that in other respects it has been affected to its very core, no less than the other powers, by every fate that has been dealt out to the European family. With every vicissitude in the history of the world, with each successive rise of nation after nation to pre-eminence over the rest, with every fluctuation of the general tide of society, essential metamorphoses befel the papal power, its maxims, tendencies, and pretensions; and, above all, its

\* Which cannot have been altered by the events that have occurred since the first publication of this work. The author, on revising this volume, has found occasion for but slight additions and changes, of no importance to the main subject. (Note to the Second Edition.)

influence underwent the most important changes. If indeed we cast a glance over the long catalogue of oft-repeated names through the many centuries from Pius I. in the second, to our contemporaries Pius VII. and VIII. in the nineteenth, we are readily impressed with the idea of an uninterrupted stability ; but let us not be misled by appearances : in point of fact, there is much the same difference between the popes of the several ages as between the various dynasties of a kingdom. For us, who stand aloof, the observation of these mutations is precisely matter of the highest interest. We read in them a portion of universal history, of the general progress of man. We read this not exclusively in the periods of Rome's undisputed sovereignty, but perhaps still more legibly in times of clashing action and counter-action, such as those which this work proposes to embrace, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ; times in which we see the popedom threatened and rudely shaken, yet standing its ground with head erect, nay extending its influence anew, advancing vigorously for awhile, then lastly halting in its course, and once more bending to its fall ; times in which the mind of the western nations was chiefly engrossed with ecclesiastical questions, and when that power, which, deserted and assailed by the one party, was stedfastly adhered to and defended with fresh zeal by the other, was necessarily an object of high and general interest. Such is the point of view from which our natural position demands that we should regard this power, and from which I will now essay to portray it.

It is fit that I should begin my task with reminding my readers of the posture of the papal power in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and of the course of events that led thereto.

# THE POPES OF ROME,

## THEIR CHURCH AND STATE

IN THE

### SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

#### BOOK THE FIRST.

#### INTRODUCTION.

##### CHAPTER I.

##### EPOCHS OF THE PAPACY.

##### *Christianity in the Roman Empire.*

IF we take a general survey of the world in the earliest times, we find it filled with a multitude of independent tribes. We see them settled round the Mediterranean, from the coasts as far inland as the country had yet been explored; variously parted from each other, all originally confined within narrow limits, and living under purely independent and peculiarly constituted forms of government. The independence they enjoyed was not merely political: in every country a local religion arose; the ideas of God and of divine things became as it were appropriated to certain places; national deities of the most diversified attributes occupied the world; and the law obeyed by their votaries became inseparably identified with that of the state. We may venture to assert that this intimate union of religion and state, this twofold freedom, which was shackled only with the light obligations imposed by community of blood, had the largest share in fashioning the character of antiquity. Men were confined in those days within narrow limits, but within these the exuberance of a young and uncoerced existence was left to develop itself as its own free impulses prompted. How wholly was all this changed when the power of Rome gained the ascendant! We see, one after the other, all the primitive legislations that filled the world bow down and disappear: how denuded of free peoples did the earth suddenly become!

In other times states have been convulsed because its subjects had ceased to believe in the religion they sanctioned; in those days the subjection of the state necessarily induced the downfall of its religion. They were both inevitably hurried along by the current of political power, and carried together into Rome: but what significance could they possess when uprooted from the soil to which they had been indigenous? The worship of Isis had probably a meaning in Egypt: it was a deification of the forces of nature as they are witnessed in

that country: in Rome it became a mere unmeaning idolatry. Nothing, therefore, could ensue from the reciprocal contact of the several mythologies, but their mutual hostility and extinction. No system of philosophy could be devised capable of reconciling their contradictions.

But even had this been possible, it would not have satisfied the wants of the world.

With all our sympathy for the downfall of so many free states, we cannot deny that a new life was directly generated from their ruin. Simultaneous with the death of their independence, was the downfall of the barrier set up by their narrow national spirit. The nations were subdued, involved in one common system of conquest, but by that very means they were united and blended together. The very range of this empire being designated by the name of *orbis terrarum*, its inhabitants looked upon themselves as a single collective body. The human race began to be conscious of its common nature.

At this crisis of the world's progress Jesus Christ was born.

How unpretending and obscure was his life: his occupation, the healing of the sick, and to talk of God in signs and parables, to a few fishermen who did not always understand Him; He had not where to lay his head: but, even taking our stand upon this our review of the world's history, we may affirm, never has this earth exhibited anything more guileless or mighty, sublimer or holier than his walk, his life, and his death; in every sentence He uttered breathes the very breath of God; his are words, as St. Peter says, of everlasting life: the records of the human race offer nothing worthy of remote comparison with them.

If the national creeds ever contained within them a germ of practical religion, this had now been wholly obscured; they had, as already said, no longer a meaning: in Him, who was both God and man, there stood in contrast with them the eternal and universal relationship of God to the world, of man to God.

Christ was born in a nation between which and all others an exclusive and uncompromising ritual law had drawn the strictest line of demarcation; in

but whose measureless merit it was to have clung with unchanging and invincible steadfastness to that monotheism it had from the very beginning received as its creed. Undoubtedly it did, like other nations, regard this as a religion intrinsically belonging to itself, but now it received a wholly different significance. Christ put an end to the law by fulfilling it: the Son of man proved himself, according to his own expression, Lord also of the sabbath; He freed that which was essential and eternal from forms whose meaning a narrow understanding had failed to seize; and now from out a people hitherto severed from all others by insurmountable barriers of sentiment and custom, there arose, with all the energy of truth, a faith that invited and embraced them all. The common God of all was proclaimed, who, as St. Paul preached to the Athenians, "bath made of one blood all races of men to dwell on the face of the earth." The fitting time, as we have seen, was arrived for this sublime doctrine: there existed a human race to adopt it. "It gleamed over the earth like a sunbeam," as Eusebius says\*. In brief time we behold it outspread over the whole range of the empire, from the Euphrates to the Ebro, the Rhine, and the Danube.

But guileless and gentle though it was, it was in the very nature of things that it should encounter strong opposition from the existing creeds, which had attached themselves to the habits and wants of society, and to all traditional feelings, and which had now taken a turn that enabled them to reflect the constitution of the empire.

The political spirit of the antique religions came forth once more in a new guise. The sum and substance of all the old independent systems that had once filled the world, had fallen into the grasp of one; there existed but a single power that seemed self-dependent; religion acknowledged this when it sanctioned the payment of divine honour to the emperor. Temples were erected to him, altars heaped with sacrifices, oaths were sworn by his name, and festivals were solemnized in honour of him; his images invested the place where they stood with the right of sanctuary. The adoration paid to the genius of the emperor was, perhaps, the only universal worship in the empire†. All idolatries regarded it with favour, for it afforded them countenance and support.

This worship of the Cæsar and the doctrine of Christ bore, with relation to the local religion, a certain degree of mutual resemblance, while at the same time they were contrasted with each other to the utmost conceivable degree.

The emperor regarded religion in its most worldly point of view, as bound to earth and the things of earth: to him be these surrendered, says Cælius; from him come whatever each man possesses. Christianity regarded it in the fulness of the Spirit and of heavenly truth.

The emperor identified religion and the state: Christianity above all things separated that which is God's from that which is Cæsar's.

Every sacrifice offered to the emperor was a confession of the lowest thralldom. That very

thing wherein had consisted the freedom of the constitution, the union of religion and the state, was now the confirmation of subjection. The injunction of Christianity, forbidding its followers to sacrifice to the emperors, was an act of emancipation.

Lastly, the worship of the emperor was restricted within the limits of the empire, the supposed orb of the earth; Christianity was destined to embrace the world's real limits, and the whole race of man. The new faith sought to revive among the nations the primeval religious sentiment, (if it be true that such a thing was antecedent to all idolatries) or at least an absolutely pure sentiment unsullied by any necessary relation to the state, and set this in opposition to that imperious power, which, not content with earthly things, would grasp divine things likewise. By this means mankind became possessed of a spiritual element in which it was again self-sustained, free, and personally invincible; a new vitality filled the bosom of the freshened earth; it was fructified for the birth of new productions.

The contest lay between the earthly and the spiritual, thralldom and freedom, slow decay and the rekindling of youthful vigour.

This is not the place for describing the long strife between these principles. All the vital elements of the Roman empire were set in motion, and, gradually seized and penetrated by the Christian system, were hurried onward in this grand spiritual march. "The error of idolatry," says Chrysostom, "was by its own self extinguished\*."

Already paganism appears to him as a conquered city, whose walls are demolished, its halls and theatres and public buildings burned to the ground, its defenders prostrate, while only here and there a few aged persons and children are seen surviving amidst its ruins.

Ere long these too were no more; and a transmutation without a parallel ensued.

Out of the catacombs ascended the worship of the wartyrs; on the spots where the Olympic gods had been adored, from the self-same columns that had sustained their temples, arose shrines to the memory of those who had died for scorning their worship. The religious system, begun in deserts and in dungeons, overspread the world. It sometimes excites surprise that precisely a secular building of the pagans, the basilica, should have been transformed into a Christian temple. There is something very suggestive in this. The apsis of the basilica contained an Augusteum†, the images of those very Cæsars to whom divine honours had been paid. To their place succeeded, as we see in so many basilics to this day, the images of Christ and the apostles; instead of the world's masters, who were themselves regarded as gods, appeared the Son of God clothed in the nature of man. The local deities faded away. On every highway, on the mountain cliffs and in the passes through the ravines, on the housetops and on the mosaic of the floors, was seen the emblem of the Cross. The victory was complete and decisive. As the labarum appears over the vanquished dragon on the coins of Constantine, so the worship and the name of Christ towered over fallen paganism. Regarded in

\* Hist. Eccl. ii. 3.

† *Eckhel: Doctrina nummorum veterum*, pt. ii. vol. viii. p. 456. He quotes a passage from Tertullian, from which it would appear, that the adoration of the Cæsar was also at times the most fervent of all.

\* *Λόγος εἰς τὸν μακάριον Βασιλειὸν καὶ κατὰ Ἰουλιανὸν καὶ πρὸς Ἑλληνας*.—Chrysostomi Opp. ed. Paris, II. 540.

† I take this fact from E. Q. Visconti, *Museo Pio-Clementino* VII. p. 100. ed. of 1807.

this aspect too, how immense is the importance of the Roman empire. In the centuries of its rise it shattered independence, and prostrated the nations; it annihilated every feeling of self-reliance involved in isolation; on the other hand, it beheld in later times the true religion springing up in its bosom, the purest expression of a common consciousness prevailing more widely far than the limits of its empire, the consciousness of community in the one true God. May we venture to say that the empire, by this development, annulled its own necessity? The human race was thenceforth acquainted with the depths of its own nature; it had found its own unity in religion.

To this religion the Roman empire now gave moreover its outward form.

The heathen priesthoods were assigned in the same way as civil offices; in the Jewish system, one tribe was specially charged with spiritual functions: it is the distinctive of Christianity, that in it a particular class, composed of members voluntarily seeking its ranks, consecrated by the imposition of hands, withdrawn from all secular pursuits, is pledged to devote itself "to spiritual and divine purposes." At first, the Church conducted itself in accordance with republican forms, but these disappeared in proportion as the new faith advanced to supremacy. By and by, the minister of religion assumed a position diametrically contrasted with that of the layman.

It was not, I think, without a certain intrinsic necessity that this occurred. In the advance of Christianity was involved an emancipation of religion from the political element, and this infers the establishment of a distinct spiritual class with peculiar institutions. In this separation of the Church from the State, consists perhaps the greatest and most thoroughly effective peculiarity of the Christian times. The spiritual and the temporal powers may closely affect each other, they may exist in the most intimate communion; but perfectly to coalesce is what they can do at the very most but exceptionally and for a short while. In their mutual relations and bearings has been involved, ever since those days, one of the most important considerations presented in all history.

At the same time, the constitution of this class was necessarily modelled on that of the empire. The hierarchy of the bishops, metropolitan patriarchs, arose in correspondence with the gradations of the civil administration. It was not long before the Roman bishops assumed the highest rank. It is indeed an idle pretence to assert that they enjoyed in the first century, or at any period whatever, a supremacy universally recognized by East and West; but unquestionably they speedily attained a consequence that exalted them above all other ecclesiastical dignitaries. Many circumstances combined towards this consummation. Seeing that in every instance the superior importance of a provincial capital endowed its bishop with a peculiar preponderance, how much more must this have been the case with the ancient capital of the entire empire, from which the latter even derived its name\*? Rome was one of the most illustrious apostolic sees; here had the greatest number of martyrs shed their blood; the bishops

of Rome had borne themselves with pre-eminent firmness during the persecutions, and frequently had they succeeded each other not so much in office as in martyrdom and death. But now, in addition to all this, the emperors were disposed to favour the rise of a great patriarchal authority. In a law, that proved decisive of the supremacy over Christendom, Theodosius the Great enjoins, that all nations subject to his clemency should follow the faith propounded to the Romans by St. Paul\*. Valentinian III. forbade the bishops both of Gaul and of the other provinces to depart from the received customs of the Church, without the sanction of that venerable authority, the pope of the holy city. Thenceforth the power of the Roman bishop grew up under the protection of the emperor himself: but at the same time a limit was set to it by the very circumstance of this political connexion. Had there been but one emperor, the universal supremacy might then have been firmly established; but this was forbidden by the partition of the empire. It was impossible that the eastern emperors, who clung so jealously to their ecclesiastical rights, should have favoured the outspread of the power of the western patriarchs in their dominions. In this respect, too, the constitution of the Church reflected that of the empire.

#### *The Papacy in connexion with the Frankish Empire.*

HARDLY had this grand change been accomplished, the Christian religion planted, and the Church founded, when new events of vast magnitude arose: the Roman empire, so long victorious, was now in its turn assailed by its neighbours, invaded, and vanquished.

In the huge downfall that ensued, Christianity itself was once more shaken to its foundations. The Romans in their hour of peril bethought them once more of the Etrurian mysteries, the Athenians trusted to be saved by Achilles and Minerva, the Carthaginians prayed to the genius Cælestis. But these were only transient emotions; whilst the empire was shattered in the western provinces, the entire edifice of the Church held out unbroken even there.

Nevertheless, it too unavoidably fell into manifold painful trials, and found itself in a wholly altered condition. A pagan nation laid hold on Britain; Arian kings subdued the greater part of the remaining West; the Lombards, for a long time Arians, and always dangerous and ill-disposed neighbours, founded a powerful realm in Italy before the gates of Rome.

While the Roman bishops, thus hemmed in on all sides, were bestirring themselves—and that with all the shrewdness and pertinacity which has ever since been their peculiar characteristic—to become once more masters, at least in their old patriarchal diocese, a new and still heavier calamity befel them. The Arabs, not mere conquerors like the Germans, but men inspired to fanaticism by a

\* Casauboni Exercitationes ad Annales Ecclesiasticos Baronii, p. 260.

\* Codex Theodos. xvi. 1, 2. Cunctos populos quos clementiæ nostræ regit temperamentum, in tali volumus religione versari quam divinum Petrum Apostolum tradidisse Romanis, religio usque nunc ab ipso insinuada declarat. The edict of Valentinian III. is noticed also by Planck, Geschichte der christlich-kirchlichen Gesellschaftsverfassung, i. 612.



haughty dogmatic faith, radically and inveterately hostile to Christianity, swept over the West as they had done over the East: they conquered Africa after repeated attacks, Spain in a single campaign; and Musa boasted that he would push forward through the passes of the Pyrenees and over the Alps to Italy, and cause the name of Mohammed to be proclaimed from the Vatican.

The situation in which the western portion of Roman Christendom was then placed, was the more perilous, inasmuch as at that moment the iconoclastic controversy was raging with the most bitter animosity. The emperor of Constantinople had adopted a different side from that of the pope of Rome; he even more than once practised against the latter's life. The Lombards were not slow to perceive the advantage likely to accrue to them from these dissensions. Their king Astulphus seized on provinces that, till then, had always recognized the emperor's supremacy: he advanced against Rome, and summoned that city too with vehement threats to surrender to him and pay him tribute\*.

Help there was none in the Roman world; not even against the Lombards, still less against the Arabs, who meantime began to lord it over the Mediterranean, and threatened Christendom with a war for life or death.

But, happily, the means of help were no longer confined within the limits of the Roman empire.

Christianity, in accordance with its primary destiny, had long overspread those limits: in the West it had especially laid hold on the Germanic tribes; nay, a Christian power had already arisen amongst these, to which the pope had but to stretch out his hands to procure ready allies against all his enemies and the most energetic succour.

Of the Germanic nations the Frankish alone had become Catholic on its very first rise in the Roman empire. This step on its part had helped it to great advantages. The Franks found natural allies among the subjects of their Arian enemies, the Burgundians and West Goths. We read of numerous miracles said to have occurred to Clovis: how St. Martin discovered to him the ford over the Vienne by means of a hind; how St. Hilary marshalled his way in a pillar of fire: we shall not be far astray if we conjecture, that in these legends are veiled, under sensible imagery, the acts of assistance rendered by the natives to a participator in their own creed, to whom, as Gregory of Tours says, they wished victory "with eager inclination."

But the attachment to Catholicism, thus confirmed from the very first by consequences of such magnitude, was subsequently revived, and mightily corroborated, by a very peculiar influence from another quarter.

Pope Gregory the Great happened to see some Anglo-Saxons in the slave market in Rome, who attracted his attention, and prompted him to cause the promulgation of the Gospel amongst the people to which they belonged. Never, perhaps, did a pope adopt a resolution pregnant with more import-

ant results. With the new doctrine a spirit of veneration for Rome and the holy see, such as had never before existed elsewhere, became implanted in Germanic Britain. The Anglo-Saxons began to make pilgrimages to Rome; they sent their youth thither; King Offa established the tribute called Peter's pence, for the education of the clergy, and the relief of pilgrims; the higher orders travelled to Rome to die there, and so be more cordially received into heaven by the saints. It was as though that nation applied to Rome and the Christian saints the old Teutonic superstition, that the gods are nearer to some places than to others.

But in addition to all this, results far weightier still ensued when the Anglo-Saxons began to propagate these views and feelings of theirs on the continent, and in the Frankish realm.

The apostle of the Germans was an Anglo-Saxon. Bonifacius, thoroughly imbued as he was with the reverence for St. Peter and his successors common to his nation, pledged himself from the very first to adhere faithfully to the ordinances of the Roman see; and this vow he most scrupulously fulfilled. He imposed on the German church he founded an extraordinary obligation to obedience. The bishops were required distinctly to vow that they would persist to their lives' end in submissiveness to the Romish church, St. Peter, and his representative. Nor did he effect this only with the German bishops: those of Gaul had hitherto maintained a certain independence of Rome. Bonifacius, whose lot it was to preside a few times in their synods, there found an opportunity to dispose this western part of the Frankish church to the same way of thinking; and thenceforth the Gallic archbishops received the pallium from Rome. In this manner did the Anglo-Saxon submissiveness extend over the entire Frankish realm.

And this realm was now the centre of the whole Germanic west. The murderous frenzy by which the Merovingian race had wrought its own destruction, had not impaired the strength of the empire. Another family rose in its stead to the supreme power; men, all of them, full of energy, of commanding will, and lofty vigour. Whilst other realms were toppling down in ruin, and the world seemed destined to fall a prey to the Moslem sword, it was this race, the house of Pepin of Herstall, afterwards called the Carolingian, that made the first and the decisive stand against the Mahomedan conquerors.

This family moreover favoured the religious development now in process of accomplishment; we find it very early in good intelligence with Rome; the labours of Bonifacius were carried on under the special protection of Charles Martel and Pepin le Bref\*.

Let us now picture to ourselves what was the temporal position of the Papal power. On the one

\* Anastasius Bibliothecarius: Vita Pontificum. Vita Stephani III. Paris edit. p. 83. Fremens ut leo pestiferas minas Romanis dirigere non desinebat, asserens omnes uno gladio sagulari, nisi suæ sese subderent ditoni. (Raging like a lion, he ceased not to utter deadly threats against the Romans, declaring that he would put them indiscriminately to the sword if they did not yield to his sway.)

\* Bonifacii Epistolæ; ep. 12 ad Daniele[m] episc. Sine patrocinio principis Francorum nec populum regere, nec presbyteros vel diaconos, monachos, vel ancillas Dei defendere possum, nec ipsos paganorum ritus et sacrilegia idolorum in Germania sine illius mandato et timore prohibere valeo. [Without the patronage of the sovereign of the Franks, I can neither rule the people nor defend the priests and deacons, the monks, and the handmaids of God, nor can I put a stop to pagan rites and sacrilegious idolatries in Germany, without his mandate, and the awe of his name.]

side, the East Roman empire crumbling to ruin ; weak, incapable of protecting Christendom against Islamism, unable even to defend its own territories in Italy against the Lombards, and yet pretending to an all-commanding voice even in spiritual matters ; on the other, the German nations, full of life and vigour, and victorious over Islamism, devoted with all the fresh ardour of youth to the authority of which they were still in need, and animated with a boundless voluntary devotion.

Already Gregory II. was fully sensible to the value of the prize he had won. "All they of the West," he writes in the fulness of his self-complacency to the iconoclast emperor, Leo the Isaurian, "have their eyes bent on our humility ; they regard us as a god on earth." But his successors were continually more and more impressed with the necessity of separating themselves from a power that only imposed duties upon them, while it could render them no protection in return ; the succession of the Roman name and empire was not sufficient to bind them ; on the contrary, turning to those from whom alone they could expect any help, they entered with the supreme chiefs of the West, the Frankish monarchs, into an alliance, that every year became more strict, was productive of the greatest advantages to both parties, and finally manifested a vast and important bearing on the whole scheme of history.

As Pepin the younger, not content with the reality of kingly power, began to long for the name too, he felt his full need of a higher sanction ; and this the pope afforded him. In return, the newly-made king took upon him to defend "the Holy Church, and God's commonwealth," against the Lombards. To defend them merely, was not enough for his zeal ; he very soon compelled the Lombards to surrender the Italian territory, the Exarchate, of which they had despoiled the East Roman empire. Justice obviously demanded that this should be restored to the emperor to whom it belonged ; and the proposal was made to Pepin. His answer was, that "he had not taken the field for the sake of a man, but solely out of his veneration for St. Peter, to the end that he might obtain forgiveness of his sins\*." He caused the keys of the conquered towns to be laid on St. Peter's altar. This was the foundation of the whole temporal dominion of the popes.

In this lively spirit of mutual serviceableness the alliance was continued and further developed. At last Charlemagne wholly rid the pope of his so long troublesome and oppressive neighbours the Lombards. In his own person he manifested the most profound deference for the holy father ; he visited Rome, kissing the steps of St. Peter's as he ascended ; he entered the vestibule, where the pope awaited him, and confirmed to the pontiff the gifts made by Pepin. The pope, on his part, continued the monarch's most unswerving friend : the relations in which the spiritual chief stood to the Italian bishops made it an easy matter for Charlemagne to master the Lombards, and possess himself of their kingdom.

Now this course of events was forthwith to lead to a still greater result.

\* Anastasius : affirmans etiam sub juramento quod per nullius hominis favorem sese certaminis amplius dedisset, nisi pro amore Petri et venia delictorum.

The pope could no longer abide without foreign aid in his own city, where the strife of opposite factions was raging with the utmost violence ; Charlemagne accordingly once more visited Rome, to afford him the assistance he needed. The aged monarch was now full of renown and victory. He had, in a long course of warfare, subdued one by one all his neighbours, and well-nigh united under his sway all the Latin and Teutonic nations of Christendom ; he had led them to victory against their common enemy : it was matter of remark that he possessed all the seats of the western emperors in Italy, Gaul, and Germany, and their power likewise\*. True, since their day, those countries had become altogether another world ; but should they, therefore, be a bar to this dignity ? Thus Pepin received the royal diadem, because he who possesses the power is no less entitled to the dignity. On this occasion, too, the pope came to a similar resolution. Penetrated with gratitude, and in need, as he well knew, of permanent protection, he crowned Charlemagne on Christmas eve of the year 800 with the crown of the western empire.

With this act was fully accomplished that series of historical events, which had begun with the first incursions of the German tribes into the Roman empire.

A Frank sovereign succeeded to the position of the Western Roman emperors, and exercised all their prerogatives. We see Charlemagne fully executing the most indisputable acts of supreme authority in the territories that had been conferred on St. Peter. In like manner his nephew Lothaire appointed his own judges there, and annulled confiscations made by the pope. The pope, on the other hand, supreme head of the hierarchy in the Roman West, became a member of the Frank empire. He broke off from the East, and gradually ceased to meet with any further recognition there. The Greek emperors had long despoiled him of his eastern diocese†. To compensate for this, the western Churches (not excepting the Lombard, on which the Frankish institutions had been engrafted) rendered him an obedience such as he had never before enjoyed. Admitting schools in Rome for Frieslanders, Saxons, and Franks, by means of which that city itself began to be germanized, he commenced that blending of Latin and German elements, which has since shaped the character of the West. In the moment of its utmost adversity his power struck fresh root ; when it seemed devoted to ruin, it secured for itself a firm and lengthened endurance. The hierarchy, formed in the Roman

\* So I understand the *Annales Laureshamenses* : ad annum 801. Visum est et ipsi apostolice Leonis, ut ipsum Carolum regem Francorum imperatorem nominare debuissent, qui ipsum Romanum tenebat, ubi semper Cæsares sedere soliti erant, et reliquis sedes quas ipse per Italiam seu Galliam nec non et Germaniam tenebat (he meant to say : ipsi tenebant) : quia Deus omnipotens has omnes sedes in potestatem ejus concessit, ideo iustum eis videbatur, ut ipse cum Dei adjutorio . . . ipsum nomen haberet.

† Nicholas I. bewails the loss of the patriarchal power of the Roman see : per Epirum veterem Epirumque novam atque Illyricum, Macedoniam, Thessalam, Achaïam, Daciam ripensem Dacliamque mediterraneam, Moesiam, Dardaniam, Prævalam, and the loss of the patrimony in Calabria and Sicily. Pagi (*Critica in Annales Baronii*) couples this letter with another of Adrian I.'s to Charlemagne, from which it appears that this loss resulted out of the iconoclastic controversy.

empire, diffused itself amongst the German nations ; and there it found a limitless field for an ever progressive activity, in the course of which it first fully developed the germs of its nature.

*Relation to the German Emperors.—Internal progressive Improvement of the Hierarchy.*

WE pass over centuries, in order to arrive at a more clear conception of that point of development to which they led.

The Frankish empire is prostrate ; the German is risen in the utmost vigour.

Never has the German name stood higher in Europe than in the tenth and eleventh centuries, under the Saxon and first Salique emperors. We see Conrad II. hurrying from the eastern frontiers, where the King of Poland had been forced to submit to personal subjection and the partition of his territories, and where the Duke of Bohemia had been condemned to incarceration, to support Burgundy against the pretensions of the French grandees. He vanquishes them in the plains of Champagne : his Italian vassals cross the St. Bernard to his aid : he causes himself to be crowned at Geneva, and holds his diet at Solothurn. Immediately after this we meet him in Lower Italy. "He put an end by his word," says his historian Weppo, "to the dissensions on the confines of his empire in Capua and Benevento." Henry III. ruled with no less vigour : at one time we find him by the Scheldt and the Lys, victorious over the Counts of Flanders ; presently in Hungary, which he compelled, at least for a considerable time, to do him feudal service, beyond the Raab, and scorning all limits but those set him by the elements. The King of Denmark goes in quest of him to Merseburg ; one of the most powerful princes of France, the Count of Tours, acknowledges himself his vassal ; and the Spanish histories relate, that he demanded of Ferdinand I. of Castile, victorious and powerful as the latter was, that he should be recognised by all Christian kings as their liege sovereign.

If we now inquire on what intrinsically rested this power, so wide in its range, and which laid claim to an European supremacy, we shall find that it contained within it a very important ecclesiastical element. The Germans conquered whilst they made converts. Their marches advanced in conjunction with the Church over the Elbe, to the Oder on the one side, to the Danube on the other : monks and priests were the forerunners of German influence in Bohemia and Hungary. By this means a great accession of strength every where accrued to the spiritual power. In Germany bishops and abbots of the empire enjoyed, not only in their own possessions, but beyond them, the rights of counts, nay, sometimes of dukes ; and ecclesiastical estates were no longer described as situated in such or such a county, but the counties as in such and such bishoprics. In Upper Italy almost all the towns became subject to the viscounts of their bishops. It would be an error to infer from this that the spiritual powers had already acquired a special independence. As the disposal of ecclesiastical appointments rested with the kings, (the chapters used to send back the ring and crosier of their deceased superior to the court, whence it was again bestowed on his successor,) it was in general

advantageous for the princes to eke out the temporal privileges of the men of their choice, on whose devotedness they could rely. In defiance of the most refractory nobility, Henry III. placed a plebeian, one of his creatures, in the chair of St. Ambrose in Milan : to this line of conduct he was mainly indebted for the obedience he subsequently met with in Upper Italy. That Henry II. proved himself of all these emperors the most munificent to the Church, and that he was the most strenuous in insisting on his right to the nomination of the bishops\*, are facts that carry with them their mutual explanation. Care was also taken that the collation should be without prejudice to the rights of the state. The property of the Church was exempted neither from civil burdens, nor even from feudal service : we frequently find bishops taking the field at the head of their vassals. On the other hand, what an advantage it was to have the right of nominating bishops, who, like the Archbishop of Bremen, exercised the highest spiritual authority in the Scandinavian dominions and over many Wendish tribes !

If then the ecclesiastical element was of such eminent importance in the institutions of the empire, it is self-evident how much this must have been enhanced by the relation in which the emperors stood to the supreme head of the entire clergy, the pope of Rome.

The popedom was bound to the German emperors by the strictest ties, as it had before been to the Roman emperors and to the successors of Charlemagne. True, indeed, the popes had exercised acts of sovereign authority over the imperial sceptre before it passed definitively to the Germans, and while it was yet in weak and wavering hands. But when the vigorous princes of Germany had achieved the conquest of that dignity, they became, if not admittedly, at least in fact what the Carolingian race had been, the liege lords of the popedom. Otto the Great shadded with a powerful hand the pope whom he had seated in the pontifical chair† : his sons followed his example : the fact that the Roman factions did once more make head, and seize on and resign that dignity as their family interests fluctuated, purchase and traffic it away, did but more clearly indicate the necessity of some higher intervention. It was well known how vigorously this was exercised by Henry III. His synod at Sutri deposed the intruders upon the popedom. No sooner had he put the patrician ring on his finger, and received the imperial crown, than he declared of his own good pleasure the individual who was to mount the papal chair. Four successive German popes were nominated by him : upon the occasion of a vacancy in the highest station in the Church the delegates from Rome presented themselves at the imperial court exactly as the envoys from other bishoprics, to receive the announcement of a successor to the dignity.

In this position of things it was a matter of personal interest to the emperor that the papacy

\* For instances of this strictness see Planck, *Geschichte der christl.-kirchl. Gesellschaftsverfassung*, iii. 407.

† In Goldast, *Constitut. Imperiales*, i. p. 221, we find an instrument (with the scholia of Dietrich of Niern) by which the right of Charlemagne to choose a successor to himself, and in future the popes of Rome, is transferred to the German emperors. It is, however, undoubtedly a fabrication.

should wear an imposing aspect in the eyes of the world. Henry III. promoted the reformation, which was undertaken by the popes appointed by himself; the augmentation of their power in no wise moved him to jealousy. That Leo IX. held a synod at Rheims in defiance of the King of France, instituted and deposed French bishops, and received the solemn admission of the principle, that the pope is the sole primate of the universal church, might perfectly suit the emperor's purposes, so long as he himself had the disposal of the popedom. All this contributed to uphold that paramount majesty which he claimed over all Europe. What the archbishop of Bremen effected for him in the North, the pope obtained for him amongst the other powers of Christendom.

But there was a great danger too involved in this condition of things.

The ecclesiastical order had become in the German and the germanized empire a totally different institution from what it had been in the Roman. A large share of political influence had been transferred to it; it was possessed of princely power. We have seen that it still depended on the emperor, the highest secular authority. But what if this authority should again fall into weak hands, and if at the same time the supreme head of the church, thrice powerful through his universally venerated rank, the obedience of his subordinates, and his influence over other states, should seize the favourable moment, and set himself in opposition to the imperial authority?

The nature of the case involved more than one element conducive to such a contingency; but there was an inherent principle in the ecclesiastical body, essentially opposed to so great secular influence, which, when it should have gathered sufficient strength, could not fail to hurry on the consummation. It seems, too, to me to have carried with it a palpable inconsistency, that the pope should have exercised on all sides a spiritual power of the highest order, and have been at the same time subject to the emperor. The case would have been different, had Henry III. actually compassed his design of elevating himself to be the head of all Christendom; but as he did not succeed in this, it needed but a certain evolution of politics, and the pope might by all means have been hindered by his subordination to the emperor from being fully and freely, as his office inferred, the common father of the faithful.

Circumstances were in this state when Gregory VII. ascended the papal chair. Gregory was a man of a bold, bigoted, and aspiring spirit; straightforward he was, so to speak, as a scholastic system, invincible in the stronghold of logical consequence, and no less dexterous in parrying just and well-founded objections with specious arguments. He saw the goal towards which things were tending; amidst all the petty bustle of everyday business his sagacity detected the germs of possible mighty events; he resolved to emancipate the papal power from the imperial yoke. Having once fixed his mind on this object, he forthwith, without a moment's hesitation, or casting one glance behind, laid hold on the decisive means towards its attainment. The resolution which he caused to be passed by one of his ecclesiastical assemblies, that for the future no spiritual appointment should ever be disposed of by a secular patron, was of a nature

to overthrow the constitution of the empire in its very essence. This latter rested, as already mentioned, on the interconnexion of the spiritual and temporal institutions: the bond between both was the right of investiture; the determination that this ancient right should be wrested from the emperor was of the nature of a revolution.

It is manifest that Gregory could never have been in a condition to entertain this design, much less to accomplish it, had he not been seconded by the convulsions of the empire during the minority of Henry IV., and the insurrection of the German populations and princes against that sovereign. In the persons of the great vassals he met with natural allies: they too felt themselves oppressed by the preponderance of the imperial power; they too desired to become free. Then the pope too was in a certain respect one of the magnates of the empire. The two facts are in perfect accordance—that the pope declared Germany an electoral empire (a doctrine tending prodigiously to the augmentation of the power of the princes), and that the princes were so little disposed to murmur if the pope should shake off the imperial yoke. Even in the contested matter of the investiture their interests went hand-in-hand. The pope was still far from desiring personally to nominate the bishops; he referred the choice to the chapters, over which the German nobility exercised the most commanding influence. In a word, the pope had the aristocratic interests on his side.

But even with these allies what long and sanguinary conflicts did it cost the popes to accomplish their undertaking! From Denmark to Apulia, says the hymn in praise of St. Anno, from Carlingen to Hungary, the arms of the empire have been turned against its own vitals. The strife between the spiritual and the temporal principles, which had before gone hand-in-hand, spread fatal discord throughout Europe. Frequently were the popes themselves compelled to abandon their capital, and see rivals usurp their seat on the apostolic chair!

At last, however, the task was achieved. After long centuries of subjection, after other centuries of often dubious contest, the independence of the Roman see and of its ruler was finally established. The position of the popes at that moment was in fact the grandest and most exalted. The clergy were wholly in their hands. It is worthy of note, that the most resolute popes of those times, including Gregory VII. himself, were Benedictines. By the introduction of celibacy they converted the entire of the secular clergy into a kind of monkish order. The universal bishopric to which they made pretensions was in some degree analogous to the power of an abbot of Cluny, who was the only abbot in his order: in like manner these popes aspired to be the only bishops of the entire Church. They made no scruple of grasping at the administration of all the dioceses\*, and even compared

\* One of the main points in reference to which I will cite a passage from a letter of Henry IV. to Gregory. (Mansi, Concil. n. collectio xx. 471.) *Rectores sanctæ ecclesiæ, videl. archiepiscopus, episcopus, presbyteros sicut servos pedibus tuis calcasti.* [You have trampled like slaves under your feet the guides and guardians of the Holy Church; that is to say, the archbishops, bishops, and priests.] We see that in this the pope had the public voice in his favour. In

their own legates with the ancient Roman pro-consuls! Whilst this close-knit and universally diffused order, powerful through its wealth, and absolute controllers of all the social relations, was moulding itself to the sway of a single chief, the secular powers were sinking into ruin. Already in the beginning of the twelfth century Prior Gerohus made bold to say: "It will come at last to this, that the golden statue of the kingdom will be utterly demolished, and every great empire divided into tetrarchies; not till then will the Church stand up free and unoppressed, under the protection of the great crowned priest \*." It wanted but a little that this should have been literally fulfilled. For in truth, which was the more powerful in England in the thirteenth century, Henry III., or those four-and-twenty to whom for a long period the administration was committed; which of the two in Castile, the king or the althoshomes? The power of an emperor seemed almost superfluous from the time that Frederick ceded the essential attributes of sovereignty to the princes of the empire. Italy and Germany were filled with independent powers. Comprehensiveness and unity were qualities to be found almost exclusively in the power of the pope. Thus it came to pass that the independence of the ecclesiastical principle was soon transformed into a kind of sovereignty. The ecclesiastico-political character which society had assumed throughout, and the course of events, necessarily tended to such an issue. When countries long lost, such as Spain, were finally wrested from Mohammedanism; when provinces which had not yet been acquired, such as Prussia, were snatched from Paganism, and filled with a Christian population; when even the capitals of the Greek faith submitted to the Latin ritual; and when hundreds of thousands were continually taking the field to rear the banner of the cross over the holy sepulchre, must not the high-priest, whose hand was in all these undertakings, and who received the fealty of the subdued, have been invested with a most surpassing grandeur? Under his directions, and in his name, the western nations poured themselves forth in immense colonies, as though they had been a single people, and sought to possess the whole world. It cannot create surprise if he then exercised unlimited sway in his internal administration, if a king held his dominions of him as a fief, if a king of Aragon transferred his to the apostle Peter, and if Naples was actually transferred through the pope's means into the hands of a foreign family! Marvellous physiognomy of those times, which no one has yet portrayed in its entire fulness and truth! the most extraordinary combination of internal discord and splendid progress without, of independence and subjection, of the spiritual and the temporal. And how contradictory a character is exhibited even in the piety of those times! Sometimes she retires into the rugged mountain, or the lonely forest, to devote all her harmless days to Divine contemplation and prayer; longing for death she already denies herself every enjoyment offered by life; or with youthful fervour she labours,

if dwelling amongst men, to body forth in serene, sublime, and profoundly suggestive forms, the mysteries she dimly surmises, the ideas in which she has her being:—but one moment more, and we behold another Piety, that which invented the Inquisition, and plied the fearful judgment of the sword against heretics: "We have spared," says the leader of the expedition against the Albigenses, "neither sex, nor age, nor rank, but put all alike to the sword." Sometimes the two make their appearance together. At sight of Jerusalem the Crusaders dismount from their horses, and bare their feet, to approach the holy walls in the guise of true pilgrims; in the hottest fights they believe themselves aided by the visible presence of saints and angels. But no sooner have they scaled the walls, than they rush forth to pillage and bloodshed; they butchered many thousand Saracens on the site of Solomon's temple; they burned the Jews in their synagogues, and they sullied with blood the holy threshold before which they had come to offer adoration;—an inconsistency this, that pervaded the whole nature of that religious-political constitution, and stamped it with its visible impress.

#### *Contrasts between the fourteenth and fifteenth Centuries.*

At certain stages of history we feel peculiarly disposed, if we may so express it, to investigate the divine plan of the world's government, and the forces at work for the education of the human race.

However imperfect may have been the development we have just depicted, it was necessary towards the complete naturalization of Christianity in the West. It was no easy matter thoroughly to imbue with the ideas of Christianity the refractory spirits of the northern tribes, engrossed as they were by their traditional superstitions. It needed a long predominance of the spiritual order to achieve full hold upon the German temperament. The same means served likewise to effect that close union of Germanic and Latin elements on which is founded the character of Europe in more recent times. There is a community in the modern world which has always been regarded as a main foundation of its progressive improvement in Church and State, in manners, social intercourse, and literature. To bring this about, it was necessary that the western nations should for once constitute, as it were, a single ecclesiastico-political state. But this was the phenomenon of a moment only in the great course of things. After the conversion was fully effected, new necessities made themselves felt.

It was already indicative of the dawn of a new epoch, that the national languages arose everywhere at the same time. Slowly but unceasingly they insinuated themselves into the various branches of mental activity; step by step the idiom of the Church gave way before them. Universality retired, and in its stead appeared a new species of partition founded on a higher principle. Hitherto the spirit of the Church had been predominant over the sense of nationality; the latter, modified and transformed, but again individualized, entered on a new career.

It cannot be doubted that all human proceedings, though often they deviate from the beaten track, and follow a route less open to observation, are invariably subject to one mighty and unintermitting

quorum conculcatione tibi favorem ab ore vulgi comparasti. By trampling on them you have won for yourself the applause of the mob.]

\* Schröck cites this passage in his Kirchengeschichte, Th. 27, p. 117.

system of sequences. The papal power was promoted by the earlier circumstances of history, its further progress was opposed by the new. When the nations no longer needed the impulse of the ecclesiastical power to the extent they had done before, they presently began to offer it resistance. They felt conscious of their sufficiency for self-control. It is worth while to recal to mind the more important occurrences that betokened the existence of this feeling.

It was the French, as is well known, who offered the first decisive resistance to the assumptions of the popes. They set themselves with national unanimity against the bulls of excommunication of Boniface VIII.; all the popular authorities declared, in documents amounting to several hundreds in number, their cordial acquiescence in the steps taken by Philip le Bel.

The Germans followed next. When the popes began once more to assail the imperial authority with all the old animosity, although the latter was now far from possessing its former importance, and when they enlisted foreign influence in their aid, the electors assembled on the banks of the Rhine, on their stone seats in the field of Rense, to adopt measures in common for maintaining "the honour and dignity of the empire." It was their purpose to secure the independence of the empire against the encroachments of the pope by a solemn resolution. This followed soon after in due form, with the sanction of all orders of potentates, emperor, princes, and electors; with one common consent they took their stand against the principles of the papal policy\*.

England did not long remain in the back-ground. No where had the pope possessed greater influence or dealt more arbitrarily with benefices: but when at last, Edward III. refused to continue the payment of the tribute, to which former kings had made themselves liable, his parliament united with him, and promised him their support. The king took measures to prevent the other encroachments of the papal power.

Thus we see nation after nation evincing their sense of self-reliance and unity: the public administration will not bear of any higher authority; the popes no longer find allies in the middle classes, and their influence is resolutely repulsed by princes and legislative bodies.

In addition to all this, the papacy itself had fallen into weakness and disorder, which gave the temporal princes, who had hitherto sought only how they might secure themselves, an opportunity of even visiting it with reprisals.

The great schism occurred. Observe the consequences that followed. For a long time it was optional with the princes to adhere to the one pope or the other, as political convenience dictated—the ecclesiastical power had no means within itself to heal the breach, the secular power alone could effect this;—when an assembly was held in Constance to this end, votes were taken not individually as before, but by the four nations: it was left to each nation to determine in previous committee the vote it was to give—they unanimously deposed a pope—the newly-elected pontiff was obliged to arrange

concordats with each several nation, which were of serious importance, at least from the precedent they afforded; during the council of Basle and the new schism some kingdoms held themselves neutral—nothing but the direct efforts of the princes succeeded in repairing this second rupture in the church\*. Nothing could have occurred more conducive to the preponderance of the temporal power and to the independence of the several states.

And now the pope was once more in a position of exalted splendour; he was universally obeyed; the emperor still held his stirrup; there were bishops not only in Hungary but in Germany too, who styled themselves bishops by the grace of the apostolic see†; the Peter's penny continued to be collected in the north; innumerable pilgrims from all countries visited the threshold of the apostles on the occasion of the Jubilee of 1450; an eye-witness compares them for multitude to swarms of bees, or flocks of migratory birds; and yet for all that, the old condition of things was far from existing any longer.

If we would seek a proof of this, we have but to call to mind the enthusiasm which the march to the holy sepulchre excited in former times, and to compare it with the coldness with which every appeal in favour of a combined resistance to the Turks was received in the fifteenth century. How much more urgent was the necessity of protecting one's own land against the danger that incessantly hovered round it in the most palpable reality, than of securing the custody of the holy sepulchre to Christian hands! Æneas Sylvius and the minorite Capistrano exerted their utmost eloquence, the one before the diet, the other in the market-place before the people; and historians tell of the impression produced by them on the public mind; but we do not find that any one took up arms in consequence. What pains the popes took! One equipped a fleet; another, Pius II., the same Æneas Sylvius, betook himself, weak and ill as he was, to the harbour, where, if none others, those at least who were in most immediate danger, should assemble: he wished to be present, he said, to do what he alone might, to lift up his hands to God during the fight like Moses; but neither exhortations, nor entreaties, nor example could avail with his contemporaries. The youthful emotions of a chivalric christendom were by-gone things: no pope might call them back again.

Other interests filled the times. It was the period when the European kingdoms were finally consolidating themselves after long internal struggles. The central authorities succeeded in overcoming the factions that had hitherto jeopardized the throne, and in gathering all their subjects round them in new and stricter bonds of allegiance: and very soon the papacy, which sought to lord it over all, and intruded everywhere, came to be regarded in a political light.

Monarchy began to evince far higher pretensions than it had hitherto done.

The notion is frequently entertained, that the papacy was almost unrestricted till the Reforma-

\* *Licet juris utriusque.* See Olenschläger, Staatsgeschichte des röm. Kaiserthums in der ersten Hälfte des 14ten Jahrhunderts, Nr. 63.

\* Declaration of pope Felix in Georgius, Vita Nicolai V., p. 65.

† Constance, Schwerin, Fünfkirchen. Schrück, Kirchengeschichte, Bd. 33, p. 60.



tion; whereas in reality, during the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, the several states had appropriated to themselves no small portion of the rights and privileges of the clergy.

In France the encroachments of the Roman see were for the greater part prevented by means of the pragmatic sanction, which for more than half a century was regarded as the palladium of the kingdom. True, Louis XI. from a spurious tenderness for religion (to which he was the more prone, inasmuch as he was wanting in the genuine feeling), was induced to be compliant on this score; but his successors insisted but the more strongly on this their fundamental law. Accordingly when Francis I. signed his concordat with Leo X., it was asserted that the court of Rome had by that instrument recovered its ancient paramount influence. Now it is true that the pope was again put in possession of the annates: in return, however, he was obliged to give up many other sources of income, and what was the most important thing of all, he ceded to the king the right of nomination to the bishoprics and all the higher benefices. It is undeniable that the Gallican church did lose its rights, but this far less in favour of the pope than of the king. Leo X. made little difficulty of giving up the axiom for which Gregory VII. had agitated the world.

Matters were not pushed so far in Germany. The Basle resolutions, which in France assumed the form of the pragmatic sanction\*, were exceedingly enervated in Germany, where they had also been adopted at first, by the concordat of Vienna. But this alteration itself was not obtained without sacrifice on the part of Rome. In Germany it was not enough to come to terms with the head of the realm; it was necessary to gain over the several states. The archbishops of Mainz and Trier obtained the right of disposing of the vacant benefices, even in the months appropriated to the pope: the elector of Brandenburg was granted the privilege of appointing to the three bishoprics in his dominions; less important states too, Strasburg, Salzburg, and Metz, obtained concessions†. Yet this was not enough to allay the general opposition. In the year 1487 the entire empire resisted a tithe which the pope sought to impose, and defeated it‡. In 1500, the imperial government accorded the papal legates only a third of the produce of indulgences, reserving the other two-thirds to itself to be devoted to the war against the Turks.

In England, without any new concordat, and with-

out a pragmatic sanction, concessions were obtained far surpassing those of Constance. Henry VII. possessed the undisputed right of nominating to the episcopal sees; nor was he content with holding the promotion of the clergy in his own hands, but he also appropriated half the annates to his own use. When Wolsey subsequently, in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII., had the dignity of legate conferred on him in addition to his other offices, the temporal and spiritual powers were to a certain extent amalgamated together: before ever a thought of Protestantism was entertained in the kingdom, a very arbitrary confiscation of numerous convents had taken place.

Meanwhile the southern countries and kingdoms did not remain behindhand. The king of Spain too possessed the right of nominating bishops. The crown with which the grand masterhips of the spiritual orders were connected, which had established and which swayed the inquisition, enjoyed a host of ecclesiastical attributes and immunities. Not unfrequently did Ferdinand and the Catholic resist the papal functionaries.

In like manner as the Spanish, the Portuguese spiritual orders of St. Jacob, Avis, and Christ, which had inherited the wealth of the Templars, were in the patronage of the crown\*. King Emanuel obtained from Leo X. not only a third of the cruciata, but also a tenth of the church property, with the express right of disposing of them at his good pleasure, and in accordance with desert.

In every direction, in short, throughout all Christendom, in the south as well as in the north, was manifested a common tendency to contract the power of the pope. What the secular power particularly coveted was a participation in the ecclesiastical revenues, and the right of bestowing church benefices and offices. The popes offered no strenuous resistance. They sought to uphold what they could of their privileges, and quietly ceded the rest. It was said of Ferdinand, King of Naples, by Lorenzo Medici, on the occasion of a difference between the former and the Roman see: "He will make no difficulty of promising, but by and by when his obligations should be fulfilled, he will meet with indulgence, as kings invariably do at the hands of the popes†." For this spirit of opposition had made its way even into Italy: we are told of Lorenzo Medici himself, that in this matter he followed the example of the greater sovereigns, and paid regard to so much, and no more, of the pope's commands, as he had a mind‡.

It would be erroneous to look on these efforts as but so many arbitrary demonstrations of strength. The ecclesiastical tendency had ceased so thoroughly to sway the vital habits of the European nations as

\* We recognize the connection from the following words of Æneas Sylvius: "Propter decreta Basiliensis concilii inter sedem apostolicam et nationem vestram dissidium cepit, cum vos illa prorsus tenenda diceretis, apostolica vero sedes omnia rejiceret. Itaque fuit denique compositio facta—per quam aliqua ex decretis concilii prædicti recepta videntur, aliqua rejecta. Encl. Sylvii Epistola ad Martinum Maierum contra murmur gravaminis Germanicæ nationis 1457." In Müller's Reichstags-theatrum unter Friedrich III., p. 604. [Differences arose between the apostolic see and your nation, respecting the decrees of the council of Basle, you alleging that they should be absolutely abided by, while the apostolic see rejected them all. So at last a compromise was made, in consequence of which some of the decrees of the said council appear to have been retained, and others rejected.]

† Schröck's Kirchengesch. Bd. 32, p. 173. Eichhorn's Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte. Bd. III. § 472, n. c.

‡ Müller's Reichstags-theatrum, Verst. VI., p. 130.

\* Instruzione piena delle Cose di Portogallo al Coadjutor di Bergamo, nunzio destinato in Portogallo: MS. among the Informationi Politiche in the royal library of Berlin, vol. xli. Leo X. granted this patronage of the orders; contentandosi il re di pagare grandissima compositione di detto patronato. [the king consenting to pay a very ample composition for the same.]

† Loreuzzo to John de Lanfredinis, Fabroni Vita Laurentii Medicii II., p. 362.

‡ Antonius Gallus de rebus Genuensibus; Muratori Scriptt. R. It. xxlii. p. 281, says of Lorenzo: Regum inajorumque principum contumacem mentiam adversus Romanam ecclesiam sequebatur de juribus pontificis, nisi quod ei videretur nihil permittens.

had been the case in past times : the development of national feelings, and the consolidation and perfecting of state policy were advancing rapidly, and assuming an important aspect. Hence the relation between the spiritual and the temporal powers demanded a thorough reconstruction ; and truly a great change had become apparent in the popes themselves.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE CHURCH AND ITS TERRITORIES IN THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

#### *Extension of the Ecclesiastical Dominions.*

WHATEVER judgment may be passed on the popes of the earlier times, certain it is they had always grand interests in view—the care of an oppressed religion, the struggle with paganism, the propagation of Christianity among the northern nations, the establishment of an independent hierarchal power. Grand designs and achievements nurture the dignity of man's nature, and these their efforts upheld the greatness of the popes at a loftier pitch. But now those times were gone by, and with them the tendencies they had occasioned : the schism was allayed ; and the unpalatable conviction was to be digested, that no hope remained of effecting any combined system of operations against the Turks. The result was, that the head of the church applied himself especially, and more decidedly than at any previous time, to the interests of her temporal dominions, and devoted all his efforts to their furtherance.

This course was in accordance with what had long been the characteristic temper of the age. "Formerly," it had been said by a speaker in the council of Basle, "I was of opinion that it would be well were the temporal power wholly dis severed from the spiritual. But now I have learned that virtue without strength is ridiculous, that the Roman pope, without the hereditary possessions of the church, would be but the lackey of kings and princes." This speaker, who had influence enough in the assembly to determine the election of pope Felix, declares it not very objectionable that a pope should have sons, who might uphold him against tyrants\*.

This matter was subsequently regarded in another light in Italy. It was looked on as a thing of course that a pope should promote the interests of his own family, and he would have been censured if he had not done so. "Others," says Lorenzo Medici, writing to Innocent VIII., "have not so long postponed their efforts to become popes, and have given themselves little concern to evince such delicacy and forbearance as your holiness has manifested for such a length of time. Now is your holiness not only excused before God and man, but one might perhaps even venture to blame this punctilious conduct, and ascribe it to another motive. Zeal and duty force it upon me as a point of con-

science to remind your holiness, that no man is immortal, that a pope's importance is just what he himself chooses to make it ; he cannot make his dignity hereditary : nothing can he call his own but the honours and the benefactions he has bestowed on his kindred\*." Such was the counsel given by the man who was regarded as the wisest in Italy. He was certainly an interested party ; he had married his daughter to the pope's son ; but he would never have ventured to express himself so roundly and unreservedly, had not the views he propounded been those admitted currently and without question among the higher classes.

There is an intimate correspondence between the two contemporaneous facts, that the European states despoiled the pope of a portion of his privileges, and that the latter began to apply himself to purely secular enterprises. His primary quality, in his own eyes, was that of an Italian prince.

No great length of time had elapsed since the Florentines had overcome their neighbours, and the house of Medici had established its authority. The power of the house of Sforza in Milan, of that of Aragon in Naples, and of the Venetians in Lombardy, had all been achieved and secured within the memory of the existing generation. Might not a pope too fairly entertain the hope of founding a still greater inalienable sovereignty in the domains which were regarded as the hereditary possessions of the Church, but which were actually under the sway of a great number of independent rulers ?

Pope Sixtus IV. was the first who deliberately, and with effect, applied himself to the purpose ; Alexander IV. followed it up with extreme vigour and extraordinary success ; and Julius II. gave the scheme an unexpected turn with permanent results.

Sixtus IV. (1471–1484) conceived the plan of founding a principality for his nephew Girolamo Riario in the fair and fertile plains of Romagna. The other Italian powers were already contending for the preponderance in those regions or for their possession ; and if the question had been one of right, the pope's title was manifestly better than that of any of them : but he was far from being a match for them in political strength and in warlike resources. He did not scruple to make his spiritual power (in its nature and intention exalted above all earthly purposes) subservient to his worldly views, and to plunge it into all the temporary intrigues in which these involved him. As the Medici chiefly stood in his way, he mingled in the dissensions of Florence, and drew down upon himself, as is well known, the suspicion that he had been privy to the conspiracy of the Pazzi, which led to their murderous attempt before the altar of a cathedral—that he had been accessory to this—he, the father of the faithful ! When the Venetians ceased to favour the pretensions of his nephew, as they had long done, the pope was not content with abandoning them to their fate in a war to which he himself had impelled them ; but even went so far as to excommunicate them for continuing it†. He

\* A letter of Lorenzo's, without date, but apparently of the year 1489, since it speaks of the fifth year of Innocent VIII. Fabroni Vita Laurentii II., p. 390.

† The Commentarii di Marino Sauro on the Ferrara war were printed in Venice in 1829 ; at p. 56, he treats of the pope's desertion. He cites the words of the Venetian am-

\* See an extract from this speech in Schröck, vol. xxxii. p. 90.



acted no less arbitrarily in Rome; he persecuted the Colonnas, the opponents of the Riarios, with savage ferocity, wrested Marino from them, and caused the house of the protonotary of Colonna to be taken by storm, himself made prisoner and executed. The victim's mother went to St. Celso in Banchi, where the corpse lay, raised the severed head by the locks, and cried: "This is the head of my son; this is the faith and honour of the pope. He promised if we surrendered Marino to him, that he would release my son; he has now got Marino; my son too is in our hands, but dead! Look here, and see how the pope keeps his plighted word \*."

Such were the means by which Sixtus IV. achieved the victory over his enemies, foreign and domestic. He did actually succeed in making his nephew lord of Imola and Forlì, but it cannot be questioned that, however his temporal splendour gained thereby, his spiritual influence lost infinitely more. An attempt was made to assemble a council against him.

The time however was at hand when the deeds of Sixtus were to be outdone. Not long after him Alexander VI. ascended the papal chair.

Alexander had, all his days, known no other principle of conduct than to enjoy the world, to live in luxury, and to satisfy his lust and ambition. It seemed to him arriving at the summit of bliss when he was at last invested with the highest spiritual dignity. Old as he was, this feeling seemed daily to impart to him fresh youth. No irksome thought was allowed for one night to trouble his repose. His only thought was, how to compass his own advantages and heap pomp and honours on his sons: never did he seriously devote himself to any other purpose †.

This was the sole principle at the bottom of all his political alliances which had so great an influence on the affairs of the world: how a pope was disposed to marry his children, endow and enrich them, was a weighty consideration in determining all the political relations of Europe.

Cæsar Borgia, Alexander's son, trod in the foot-steps of Riario. He began at the self-same point, and his very first movement was to drive Riario's widow from Imola and Forlì. He held on his course with daring contempt of consequences, and what the other had but attempted or but begun, he carried out to the end. Let us observe the mode of proceeding he adopted: it may be described in a few words. The ecclesiastical state had hitherto been kept divided by the factions of the Guelfs and Ghibellines, the Orsini and the Colonnas. Like the other papal families, and as Sixtus IV. for example had done, Alexander and his son allied themselves at first with one of the two, the Orsini or Guelf party. With the help of this alliance they speedily succeeded in mastering all their enemies. They drove the Sforzas from Pesaro, the Malatestas from Rimini, and the Manfredi from Faenza; they seized those powerful and strongly fortified towns, and presently founded them into a powerful lordship. No sooner had they

advanced so far, no sooner had they rid themselves of their enemies, than they turned against their friends. In this respect there was a marked difference between the Borgias and their predecessors, the latter of whom had always been trammelled by the party to which they had attached themselves. Cæsar Borgia, without hesitation or compunction, assailed his own confederates. The duke of Urbino, who had hitherto aided in his aggrandisement, found himself suddenly, and without the least warning, entangled in his toils, and with difficulty escaped, a hunted fugitive in his own domains \*. Upon this, Vitelli, Baglioni, and the heads of the Orsini determined to show him at least that they were capable of resisting him. He on his part said: "It is right and fit to betray those who are the masters of all treachery;" he decoyed them with deliberate, profoundly calculated cruelty into the trap he had laid for them, and mercilessly despatched them. After he had tamed both parties in this fashion, he stepped into their places; gathered their adherents, the inferior nobility, round him, and took them into his pay: he kept the territories he had seized in subjection by force of severity and terror.

And thus Alexander saw his warmest wish fulfilled, the barons of the land annihilated, and his house in train to found a great hereditary principality in Italy. But he soon had to feel practically of what the aroused passions are capable. Cæsar would not brook the participation of his power with any relation or favourite. He had caused his brother, who stood in his way, to be murdered and thrown into the river. He had his brother-in-law assailed on the very steps of the palace †. His wife and his sister nursed the wounded man; the latter dressed his food with her own hands for fear of poison: the pope had a guard set on his house to protect his son-in-law from his son: Cæsar mocked at all these precautions, saying, "What has failed at noon may easily be done in the evening." When the prince was now convalescent, he burst into his chamber, turned out the wife and the sister, called in his bravo, and had his unfortunate brother-in-law strangled. For as to his father, on whose life and station he only looked as means towards his own aggrandisement, he had not a thought of treating him in other respects with the least consideration. He slew Alexander's favourite Peroto

\* Many other interesting particulars relative to Cæsar Borgia are to be found throughout the fourth volume of MS. Chronicle of Saints; some letters of his too are given; one to Venice, Dec. 1502, and one to the pope, in which he subscribes himself: "Vræ. Svis. humilissimus servus et devotissima factura."

† Diario de Sebastiano di Branca de Telini. MS. bibl. Barb. n. 1103, relates atrocities of Cæsar's such as the following: Il primo, il fratello che si chiamava lo duca di Gandia, lo fece buttar in fiume: fece ammazzare lo cognato, che era figlio del duca di Calabria, era lo piu bello giovane che mai si vedesse in Roma; ancora fece ammazzare Vitellozzo della città di Castello, et era lo piu valent'uomo che fusse in quel tempo. [First he caused his brother, who was named the duke of Gandia, to be thrown into the river: he had his brother-in-law assassinated, who was the son of the duke of Calabria, and the handsomest youth ever seen in Rome: furthermore, he caused the assassination of Vitellozzo of the city of Castello, the most gallant man of that day.] He calls the lord of Faenza lo piu bello figlio del mondo, the handsomest youth in the world. (See Appendix No. IX.)

basasador: "Tutti vedranno aver noi cominciato questa guerra di volontà del papa: egli però si mosse a rompere la lega." [It is notorious that we commenced this war at the pope's desire: but he broke the league.]

\* Alegretto Alegretti: diari Saneal, p. 817.

† Relazione di Polo Capello, 1500. MS. (See Appendix No. III.)

beneath the pontifical mantle, as the victim clung close to his patron : the blood spurted in the pope's face.

For a time Cæsar had Rome and the ecclesiastical states in his power. He was a man of surpassing beauty ; so strong that in the bull-fight he would strike off the bull's head at a single blow ; liberal-handed, not without traits of magnanimity ; voluptuous, bloody : how did Rome tremble at his name ! Cæsar needed gold and had enemies—every night the corpses of murdered men were found in the streets. Every man held his breath ; for there was none who might not fear that his own turn would come next. Those whom violence could not reach, were taken off by poison\*.

There was but one spot on the earth where such deeds were possible : that spot alone, where unlimited temporal power and the highest spiritual authority were united in the same individual. This spot Cæsar occupied. Even monstrosity has its perfection. Many sons and nephews of the popes have attempted similar things, but none ever carried them to such a pitch. Cæsar was a virtuoso in crime.

Was it not, from the very first, one of the most essential tendencies of Christianity to render such violence impossible † And Christianity itself, and the position of the supreme head of the Church, were to serve to call it forth.

In truth it needed not then that a Luther should by and by arise to denounce in such deeds the direct opposite of Christianity. The cry arose at the very time, that the pope was preparing the way for antichrist, that his care was devoted to the fulfilment of the satanic, not of the heavenly kingdom ‡.

We will not follow in detail the particulars of Alexander's history. He once purposed, as is but too notorious, to take off one of the richest cardinals by poison : but the latter succeeded by bribes, promises, and entreaties, in gaining over the pope's chief cook ; the confection which had been prepared for the cardinal was set before the pope, and he died himself of the poison he had intended for another §. After his death a far different result arose out of his schemes from that he had contemplated.

It was always the hope of the papal families to acquire for themselves hereditary rank and possession ; but it usually happened, that with the life of the pope fell the power of his kindred, and their greatness set as it had risen. If the Venetians looked on unmoved at Cæsar Borgia's doings, though there were indeed other reasons for this, yet one of the most cogent consisted in the observation of this habitual course of things. They judged, " it was after all but a fire of straw ; after

Alexander's death things would return of themselves to the old course\*."

But this time they were deceived in their expectations. A pope succeeded, who indeed made it his task to appear the very opposite to the Borgias, but who, for that very reason, was in a condition to carry out their schemes : only he did so by a different route. Pope Julius II. (1503—1513) enjoyed the inestimable advantage of finding opportunity to satisfy the pretensions of his family by peaceable means ; and he provided for them the heritage of Urbino. Thereupon he was at liberty, unmolested by the importunities of his dependents, to gratify that innate passion of his, now inflamed by the circumstances of the times and by the consciousness of his dignity, the passion for war and conquest—but that on behalf of the Church and for the benefit of the papal see itself. Other popes had sought to provide principalities for their nephews or their sons : he set his whole ambition on enlarging the domains of the Church. He must be regarded as their founder.

He found the whole territory in the utmost confusion. All who had been able to escape from Cæsar by flight, were now returned, the Orsini and Colonna, the Vitelli and Baglioni, Vaiani, Malatesta and Montefeltro ; the factions were on foot again in every part of the country, and they fought out their feuds in the very Borgo of Rome. Julius has been compared to Virgil's Neptune lifting his serene head above the billows and calming their fury with a glance †. He was dexterous enough to rid himself of Cæsar Borgia, and to possess himself of his castles and his dukedom. He contrived to keep the lesser barons under curb, a task rendered easy to his hand by Cæsar's practices : he was cautious not to set over them cardinals whose avarice might cause a fresh outbreak of the old refractory spirit ‡ ; as for the more powerful who refused him obedience, he grappled with them without parley. He reduced that Baglione, who had again mastered Perugia, within the bounds of lawful subjection. John Bentivoglio was compelled in advanced age, without the power of resistance, to render up the sumptuous palace he had founded in Bologna, with its inscription in which he had too hastily declared the fulness of his good fortune : those two very powerful cities acknowledged the immediate authority of the pontifical chair.

Yet with all this, Julius was for a long time far from the goal in view. The Venetians were in possession of the greater part of the coasts of the ecclesiastical state ; they were by no means disposed to yield them up freely, and they were greatly an overmatch for the pope in war. He could not shut his eyes to the fact that his assailing them would be the

\* To the multitude of notices extant on this head I have added something from Paolo Capello. (App. No. III.) Upon all remarkable occasions of death, men thought immediately of poisoning by the pope. See a letter in Sanuto respecting the death of the cardinal of Verona : Si giudica sia stato avvelenato per tuorli le facultà, perche avanti che spirasse el papa mandò guardie attorno la casa. [It is thought he was poisoned in order to seize his wealth, because before he died the pope set guards round the house.]

† A loose sheet MS. out of Sanuto's Chronicle.

‡ Successo di la morte di papa Alessandro. MS. (See Appendix No. IV.)

\* Priuli Cronaca di Venezia. MS. Del resto poco stimavano, conoscendo che questo acquisto che all' hora faceva il duca Valentino sarebbe fuoco di paglia che poco dura.

† Tomaso Inghirami, in Fea, Notizie intorno Raffaele Sanzio da Urbino, p. 57.

‡ Machiavelli (Princeps, c. xi.) is not the only one who remarks this : in Jovius, Vita Pompeii Columnæ, p. 140, the Roman barons under Julius II. complain, principes urbis familias solito purpurei galeri honore pertinaci pontificum livore privari ; [that the chief families of the city were deprived of the wonted honours of the purple by the obstinate malevolence of the pontiffs.]

signal for a general commotion of all Europe. Ought he to risk this?

Old as Julius already was, keenly as he had experienced a long life's vicissitudes of good and evil fortune, and the hardships of war and exile, aggravated by the consequences of intemperance and debauchery—he yet knew not what it was to entertain fear or irresolution; even in his advanced years he possessed that grand quality of manhood, indomitable courage. He made but small account of the princes of his time, thinking he could overlook them all; to the very tumult of a general war did he look with most hopes of gain: his only care was to be always in command of money, so as to seize the favourable opportunity with all his might: he desired, as was happily said by a Venetian, to be lord and master of the game of the world\*: he waited the fulfilment of his desires with impatience, but he kept them confined to his own breast. If we inquire what was the circumstance that enabled him to assume his peculiar attitude, we find it was, above all things, that he was free to avow his natural tendencies, nay openly to profess them and make them his boast. The re-establishment of the state of the Church was regarded by the world of that day as a glorious enterprise, it even considered it a religious one: all the pope's steps were directed towards this one end, this was the idea that animated all his thoughts; they were, if I may so express myself, steeped in it. As he now engaged in the boldest operations, staking everything on the upshot of the game (he took the field in person, and was drawn into Mirandola, which he had conquered, over the frozen ditches and through the breach), as the most decided mischance could not make him give way, but only seemed to waken new resources within him, he was successful accordingly. He not only recovered all his own places from the Venetians, but in the hot war that ensued, he made himself master at last of Parma, Piacenza, and even Reggio, and laid the foundation of a power such as never pope before him had possessed. The most beautiful of lands from Piacenza to Terracina belonged to him. He had always sought to appear in the character of a liberator; he dealt benignantly and wisely with his new subjects, and acquired their good will and attachment. Not without alarm did the rest of the world see so many warlike populations obedient to a pope. Time was, says Machiavel, there was no baron so petty who did not despise the papal power; now it is looked on with respect by a king of France.

#### *Growth of a secular spirit in the Church.*

It is not conceivable but that the whole institution of the church should take part in the course and tendency pursued by its chief, that it should aid in their development, and be reciprocally affected by them.

\* Sommario de la relation di Domenico Trivixan. MS. "Il papa vol esser il dominus et maestro del jocho dei mundo." There also exists a second report of Polo Capello of the year 1510, whence a few notices are inserted in the Appendix (No. V.) Francesco Vettori, Sommario dell'istoria d'Italia. MS. says of him: Julio piu fortunato che prudente, e piu animoso che forte, ma ambizioso e desideroso di grandezza q'ra a modo. [Julius was more fortunate than prudent, and more courageous than strong, but ambitious and desirous of grandeur to an immoderate degree.]

Not alone the highest place in the church, but all the others likewise came to be regarded as temporal possessions. The pope nominated cardinals from personal favour, or to gratify some prince, or, as was not unfrequently the case, simply for money. Could it be reasonably expected that they would fulfil their spiritual duties? Sixtus IV. bestowed on one of his nephews one of the most important offices, the Penitenziaria, which exercised the greatest part of the right of dispensation. He took occasion at the same time to augment the privileges of the office, publishing a special bull to that effect, in which he denounces all who should dispute the propriety of such arrangements as a stiff-necked generation and children of malice\*. The natural consequence was, that the nephew looked on his office only as a benefice, the proceeds of which he was to raise as high as possible.

In those times the bishoprics in most places were, as we have seen, not unendowed with a large share of temporal power: they were distributed as sinecures in accordance with family views or court favour. The Roman curia had no other concern than how to turn vacancies and presentations to the utmost account. Alexander took double annates, levied double, triple tithes; and it was all but the case that every thing was matter of purchase and sale. The taxes of the papal chancery augmented day by day; it was the duty of the chief administrator to abate all grievances in that department, but he usually referred the revision of the taxes to those who had imposed them†. For every indulgence granted by the datary's office it was necessary to pay a stipulated sum. The disputes between the several courts and the curia commonly turned on nothing else than these exactions. The curia sought to swell them to the utmost possible extent; the inhabitants of every country sought to restrain them as much as they could.

Principles such as these necessarily worked throughout all ranks of men so appointed down to the lowest. Men renounced indeed their bishoprics, but retained the proceeds of them, at least for the greater part, and sometimes, in addition to this, the collation to the cures dependent on them. Even the law that the son of a clergyman should never enjoy his father's appointment, and that no one should bequeath his preferment by will, was evaded: since every one could make sure, provided he did not spare his gold, of obtaining for coadjutor whomsoever he pleased; a certain kind of virtual inheritance became established by custom. It followed of course that the discharge of spiritual functions was much neglected. In this brief statement I shall confine myself to citing observations made by right-minded prelates of the Roman court. "What a spectacle," they exclaimed, "does this desolation of the churches present to the eyes of a

\* Bull of May 9, 1484. Quoniam nonnulli iniquitatis filii, elationis et pertinaciæ suæ spiritu assumpto potestatem majori penitentiarii nostri in dubium revocare præsumunt, deest nos adversus tales adhibere remedia, &c. Bullarium Romanum, ed. Coqueles, iii. p. 187.

† Reformationes cancellariæ apostolicæ Smi. Dni. Nri. Pauli III., 1540. MS. in the Barberini library in Rome, No. 2275, enumerates all the abuses that had crept in since the reigns of Sixtus and Alexander. The grievances of the Germans relate especially to these "new devices" and offices of the Roman chancery. § 14. § 38.

Christian who travels over the Christian world ! All the shepherds have abandoned their flocks, and have left them to the care of hirelings \*."

In all places incompetent persons were entrusted, without scrutiny or selection, with the discharge of clerical duties. Since the incumbents of benefices thought only of finding the least costly substitutes, they pitched especially on the mendicant monks as fit for their purpose. These occupied the bishoprics under the title, unprecedented in such a signification, of suffragans, and the cures they held in the capacity of vicars.

Already the mendicant orders were in possession of extraordinary privileges : these had been increased by Sixtus IV., who was himself a Franciscan. The right of confessing penitents, of administering the Lord's Supper, of bestowing extreme unction, of burying in the ground, and even in the garb of the order, rights that conveyed both importance and advantage, he had confirmed to them in their full extent, and had threatened the disobedient, the secular clergy, and those who should molest the orders, particularly with respect to bequests, with the loss of their preferments †.

Since they had now got both the bishoprics and the cures too into their hands, it is evident what enormous influence they possessed. All the higher appointments, the more distinguished dignities and their revenues, were enjoyed by the great families and their dependents, by the favourites of the courts and of the curia : the actual discharge of the several offices was in the hands of the mendicant monks, and in this capacity they had the support and protection of the pope. It was they who in conjunction with others plied the traffic in indulgences, to which so enormous an extension was given at this period, Alexander VI. having been the first to declare officially that they released from purgatory. But the mendicant orders too were fallen into total worldliness. What intrigues in the order for the higher appointments ! What eagerness at election time to get rid of rivals and persons unfavourably inclined ! The latter were sent out, if possible, as preachers or curates ; against the former they did not shrink from using the dagger or the sword, and poison was frequently resorted to ‡. Meanwhile, the benefits of religion

were put up for sale. The mendicant monks, obliged to serve for sorry pay, eagerly caught at contingent sources of profit.

"Woe, woe !" exclaims one of those prelates we have alluded to ; "who gives my eyes their fountain of tears ! Even those set apart are fallen off, the vineyard of the Lord is laid waste. Did they perish alone, it were an evil, yet it might be endured ; but since they pervade all Christendom like the veins of the body, their decay must needs bring with it the ruin of the world."

#### *Intellectual tendency.*

Could we unfold the book of history such as it was in the actual occurrence, might the fleeting events of time await our questioning as nature does, how often should we in the former, as now in the latter, detect the new germ amidst the decay we mourn, how often behold life issuing out of death !

Much as we deplore this secularization of spiritual things, this corruption of religious institutions, but for these evils the human mind would hardly have been able to seize upon one of its most peculiar and productive paths.

We cannot deny, that however ingenious, diversified, and profound are the productions of the middle ages, they are yet based upon general views of the world, visionary in character, and little in accordance with the reality of things. Had the church endured in full and conscious strength, it would have rigidly adhered to these views : but circumstanced as it was, it left the mind of man at liberty to follow a new development in a wholly different direction.

It was a narrow horizon that necessarily limited the intellectual reason of those ages : the revived knowledge of antiquity burst that confined circle, and opened to view a loftier, a more comprehensive, and a grander prospect.

It was not that the middle ages had been totally unacquainted with the ancients. The eagerness with which the Arabs, who were so instrumental in introducing learned pursuits into the West, collected and appropriated the works of the ancients, was not much inferior to that with which the Italians prosecuted the same purposes in the fifteenth century ; and Caliph Mamun may, in this respect, be fairly compared with Cosmo de' Medici. But let us observe the difference ; unimportant as it may perhaps appear, it is one, I think, of a capital nature. The Arabs translated : they often downright destroyed the originals. Since they overcharged the whole body of their translations with their own peculiar ideas, it came to pass that they theosophised Aristotle, so to speak, perverted astronomy into astrology, applied the latter to medicine, and even contributed principally to the fashioning of that visionary view of the world before-mentioned. The Italians on the contrary read and learned. From the Romans they proceeded to the Greeks : the art of printing diffused the originals in numberless copies throughout the world. The genuine drove out the Arabic Aristotle ; out of the unaltered works of the ancients, men learned the sciences, geography directly from Ptolemy, botany from Dioscorides, medicine from Galen and Hippocrates. How rapidly then were men disencumbered of the fantastic notions that had filled the world, and the prejudices that had enthralled the mind.

\* Consilium delectorum cardinalium et aliorum prelatorum de emendanda ecclesia, Smo. Dino. Paulo III. ipso jubente, conscriptum anno 1538. [The counsel of select cardinals and other prelates respecting the reformation of the church, drawn up at the special command of his holiness Paul III., in the year 1538.] frequently printed at the immediate time, and important inasmuch as it points out unambiguously the root of the evil as far as it lay in the administration. In Rome, long after it was printed, it continued to be incorporated with the MSS. of the Curia.

† Amplissima gratie et privilegia fratrum minorum conventualium ordinis S. Francisci, quæ propterea mare magnum nuncupantur, 31 Aug. 1474. Bullarium Rom. III., 3, 139. A similar bull was issued in favour of the Dominicans. Much attention was given to this Mare Magnum in the Lateran council of 1512 ; but privileges are more easily bestowed than revoked, at least so it was then.

‡ In a voluminous report from Caraffa to Clement, which is given only in a mutilated form by Bromato, Vita di Paolo IV., it is said in the manuscript of the monasteries : "Si viene ad homicidi non solo col veneno, ma apertamente col coltello e con la spada, per non dire con schiopetti." [Murders are committed not only by poison, but openly with the dagger and the sword, not to say with fire-arms.]

We should exaggerate, however, were we to impute to those times the immediate display of originality in the cultivation of literature and science, the discovery of new truths or the production of grand conceptions: men sought only to understand the ancients; no attempt was made beyond this: the efficacy of the classic writers was less in that they prompted the growth of a creative spirit in literature, than in the imitation they called forth.

That imitation was one of the causes that most essentially contributed to the progress of the age.

Men vied with the ancients in their own languages. Pope Leo X. was a special patron of this pursuit. He himself read to his social circle the well written introduction to the history of Jovius, declaring his opinion that nothing like it had been produced since the works of Livy. A patron of Latin improvisators, we may judge how charmed he was by the talents of a Vida, who could describe such things as the game of chess in the full tones of well cadenced Latin hexameters. He invited to his court from Portugal a mathematician who was famed for setting forth his science in elegant Latin; it was thus he wished to see jurisprudence and theology taught, and church history written.

Things, however, could not stop at this point. However far this imitation of the ancients in their own tongues were pushed, it could not embrace the whole intellectual field. There was something in it incomplete and unsatisfactory, and it was an accomplishment too generally diffused to admit of this defect escaping obvious notice. The new conception gradually unfolded itself of imitating the ancients in the vernacular tongue. Men felt their own position with regard to them to be like that in which the Romans had stood to the Greeks: they resolved to vie with them, not as hitherto in details, but in the whole range of literature; and they rushed with youthful impetuosity upon this new field of exertion.

Fortunately it was the very period when the vernacular tongues were acquiring in general a regular and authorized form. The merits of Bembo consist less in his elegant Latin style or in his experimental essays in Italian poetry, than in his well-devised and successful endeavours to give correctness and dignity to the popular language, and to establish its construction on fixed rules. This is the ground on which Ariosto builds his fame: he appeared precisely at the right moment: his own literary attempts served but to exemplify the principles he taught.

If we contemplate the circle of works to which was now applied, after ancient models, that material so incomparable for its liquid pliancy and its euphony, and which had now been prepared for use with so much discernment, the following remarks will force themselves upon us.

Little success attended those efforts that were governed by too close an attachment to classic models. Tragedies like the *Rosmunda* of Rucellai, which as their editors say were modelled after the antique, didactic poems like his *Bees*, in which we are referred from the very first to Virgil, who is afterwards made use of in a thousand different ways, had no success, and produced no real effect. Comedies were at once constructed with more freedom; their very nature demanded that they should assume the colour and impression of the times; still in almost every case they were founded on

some fable of antiquity, or some piece by Plautus\*: and even men of such genius as Bibbiena and Machiavel failed to assure to their comedies the entire approbation of later times. In works of a different kind we sometimes meet with a certain conflict between their ancient and their modern constituent parts. Thus in the *Arcadia* of Sammarzio, how singularly do the prolix and latinized periods of the prose contrast with the simplicity, the genuine feeling, and the music of the verse.

If the success obtained, great as it was, was not complete, that need not excite our wonder. At all events a great example was given, an attempt made that proved infinitely productive; but still the spirit of modern literature was ill at ease under the restrictions of the classic forms. Genius was enslaved by rules imposed on it from without, not the spontaneous expression of its own nature. How indeed was it possible to achieve the highest things through mere imitation? The great masterworks do exercise a legitimate influence upon succeeding times, but it is one of mind upon mind. We are all agreed in the present day that the beautiful form is fitted to train, to fashion, to excite; but subjugate it never must.

Supposing a genius partaking of the tendencies of the times to have applied himself to a work, differing both in form and material from the remains of antiquity, and no otherwise affected by them than as regarded the influence of their spirit, the most remarkable production must needs have been the result.

The romantic epos owes its peculiarities to the fact that it falls under these conditions: the poet had for his subject a Christian fable of a heroic character; the noblest figures, depicted by a few bold general traits, were set before him; important situations, but little developed, were suggested; and even the poetic form was ready to his hand, derived immediately from the popular entertainments. Then came the tendency of the age to adapt itself to the antique, a tendency whose influence was manifested in fashioning, beautifying, and humanizing. How different is Boiardo's *Rinaldo*, noble, modest, full of the hearty love of adventure, from the desperate son of Haynion of the old legend! How transmuted into the intelligible, the cheerful, and the charming, is all that was violent, fabulous, and gigantic, in the old conception. Even the un-

\* Marco Minio, among so many other interesting matters, relates to the Signory the circumstance of the production of the first comedy in Rome: this letter is dated March 13, 1519. "*Finita dita festa (the carnival) se andato ad una comedia, che fece el reverendissimo Cibo, dove è stato bellissima cosa, lo apparato tanto superbo che non si potria dire. La comedia fu questa, che fu fenta una Ferrara e in dita sala fu fata Ferrara preciso come la è. Dicono che Monsignor revmo Cibo venendo per Ferrara e volendo una comedia li fu data questa comedia. E sta tratta parte de li Suppositi di Plauto e dal Eunucho de Terenzio, molto bellissima.*" [On the termination of that festival (the carnival) a comedy followed, given by Cardinal Cibo, in which were very beautiful things, with such a grandeur of decoration as cannot be described. The comedy was supposed to pass in Ferrara, which was represented in the said hall precisely as it exists. They say that Monsignor Cibo, passing through Ferrara, and desiring to see a comedy, this one was given him. It is taken from the *Suppositi* of Plautus, and from the *Eunuch* of Terence, and is very beautiful.] He means, no doubt, the *Suppositi* of Ariosto; but we observe, he neither mentions the author's name nor the title of the piece, but merely from what it was taken.

adorned old stories have in their simplicity something winning and agreeable : but how greatly does our enjoyment rise when the melody of Ariosto's verse plays round us, and we are hurried on from picture to picture in the company of an accomplished and cheerful spirit. The unlovely and the formless has wrought itself into outline, and symmetry, and music \*.

Few times are susceptible of pure beauty of form ; only the most favoured and happiest periods produce it. Such an one was the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. How can I pretend to sketch, even in outline, the living wealth of art, in conception and in practice, that filled those times ? We may boldly assert, that all that is most beautiful in the productions of later ages in architecture, sculpture, and painting, is combined in that short epoch. This was its tendency, not in abstract reasoning, but in actual practice. In it lived and wrought the men of those days. I would even say, that the fortresses then erected by the prince against his foes, and the notes of the philologist, written in the margins of his authors, have something of a common character. A severely beautiful family resemblance pervades all the productions of those times.

It cannot however escape notice that, while art and poetry sought their materials in elements pertaining to the Church, they did not leave the import of these untouched. The romantic epos, presenting us with a church legend, commonly deals with it in a tone of opposition. Ariosto found it necessary to discard from his fable the background that contains its original signification.

In previous times, religion had had as much part in the works of painters and sculptors as art ; but from the time art had been played on by the breath of antiquity, it freed itself from its apprenticeship to faith. We can observe in the works of Raphael how from year to year this change becomes more decidedly manifest. Some may blame this if they will ; but it would almost seem that the co-operation of the profane element was necessary to the full development and bloom of art.

And was it not highly significant, that a pope himself undertook to pull down the old basilica of St. Peter, the metropolitan church of Christendom, every spot in which was hallowed, in which were gathered together the memorials of so many centuries' veneration, and to erect in its stead a temple planned after the proportions of antiquity ? It was a purpose in which art was exclusively concerned. Both the factions which then divided the jealous and contentious world of art, united in urging Julius II. to the design. Michael Angelo wished for a worthy site for the pope's monument, which he proposed to complete upon a vast scheme, with all the lofty grandeur we behold in all his Moses. Bramante was still more urgent. He longed to put in operation the bold conception of uplifting on colossal columns toward the sky an imitation of the Pantheon in all its greatness. Many cardinals opposed the plan ; it would even seem that there was a general feeling against it : a multitude of personal feelings and affections are bound up with the existence of every old church, and so it was in unparalleled measure with this the

highest sanctuary of Christendom \*. But Julius II. was not used to defer to contradiction. Without further consideration he had half the old Church pulled down, and laid the foundation of the new one with his own hand.

Thus rose again in the heart of the Christian worship the forms in which the spirit of the old religions had so strikingly embodied themselves. Bramante built at San Pietro in Montorio, over the blood of the martyr, a chapel in the light and cheerful form of a peripteros.

If this involved a contradiction, it was one that pervaded the whole being and habits of the times.

Men went to the Vatican less for the purpose of adoration on the threshold of the Apostles, than to admire the great works of ancient art in the pope's dwelling, the Belvedere Apollo and the Laocoon. As strong representations as ever were made to the pope, urging him to set on foot a war against the infidels ; I find this for instance, in a preface of Navagero's † ; but the author had no thought in this for the interests of Christianity, or for the conquest of the holy sepulchre ; his cherished hope was, that the pope would discover the lost writings of the Greeks, and perhaps of the Romans.

In the midst of this abundant scene of studies and productions, of intellect and art, in the enjoyment of the expanding temporal power belonging to the highest spiritual dignity, now lived Leo X. His title to the honour of giving name to the age in which he lived has been called in question, and it is possible his merit may have been exaggerated. Be that as it may, he was now the favourite of fortune. He had grown up among the elements that fashioned the world around him ; he possessed liberality of mind and sensibility enough to promote and enjoy them. If he had delighted in the Latin works of direct imitators, the original works of his contemporaries could not fail of engaging his interest. In his presence was produced the first tragedy, and (however objectionable that may have been for its timid imitation of Plautus) the first comedy written in the Italian language. There is hardly any which he was not the first to see. Ariosto was amongst the acquaintances of his youth ; Machiavel composed more than one of his works at his express desire ; for him Raphael filled chambers, galleries, and chapels, with ideals of human beauty and of purely expressed existence. He passionately loved music, the practice of which, in a high degree of perfection, was just then becoming diffused throughout Italy : the palace rang

\* Fea, *Notizie intorno Raffaele*, p. 41, gives the following extract from the unprinted work of Panvinus, *De rebus antiquis memorabilibus et de præstantia basilicæ S. Petri Apostolorum Principis* etc. "Qua in re (in the project of the new building) adversos pene habuit cunctorum ordinum homines et præsertim cardinales, non quod novam non euperent basilicam magnificentissimam extruere, sed quia antiquam toto terrarum orbe venerabilem, tot sanctorum sepulchris augustissimam, tot celeberrimis in ea gestis insignem funditus deleri ingemiscant." [In which matter he had men of almost all classes against him, and especially the cardinals ; not because they did not wish that a new basilica should be built with the utmost magnificence, but because they grieved to think that the old one should be pulled down, revered as it was by the whole world, ennobled by the sepulchres of so many saints, and illustrious for so many great things that had been done in it.]

† *Naugerii Præfatio in Ciceronis Orationes*, t. I.

\* I have endeavoured to pursue this subject in detail, in a special treatise read before the Royal Academy of Sciences.

daily with music, the pope hummed the airs that were played. It may be that all this was a sort of intellectual debauchery; if so, it is at least the only one that becomes a man. For the rest, Leo X. was full of kindness and personal sympathy. He never, or if at all, only in the mildest terms, refused a request, although it was really impossible to grant everything. "He is a good man," said one of those observant ambassadors, "very liberal and good natured; were it not that his relations drive him upon them, he would avoid all dissensions \*." "He is learned," says another, "and a friend to the learned: religious he is indeed, but he has a mind to live †." Certainly he did not always observe pontifical decorum. He sometimes left Rome, to the sore distress of his master of the ceremonies, not only without surplice, but, as that officer has noted in his journal, "what is worst of all, with boots on his feet." He passed the autumn in rural recreations, enjoying hawking at Viterbo, hunting at Corneto, and fishing on the lake of Bolsena. He then spent some time at Malliana, his favourite resort. Improvisatori and men of light quick talents, capable of enlivening every hour of the day, accompanied him. Towards winter the party returned to the city. This was in great prosperity: the number of its inhabitants increased by a third within a few years; it offered profit to the artisan, honour to the artist, to every one security. Never had the court been more animated, cheerful, and intellectual. No cost was too great for spiritual or secular festivals, plays and theatrical entertainments, presents and favours; nothing was spared. It was heard with delight that Giuliano Medici was thinking of taking up his residence at Rome with his young wife. "God be praised," says cardinal Bibbiena in a letter to him, "for here we lack nothing but a court of ladies."

Alexander's sensuality must ever be regarded with loathing: there was nothing absolutely censurable in the arrangements of Leo's court: but it certainly cannot be denied that his life did not correspond to that befitting a supreme head of the Church.

Life easily veils its own incongruities: so was it with these, till men pondered and weighed them, and then they could not fail to be apparent.

Under such circumstances, there could no longer be any question of true Christian sentiment and conviction: on the contrary, there arose a direct opposition to these.

The philosophical schools disputed whether the reasonable soul were immaterial indeed and immortal, but single and common to all mankind, or whether it was absolutely mortal. The most noted philosopher of the day, Pietro Pomponazzo, took upon him to maintain the latter opinion. He likened himself to Prometheus, whose heart was devoured by the vulture because he sought to steal his fire from Jupiter. But with all these painful efforts, with all his subtlety, he arrived at no other result than that, "if the law-giver had established the immortality of the soul, he had done so without troubling himself about its truth ‡."

\* Zorzi. Per il papa non voria ni guerra ni fatiche, ma questi soi lo intriga.

† Mario Minio, Relazione. E docto e amador di docti; ben religioso, ma vol viver. He calls him "bona persona."

‡ Pomponazzo was very seriously assailed on the subject,

We must not suppose that these sentiments were confined to a few, or that they were kept secret. Erasmus declares his astonishment at the blasphemies that met his ears; they sought to prove to him, a foreigner, out of Pliny, that there is no difference between the souls of men and those of brutes \*.

Whilst the common people sank into almost heathenish superstition, which sought its salvation in an ill founded mechanical devotion, the higher classes adopted notions of an anti-religious tendency.

What was young Luther's amazement when he visited Italy. At the moment when the sacrifice of the mass was accomplished, the priests blurted out blasphemies in which they denied it.

In Rome it was a characteristic of good society, to dispute the fundamental principles of Christianity. "One passes no longer," says P. Ant. Bandino †, "for an accomplished man, unless he entertain some heterodox notions of Christianity." At court they spoke of the institutions of the catholic church, of passages in the holy Scriptures, only in a tone of jesting; the mysteries of faith were held in derision.

We see how everything conforms to certain laws, how one thing begets another; the ecclesiastical pretensions of the sovereigns produce the temporal claims of the popes; the corruption of the ecclesiastical institutions elicit the development of a new intellectual tendency, until at last the very basis of faith becomes affected in public opinion.

#### *Opposition to the papacy in Germany.*

I regard as surpassingly interesting the relation on which Germany entered to this intellectual development. It took part in it, but in a totally different spirit.

If in Italy it was poets, such as Boccaccio and Petrarch, who promoted the study of ancient literature in their day, and created the national impulse in that direction, in Germany this was the

as appears, among other proofs, from extracts out of papal letters by Contelori. "Petrus de Mantua," it is there said, "asseruit quod anima rationalis secundum propria philosophiæ et mentem Aristotelis sit seu videatur mortalis, contra determinationem concilii Lateranensis: papa mandat ut dictus Petrus revocet; alias contra ipsum procedatur. 13 Junii, 1518. [Peter of Mantua has asserted, that, according to the principles of philosophy and the opinion of Aristotle, the rational soul is or appears to be mortal, contrary to the determination of the Lateran council: the pope commands that the said Peter retract, otherwise that he be proceeded against.]

\* Burigny, Life of Erasmus, l. 139. I will here quote also the following passage from Paul Caneusius, in his Vita Pauli II. "Pari quoque diligentia e medio Romanæ curiæ nefandum nonnullorum juvenum sectam ecclesiamque opinionem subtulit, qui depravatis moribus asserebant nostram fidem orthodoxam potius quibusdam sanctorum astutiis quam veris rerum testimoniis sustinere." [With equal diligence he eradicated from the Roman court an infamous heresy, and abominable opinion of some profligate young men, who asserted that our orthodox faith reposed rather on certain subtleties of the saints, than on real substantial evidence.] The Triumph of Charlemagne, a poem by Ludovico, breathes a spirit of strongly marked materialism, as we see from the quotations of Daru in the fortieth book of his Histoire de Venise.

† In Caracciolo's MS. Life of Paul IV. In quel temp non



work of a spiritual fraternity, the Hieronymites, a fraternity bound together by laborious industry and sequestration from the world. It was one of its members, the profound and blameless mystic Thomas à Kempis, in whose school were formed all the worthy men, who first borrowed from the light of ancient literature newly risen in Italy, and then returned to diffuse it through Germany\*.

The difference thus observable in the beginning, marked the subsequent progress likewise.

In Italy men studied the works of the ancients to learn the sciences from them: in Germany they founded schools; there men sought the solution of the highest problems affecting the human soul, if not by independent thought, at least at the hand of the ancients; here the best books were devoted to the education of youth.

In Italy men were captivated by the beautiful in form, and began to imitate the ancients; they achieved, as we have seen, a national literature. In Germany these studies took a spiritual direction. The renown of Reuchlin and of Erasmus is familiar to every one: if we inquire what constituted the highest merit of the former, it was that he wrote the first Hebrew grammar, a monument of which he hoped equally as the Italian poets, "that it would be more durable than brass." If he was the first thus to make the study of the Old Testament possible, Erasmus applied his industry to the New; he was the first who caused it to be printed in Greek; his paraphrases and annotations wrought an effect that even far exceeded his intention.

While the course now entered on in Italy withdrew men from the Church, or set them in opposition to it, something of a similar kind happened in Germany. There that freedom of thought which can never be wholly suppressed intruded into literature, and here and there assumed the form of decided unbelief. A more profound theology too, sprung from unknown sources, had been discountenanced by the Church, but defied its power to put it down. This now became mixed up with the literary movements in Germany: In this point of view it seems to me worthy of remark, that so early as the year 1513, the Bohemian brethren made advances to Erasmus, whose views and sentiments yet differed widely from theirs†.

And thus the development of the age on both sides of the Alps led to an opposition against the Church. Beyond them this was connected with literature and science, on this side it arose out of spiritual studies and a profounder theology. There it was negative and incredulous; here it was positive and believing; there it utterly abrogated the very basis of the Church, here it re-established it; there it was mocking, satirical, and pliantly submissive to power; here it was full of earnestness and deep indignation, and rose up against the Roman church, turning upon it the boldest attack it ever sustained. It has been regarded as a for-

titious circumstance, that this was directed in the first instance upon the abuses practised in the matter of indulgences. But as the conversion into an outward thing of that which was most essentially a concern of the inward man, (a principle involved in the doctrine of indulgences) was a most crying exemplification of that fatal vice on the whole system, the worldliness that had seized upon the Church, it was of all things the most diametrically opposite to the conceptions drawn from the profounder German theology. To a man like Luther, with a deep and lively sense of religion, filled with the notions of sin and justification, as they had been expressed in the books of German theology before his time, strengthened therein through the Scriptures, which he imbibed with a thirsting heart, nothing in the world could be so shocking and repulsive as the system of indulgences. The notion of a pardon for sin to be had for money must needs have been most deeply offensive to him whose conclusions on this very point had been built on considerations of the eternal relations between God and man, and who had learned to interpret Scripture for himself.

He did by all means set himself to oppose the abuse; but soon the weak-grounded and prejudiced opposition he encountered led him step by step further: he was not long blind to the connexion between that monstrous abuse and the general corruption of the church. His was not a nature to quail before any extremity: he grappled with unhesitating boldness with the very head of the church. Out of the midst of the most devoted dependents and champions of the papacy, the mendicant monks, arose the boldest and most vigorous opponent it had ever encountered. Forasmuch as Luther held up its own proper principles, in their fullest precision and clearness, in the face of a power that had so widely lapsed therefrom, forasmuch as he proclaimed that which had already become a general conviction, forasmuch as his opposition, which had not yet developed the whole system of its positive principles, was welcome to the rejectors of the faith, and yet because it did actually involve those principles, was satisfactory to the serious feelings of believers, it followed that his writings wrought an incalculable effect: in a moment they filled Germany and the world.

### CHAPTER III.

#### POLITICAL COMPLICATIONS. CONNEXION BETWEEN THEM AND THE REFORMATION.

THUS simultaneously with the secular aspirations of the papacy had arisen a twofold movement; the one was religious; a revolt was already begun, of which it was foreseen that it contained an immense futurity within it; the other political—the antagonizing elements were in the most vehement fermentation, and tending rapidly to new combinations. Both these movements, their reciprocal action, and the opposing currents they engendered, thenceforth for many centuries shaped the history of the papacy.

*pareva fosse galantuomo e buon cortegiano colui che de' dogmi della chiesa non aveva qualche opinione erronea ed eretica.*

\* Meiners has the merit of having first brought to light this genealogy from the *Daventria Illustrata* of Revius. Biographies of celebrated men of the times of the revival of letters, ii. 308.

† Füsslin; *Kirchen- und Ketzergeschichte*, ii. 82.



Would that never prince or state might imagine that any good may befall them which they owe not to themselves, which they shall not have won by their own native strength!

Whilst the Italian powers sought the one to overcome the others with the aid of foreign nations, they destroyed with their own hands the independence they had enjoyed during the fifteenth century, and exposed their country to be the common battle prize for the rest of Europe. A great share in this result must be imputed to the popes. They had now assuredly acquired a might, such as had never before been possessed by the Roman see; but they had not acquired it of themselves: they owed it to Frenchmen, Spaniards, Germans, and Swiss. But for his league with Louis XII., Cesar Borgia would hardly have accomplished much. Enlarged as were the views of Julius II., heroic as were his achievements, he must have succumbed but for the aid of the Spaniards and the Swiss. How could it be, but that they who had fought out the victory should seek to enjoy the preponderance that thence accrued to them? Julius II. saw this clearly. His purpose was to maintain a certain balance among the other powers, and to make use only of the least potent among them, the Swiss, whom he might hope to lead.

But it proved otherwise. Two great powers grew up, and contended with each other, if not for universal dominion, at least for the supremacy in Europe, powers so mighty that a pope was far from being able to match them; and they fought out their quarrel on Italian ground.

First came the French. Not long after Leo's accession they appeared in greater force than they had ever before crossed the Alps, to reconquer Milan; at their head Francis I., in the ardour of youth and chivalry. Everything hung on the question whether or not the Swiss would be able to resist them. The battle of Marignano was therefore so important, because the Swiss were wholly routed, and because they never since that defeat have exercised an independent influence in Italy.

The battle had remained undecided the first day, and already bonfires had been lighted in Rome upon intelligence of a victory won by the Swiss. The earliest tidings of the second day's result, and of the real issue of the fight, were received by the envoy of the Venetians, who were in alliance with the king, and who themselves contributed in no small degree to the event. He hastened at the earliest hour to the Vatican to impart the news to the pope: the latter came out but partly dressed to give him audience. "Your holiness," said the envoy, "gave me bad tidings last night, and false ones too: to-day I bring your holiness in return good news, and true: the Swiss are beaten." He read him the letter he had received, written by men known to the pope, and putting the matter beyond the possibility of doubt\*. The pope did not disguise his deep dismay. "Then what will become of us, what will become even of you?" "We hope the best for both." "Sir envoy," re-

plied the pope, "we must throw ourselves into the king's arms, and cry him mercy\*."

In fact the French through this victory acquired the decided preponderance in Italy. Had they followed it up with resolution, neither Tuscany nor the States of the Church, both so easily moved to rebellion, would have been able to offer much resistance, and the Spaniards would have found it difficult to maintain themselves in Naples. "The king," says Francis Vettori unconditionally, "might have become lord of Italy." How much rested at that moment upon Leo!

Lorenzo Medici said of his three sons, Julian, Peter, and John, that the first was good, the second a fool, the third prudent. This third was pope Leo X.: he now showed himself competent to encounter the difficult position into which he had fallen.

Against the advice of his cardinals he betook himself to Bologna, to have speech with the king†. Here they concluded the concordat, in which they shared between them the rights of the Gallican church. Leo was forced to give up Parma and Piacenza; but for the rest he succeeded in conjuring the storm, inducing the king to turn his steps homewards, and himself remaining secure in the possession of his dominions.

What a stroke of fortune for him this was, is apparent from the immediate effects of the mere approach of the French. It is highly deserving of remark that Leo, after his allies had been defeated and he had been forced to yield up a portion of his territory, was able to keep hold on two provinces but just won, accustomed to independence, and full of all the elements of insurrection.

A constant theme for censure has been his attack on Urbino, a princely house that had afforded refuge and sustenance to his own family in their season of exile. The cause was this: the duke of Urbino had accepted the pope's pay, and had deserted him in the moment of crisis. Leo said, "if he did not visit him with punishment for this, there would be no baron in the states of the church so feeble as not to resist him. He had received the pontificate in credit, and would so maintain it‡." But as the duke received support, at least in secret, from the French, as he had allies in the state and even in the college of cardinals, the conflict was yet of a hazardous nature. The warlike prince was not easily to be expelled from his possessions: the pope was seen at times to tremble at the receipt of unfavourable news, and to be reduced to extreme perplexity. It is said a plot was formed to poison

\* Domine orator, vedremo quel fara il re Christo. se metteremo in le so man dimandando misericordia. Lui orator disse: Pater sante, vostra santita non avrà mal alcuno.

† Zorzi. "Questo papa è savio e pratico di stato, e si pensò con li suoi consultori di venir abocharsi a Bologna con vergogna di la sede (ap.): molti cardinali, tra i qual il cardinal Hadriano, lo disconsegava: pur vi volse andar." [This pope is learned and practised in matters of state, and he consulted with his advisers about going to have speech at Bologna to the degradation of the (apostolic) see. Many cardinals, among them cardinal Hadrian, dissuaded him, but he would go there.]

‡ Franc. Vettori (Sommario della storia d' Italia) a very intimate friend of the Medici, gives this explanation. The defender of Francesco Maria, Giov. Batt. Leoni (Vita di Francesco Maria), relates facts that tend very much to the same purport, p. 166, et seq.

\* Summario de la relatione di Zorzi. E cussi desmissiato venne fuori non compito di vestir. L' orator disse: Pater sante eri vna santa. mi dette una cattiva nuova e falsa, io le dirò ozi una bona e vera, zoe Sguizari è rotti. The letters were from Pasqualigo, Dandolo, and others.

him, in the course of treatment for a malady under which he laboured\*. The pope succeeded in mastering this foe, but it is manifest how much pains the conquest cost him. The defeat of his party by the French affected him in his very capital, nay in his own palace.

Meanwhile, the second great power had become consolidated. Strange as it appeared that one and the same monarch should rule in Vienna, Brussels, Valladolid, Saragossa, and Naples, and besides all these in a new continent too, this had been brought about by an easy and scarcely noticed interlacement of family interests. This elevation of the house of Austria, which linked together so many different nations, was one of the greatest and most pregnant changes that Europe had ever witnessed. At the moment when the nations parted from their old centre, they were thrown, through their political circumstances, into a new system of combinations. The power of Austria forthwith set itself against the preponderant influence of France. Charles V. acquired through the imperial dignity a legitimate claim to paramount rank, at least in Lombardy. War arose without much delay out of these Italian circumstances.

The popes, as we have said, had hoped to attain to complete independence through the enlargement of their dominions. They now saw themselves hemmed in between two far superior powers. A pope was not so insignificant that he could remain neutral in a strife between them; nor, on the other hand, was he strong enough to give a preponderance to the scale into which he cast his force: he could only look for safety to the dexterous use he made of events. Leo is reputed to have said, that when one had concluded terms with either party, he must not omit to treat with the other†. So double-tongued a policy was the forced result of the position in which he was placed.

Leo nevertheless could hardly entertain any serious doubt as to which party it was his interest to adopt. Even had it not been of infinite importance to him to recover Parma and Piacenza; had the promise of Charles V. so greatly in his favour, to seat an Italian sovereign in Milan, been insufficient to determine him; there was yet, it appears to me, a still more decisive motive to fix his choice. This was derived from religious considerations.

Throughout the whole period we are contemplating, there was nothing princes had so much at heart, in all their involved dealings with the Roman see, as to elicit a spiritual opposition against it. Charles VIII. of France had no more trusty support against Alexander VI. than the Dominican Geronimo Savonarola of Florence. When Louis XII. had abandoned all hope of reconciliation with pope Julius II., he summoned a council to meet at Pisa; ineffectual as was the attempt, it appeared to Rome a matter of the utmost peril. But when had a bolder or a more prosperous foe than Luther ever stood up against the pope? His mere appearance, his existence, gave him a weighty political importance. In this light Maximilian viewed the

matter: he would not have suffered any violence to befall the monk; he recommended him to the special protection of the elector of Saxony: "there might some time or other be need of him." From that time forth Luther's influence increased day by day. The pope had failed in all his attempts to silence him either by persuasion or terror, or to get him into his hands. Let it not be supposed that Leo was deceived as to the magnitude of the danger: how often did he urge the able men with whom he was surrounded in Rome, to engage in that contest. But there was yet another means left. As he should have had reason, had he declared against the emperor, to fear seeing so dangerous an opposition protected and encouraged, so he might hope, if he allied himself with that potentate, to put down the religious revolution with his assistance.

The diet of Worms, in the year 1521, took the state of political and ecclesiastical affairs into consideration. Leo concluded a league with Charles V. for the reconquest of Milan. The very same day on which this alliance was made has been assigned as the date of the edict published respecting Luther. Other motives may indeed have co-operated towards the promulgation of that document, but no one will endeavour to persuade himself that it was not most intimately connected with the political treaty.

And not long was it ere the double effects of this alliance were manifested.

Luther was imprisoned and kept concealed in the Wartburg\*. The Italians at once refused to believe that Charles had let him go from a conscientious unwillingness to violate the safe-conduct granted him. "Since he perceived," said they, "that the pope was alarmed at Luther's doctrine, he designed to keep him in check by means of it†." However that may be, Luther did actually disappear for a moment from the scene of the world; he was in a certain degree out of the pale of the law, and the pope had in any case effected the adoption of decisive measures against him.

Meanwhile the combined forces of the pope and the emperor had been prosperous in Italy. One of the pope's nearest relations, cardinal Giulio Medici, the son of his father's brother, was himself in the field, and entered Milan with the victorious army. It was asserted in Rome that the pope had it in contemplation to bestow that dukedom upon him. But I find no direct proof of this, and it is very unlikely the emperor would have easily given his consent. But even without this, the advantage gained was not easily to be calculated. Parma and Piacenza were retaken; the French removed, the pope would inevitably possess a great influence over the new sovereign of Milan.

It was one of the most important of moments. A new political development was begun; a great movement in the church had arisen. It was a moment in which the pope might have flattered

\* Foa, in his *Notizie intorno Raffaele*, p. 35, has communicated from the acts of the consistory the sentence against the three cardinals, which expressly refers to their understanding with Francesco Maria.

† Suriano, *Relazione del 1533*. Dicesi del papa Leone che quando l'aveva fatto lega con alcuno prima, soleva dir che per non si dovea restar de tratar cum lo altro principe opposto.

\* Luther was supposed to be dead: it was reported that he had been murdered by the papal party. Pallavicini (*Istoria del Concilio di Trento*, l. c. 28) infers from Alexander's letters, that the nuncios were in danger of their lives on that account.

† Vettori: Carlo si excusò di non poter procedere più oltre rispetto al salvacondotto, ma la verità fu che considerando che il papa temeva molto di questa dottrina di Lutero, lo volle tenere con questo freno.

himself with the hope of leading the former, and with the assurance that he had stayed the latter. He was still young enough to indulge the anticipation of turning the auspicious moment to full account.

Strange delusive lot of man! Leo was in his villa Malliana when the news was brought him of the entrance of his own party into Milan. He abandoned himself to the feeling naturally occasioned by a happily completed enterprise. He looked on with glee upon the rejoicings celebrated by his people out of doors; moved to and fro till a late hour in the night between the window and the fire on the hearth—the month was November\*. Somewhat exhausted, but in the utmost delight, he reached Rome; and there the festivities for the victory were not yet quite ended, when he was seized with a mortal sickness. "Pray for me," he said to his servants, "that I may yet make you all happy." He loved life, we see, but his hour was come. He had not time to receive the eucharist and extreme unction. So suddenly, so prematurely, in the midst of such great hopes did he die, "as the poppy fades †."

The Roman people could not forgive him that he had departed without the sacraments, that he had expended so much money and yet left abundant debts behind. They followed his corpse with jeers. "You sneaked in like a fox," they said, "ruled like a lion, and have gone off like a dog ‡." After times, on the other hand, have designated a century and a great epoch in the progress of mankind by his name.

We have called him a favourite of fortune. After he had overcome the first mischance, which affected not himself so much as other members of his house, his lot carried him forward from enjoyment to enjoyment, from success to success. Even disappointments themselves seemed constrained to promote his prosperity. His life passed away in a sort of intellectual intoxication, in the continual fulfilment of all his wishes. To this end too his personal qualities contributed, his good-nature and liberality, his activity of imagination, and his abundant readiness to acknowledge desert.

These qualities themselves are the fairest boons of nature, fortune-gifts, which fall but seldom to the lot of men, and which yet are essential to all the enjoyments of life. Business but little dis-

turbed his pleasures. As he did not trouble himself about details, and looked only to leading matters, they were not oppressive to him, and exercised only the nobler faculties of his mind. For the very reason that he did not devote every day and hour to them, it would seem that he could deal with them upon large and unrestricted views, and that in all the entanglements of the moment he had constantly before his eyes the leading idea, the clue to all the mazes of the labyrinth. All the grander impulses bestowed on affairs were his own work. In his last moments all the purposes of his policy met together in cheering prosperity. We may even regard it as a good fortune that he then died. Times of another complexion followed, and it is hard to imagine that he could have successfully made head against their unpropitious nature. His successors had to endure their whole burthen.

The conclave lasted very long. "My lords," as last said Cardinal Medici, whom the return of his house's foes to Urbino and Perugia filled with alarm, so that he feared even for Florence: "My lords, I see that none of us here assembled can become pope. I have proposed three or four to you, but you have rejected them: on the other hand, I cannot accept those whom you put forward. We must look about for some one else not present." The suggestion was approved of, and he was asked whom he had in view. "Take," he answered, "cardinal Tortosa, a venerable and aged man, who is universally regarded as a saint \*." This was Adrian of Utrecht †, formerly professor in Louvain, the tutor of Charles V., through whose personal regard he had been raised to the rank of a governor of Spain, and to the dignity of cardinal. Cardinal Cajetan, who yet did not belong to the Medici party, rose to speak in praise of the proposed candidate. Who could have believed that the cardinals, ever accustomed to consult their personal interests in the election of a pope, should have pitched upon an absent Netherlander, whom very few of them knew, and with whom not one of them could stipulate for any private advantage? They suffered themselves to be surprised into this determination; and when the thing was done they scarce knew how it had come about. They were half dead with terror, says one of our informants. It is asserted they had persuaded themselves for a moment that the object of their choice would not accept the appointment. Pasquin derided them, representing the pope elect in the character of a school-master, and the cardinals as schoolboys whom he was chastising.

On a worthier man, however, the choice had not

\* Copia di una lettera di Roma alli Sgr. Bolognesi a dì 3 Debr. 1521, scritta per Bartholomeo Argilelli, in the 32d vol. of Sanuto. The intelligence was conveyed to the pope Nov. 24, during the Benedicite. He took this also for a particularly good omen; and said, Questa e una buona nuova che havete portato. The Swiss began immediately to fire *feux de joie*. The pope sent to beg they would desist, but in vain.

† People spoke immediately of poison. Lettera di Hieronymo Bon a suo barba a dì 5 Dec., in Sanuto. Non si sa certo se'l pontefice sia morto di veneno. Fo aperto. Maestro Fernando Judica sia stato venenato: alcuno de li altri no: e di questa opinione Mastro Severino, che lo vide aprire, dice che non è venenato. [It is not known for certain whether or not the pope died of poison. He was opened. Master Fernando judged that he was poisoned: some of the others said no; and of this opinion was Master Severino, who saw him opened, and said he was not poisoned.]

‡ Capitoli di una lettera scritta a Roma, 21 Dec. 1524. "Concludete che non è morto mai papa cum peggior fama dapoi è la chiesa d' Dio." [I judge that never died a pope in worse repute since the existence of God's church.]

\* Lettera di Roma a dì 19 Zener. in Sanuto. Medici, dubitando de li casi suoi, se la cosa fosse troppo ita in lungo, deliberò mettere conclusione, et havendo in animo questo etc. Dertusense per esser imperialissimo—disse: etc. [Medici being dubious as to his own affairs, if the matter was too long protracted, and having in his eye that cardinal Tortosa as one strongly attached to the emperor—said, &c.]

† So he calls himself in a letter of 1514, to be found in Caspar Burmannus: Adrianus VI. sive analecta historica de Adriano VI. p. 243. In original documents of his native country he is called Meyster Aryān Florisse van Utrecht. Modern writers have sometimes given him the name of Boyens, because his father signed himself Floris Boyens; but that means only Bodewin's son, and is not a family name. See Burmann in the notes to Moringi Vita Adriani, p. 2.

for a long time fallen. Adrian was a man of thoroughly unblemished reputation, upright, pious, active, very serious, so that no more than a faint smile was ever seen upon his lips, but full of benevolent and pure intentions; a genuine clergyman\*. What a contrast when he now entered the city where Leo had kept his court with such lavish splendour! There is a letter of his extant, in which he says, he would rather serve God in his priory in Louvain than be pope †. Indeed, he continued in the Vatican the life he had led as professor. It was characteristic of him, and we may be permitted to relate it, that he had even brought with him the old woman his attendant, who continued to provide for his domestic wants as before. He made no alteration either in his personal habits: he rose with the dawn, read his mass, and then proceeded in the usual order to his business and his studies, which he interrupted only with the most frugal dinner. It cannot be said of him that he was a stranger to the general culture and acquirements of his age; he loved Flemish art, and prized the learning that was adorned with a tinge of elegance. Erasmus testifies that he was especially protected by him from the attacks of the bigots of the schools‡. But he disapproved of the almost heathenish tendency to which they gave themselves up in Rome at that day, and he would not so much as hear of the sect of the poets. No one could more earnestly desire than Adrian VI. (he retained his original name) to heal the diseased condition in which he found Christendom.

The progress of the Turkish arms and the fall of Rhodes and Belgrade were further special motives prompting his thoughts towards re-establishing of peace among the Christian powers. Although he had been the emperor's instructor, he forthwith assumed a neutral position: the imperial ambassador, who hoped on the new outbreak of war to move him to a decided declaration in favour of his pupil, was obliged to leave Rome without accomplishing his purpose §. When the news of the conquest of

Rhodes was read to the pope, he looked down to the ground, said not a word, but sighed deeply\*. The danger of Hungary was palpable. He feared even for Italy and for Rome. His whole endeavour was to bring about, if not a peace, at least a truce for three years, in order to a general campaign in the meantime against the Turks.

He was not less resolved to meet the demands of the Germans. With regard to the abuses that had made their way into the church, no one could express himself more strongly than did he. "We know," he says in the instructions for the Nuncio Chiericato, whom he sent to the diet, "that for a considerable time many abominable things have found a place near the holy chair, abuses in spiritual things, exorbitant straining of prerogatives, everything turned to evil. The disease has spread from the head to the limbs, from the pope to the prelates: we are all gone astray, there is none that has done rightly, no not one." He now promised on the contrary all that became a good pope; to promote the virtuous and the learned, to suppress abuses, gradually at least, if not at once; and he held out a hope of reformation both in the head and the members, such as had often been eagerly desired†.

But to reform the world is not so easy a task. The good intentions of an individual, however high his station, reach but a little way towards such a consummation. Abuses for the most part strike root too deeply; they grow up entwined with the very growth of the body they encumber.

The fall of Rhodes was far from inducing the French to make peace: on the contrary, perceiving that the loss would give the emperor fresh occupation, they concerted the more vigorous measures against him. They formed connexions in Sicily, not without the privy of the cardinal who was most in Adrian's confidence, and they made an attempt upon that island. The pope found himself constrained at last to enter into a league on his own part with the emperor, which was virtually directed against France.

The Germans too were no longer to be conciliated by what would once have been considered a reformation of head and members; and then how difficult, how almost impracticable would such reform have been!

Had the pope thought to suppress those dues accruing to the curia, in which he perceived a colour of simony, he could not have done so without violence to the legitimate rights of those whose offices were founded thereon, offices which in most instances they had purchased.

Did he contemplate a change in the system of marriage dispensations, and some relaxation in the existing prohibitions? it was represented to him that such a course would infringe upon and weaken the discipline of the church.

To check the monstrous abuse of indulgences he would gladly have revived the old penances: but the Penitenziaria set before him the risk he would

\* *Litteræ ex Victoriali directivæ ad Cardinalem de Flisco*, in the 33rd vol. of Sanuto, describe him thus. "Vir est sui tenax; in concedendo parcissimus; in recipiendo nullus aut rarissimus. In sacrificio cotidianus et matutinus est. Quem amet aut si quem amet nulli exploratum. Ira non agitur, joci non ducitur. Neque ob pontificatum visus est exultasse: quin constat graviter illum ad ejus famam nuntii ingemuisse. [He is a man tenacious of his own, very chary in conceding, and never or very rarely accepting. He is punctual in the daily and early performance of mass. Whom he loves, or whether he loves any one, is known to none. He is not to be driven by anger nor to be led by mirthful sallies. Nor did he seem to exult at obtaining the pontificate; on the contrary, it is known that he was afflicted with grief on hearing the intelligence.] In Burmann's collection there is an Itinerarium Adriani by Ortiz, who accompanied the pope and knew him intimately. He asserts, p. 223, that he never observed anything in him deserving of censure, that he was a mirror of every virtue.

† Florence Oem Wyngaerden: Vittoria, 15 Feb. 1522, in Burmann, p. 398.

‡ Erasmus says of him, in one of his letters: "Licet scholasticis disciplinis faveret, satis tamen æquus in bonas litteras." [Although he favoured scholastic pursuits, he was nevertheless well enough disposed towards polite learning.] Jovius relates with satisfaction, how much the fame of a scriptor annalium valde elegans availed him with Adrian, especially as he was no poet.

§ Gradenigo, in his Relatione, names the viceroy of Naples.

Girolamo Negro, some highly interesting letters from whom respecting this period we find in the *Lettere di principi*, t. i. says, p. 109, of John Manuel: "Se parti mezo disperato."

\* Negro, from the narration of the Venetian Secretary, p. 110.

† Instructio pro te Francisco Chiericato, &c. &c., to be found in Rainaldus, tom. xi. p. 363, and elsewhere.

then run of losing Italy, while he sought to retain Germany\*.

In short, at every step he saw himself surrounded by a thousand difficulties.

Add to this, that he found himself at Rome in a strange element, which he could not rule, inasmuch as he was not familiar with it, and did not understand its constitution or its inherent forces. He had been joyfully welcomed: it passed from mouth to mouth that he had somewhere about 5000 vacant benefices to bestow, and every one's hopes were on the alert. But never did pope show himself more chary and reserved on this particular. Adrian would know who it was for whom he provided, to whom he committed ecclesiastical posts: he set to work with scrupulous conscientiousness†, and disappointed innumerable expectations. The first decree of his pontificate suppressed the reversionary rights formerly annexed to ecclesiastical dignities: he even recalled those which had been already conceded. It could not be but that the publication of this decree in Rome should stir up feelings of the bitterest animosity against him in abundance. Hitherto a certain freedom of speech and of writing had been enjoyed at court: this he would no longer permit. The impoverished state of the exchequer, and the increasing demands upon it, obliged him to impose some new taxes, and this was looked on as intolerable on the part of one who expended so little. Dissatisfaction generally prevailed‡. He was well aware of this: it had its effect upon him. He trusted the Italians still less than before: the two Netherlanders to whom he confided authority, Enkefort and Hezius, the former his datary, the latter his secretary, were not masters of business or of courtly affairs. He himself found it impossible to direct them; besides, he was bent on still pursuing his studies, not reading only but even writing. He was not very accessible; business was procrastinated, tediously prolonged, and unskillfully handled.

Thus it was that in circumstances of greatest general moment nothing effectual was done. War was renewed in Upper Italy. In Germany, Luther was again at work. In Rome, which was besides afflicted with the plague, discontent was universal.

Adrian once said: "How much it imports on what times is cast even the best of men!" The whole feeling of his position is embodied in this painful exclamation: fitly has it been engraved on his monument in the German church at Rome.

At least it is not ascribable exclusively to Adrian's personal character if his times were barren of result. The papacy was enveloped in the march of mighty necessities swaying the destinies of the world, necessities that would have infinitely ex-

ceeded the powers of men the most practised in statesmanship, and the most fertile in expedients.

Among all the cardinals there was none who seemed more peculiarly fitted to wield the papacy, more equal to sustain the burthen of that station, than Giulio de' Medici. He had already under Leo the chief share in public business, and had held the whole of its details in his hands; even under Adrian too he had retained a certain degree of power\*. He did not let the highest dignity a second time escape him. He took the name of Clement VII.

The new pope avoided with great caution the evils that had made themselves felt under his two immediate predecessors, Leo's instability, profuseness, and objectionable habits, and Adrian's discordancy with the temperament of his court. Every thing under him was controlled by sound discretion; at least in himself nothing was apparent but blameless rectitude and moderation†. The pontifical ceremonies were carefully observed, he gave audience with unwearied assiduity from an early hour till evening, and promoted the arts and sciences in the course they had once for all assumed. Clement VII. was himself very well informed. He could converse with equal knowledge of his subject, whether the topic related to mechanics and hydraulic architecture, or to philosophy and theology. In everything he manifested extraordinary acuteness; his sagacity penetrated the most difficult circumstances, and saw through them to the very bottom: never was man heard to debate with greater skill. In Leo's time he had proved himself unsurpassed for prudence in counsel and circumspect ability in practice.

But the storm is the test of the pilot's powers. Clement received the popedom, if we consider it only in the light of an Italian sovereignty, in a most critical condition.

The Spaniards had contributed the most to enlarge and uphold the states of the church; they had established the Medici in Florence. Thus leagued with the popes, their own advancement in Italy had accompanied that of the Medici. Alexander VI. had opened Lower Italy to them; Julius had given them access to the middle regions; and through their combination with Leo, in the attack on Milan, they had become masters in Upper Italy. In this course of events, Clement had personally afforded them manifold assistance. There is extant an instruction of his to his ambassadors at the Spanish court, in which he enumerates the services he had rendered to Charles V. and his house. He it was above all who had brought it about that Francis I. in his first expedition did not push on to Naples: to his instrumentality it had been owing that Leo offered no impediment to the election of Charles V. to the imperial dignity, and repealed

\* In the first book of the *Historia de Concilio Tridentino*, by P. Sarpi, ed. of 1629, p. 23, there is a good exposition of the state of things extracted from a diary of Chiericato.

† *Ortiz Itinerarium*, c. xxviii., c. xxix., particularly worthy of credit, as he says, "cum provisiones et alia hujusmodi testis oculatus inspexerim." [I personally looked into appointments and other things of that kind.]

‡ *Lettere di Negro*. Capitolo del Berni.

E quando un segue il libero costume

Di sfogarsi scrivendo e di cantare,

Lo minaccia di far buttare in fiume.

[And when any one indulges in the liberal custom of venting his feelings in writing or in song, they threaten to pitch him into the river.]

\* The *Relatione di Marco Foscarelli*, 1526, says of him in reference to those times: "Stava con grandissima reputazione e governava il papato e havia piu zente alla sua audientia che il papa. [He enjoyed the highest reputation, and had the government of the papacy: his audiences were more numerous attended than those of the pope.]

† Vettori says that so good a man had not been pope for the last hundred years: non superbo, non simoniaco, non avaro, non libidinoso, sobrio nel victo, parco nel vestire, religioso, devoto. [Not proud, not simoniacal, not avaricious, not lustful, temperate in diet, frugal in apparel, religious and devout.]

the old constitution, by which it was enacted that no king of Naples should be emperor at the same time. In spite of all the promises of the French, he had aided towards the conclusion of the alliance between Leo and Charles for the reconquest of Milan, and to promote that enterprise he had spared neither the means of his country and his friends, nor his own person; he had procured the popedom for Adrian, and when he did so it seemed almost the same thing whether Adrian or the emperor himself was made pope\*. I will not inquire how much of Leo's policy is ascribable to the counsellor, and how much to the sovereign; certain it is that Cardinal Medici was always on the emperor's side. After he had become pope too he aided the imperial troops with money, provisions, and grants of ecclesiastical revenues; once again they were partially indebted for victory to his support.

Thus closely was Clement leagued with the Spaniards; but, as not unfrequently occurs, prodigious evils ensued from this alliance.

The popes had occasioned the growth of the Spanish power, but this had never been their direct purpose. They had wrested Milan from the French; but they had not entertained a desire to transfer it to the Spaniards. On the contrary, more than one war had been carried on to prevent the possession of Naples and Milan by one and the same power†. That now the Spaniards, so long masters in Lower Italy, were daily obtaining firmer footing in Lombardy, and that they delayed the investiture of Sforza, was regarded in Rome with impatience and displeasure.

Clement was also personally dissatisfied. We see from the instructions before cited, that already as cardinal he had often thought himself treated with less consideration than was due to his deserts: he still continued to meet with little deference, and the expedition against Marsilles was undertaken in 1524, in direct opposition to his advice. His ministers—so say themselves—perpetually looked for still grosser marks of disrespect towards the apostolic see. They recognized in the Spaniards nothing but imperiousness and insolence‡.

How straitly did Clement seem knit, through the course of events and his personal position, in the bonds of necessity and inclination with the Spaniards! But now a thousand reasons presented themselves to make him execrate the power he had helped to found, to oppose the very cause he had hitherto favoured and furthered.

Of all political efforts, the hardest perhaps is to abandon the course in which one has hitherto moved, to undo the results he has himself elicited.

And how much depended now on such an effort! The Italians felt thoroughly that upon the issue depended the decision of their fate for centuries.

A great community of feeling had sprung up in the nation. I am firmly persuaded that this owed its origin to the literary and artistic progress of Italy, in which it left all other nations so far behind! The haughtiness too and the rapacity of the Spaniards, both officers and privates, seemed absolutely intolerable. It was with a mixture of contempt and rage that the Italians beheld those foreign half-barbarous masters in their country. Things were moreover at such a pass, that these intruders might possibly be got rid of. But the fact was not to be disguised, that if the attempt were not made with all the nation's might, if the enterprise should prove unsuccessful, all was lost for ever.

I could wish it were in my power fully to develop the history of this period, to set forth in detail the whole struggle of the roused powers of Italy. Here, however, we can only mark some leading points.

The first step taken, and it seemed extremely well devised, was an attempt made in the year 1525 to gain over the emperor's best general, who was decidedly very much dissatisfied. What more would be wanted if, as was hoped, the emperor should lose with his general the army too by means of which he ruled Italy? Promises were not spared; the offer even of a crown was held out. But how erroneous was the calculation! How wholly was their self-complacent cunning shivered upon the stubborn material on which it made essay! Pescara, the general in question, was born indeed in Italy, but of Spanish blood; he spoke nothing but Spanish, would be nothing but a Spaniard, and had no tincture of Italian art or literature: his mental character had been fashioned by the Spanish romances, which breathe only the spirit of loyalty and fidelity. He was by nature opposed to a national Italian enterprise\*. No sooner had overtures been made to him than he communicated them to his comrades, and to the emperor: he made no other use of them than to extract their secrets from the Italians, and to frustrate all their plans.

But these very proceedings rendered a decisive contest with the emperor unavoidable; for how was it henceforth possible that any remains of mutual confidence should subsist between the parties?

In the summer of 1526, we see the Italians at last going to work with their own strength. The Milanese are already in the field against the Imperialists. A Venetian and a papal army advance to their support. Swiss aid is promised, and the alliance of France and of England has been secured. "This time," said Giberto, the most confidential minister of Clement VII., "the matter concerns not a petty revenge, a point of honour, or a single town. This war decides the liberation or

\* *Istruzione al Card. reverendissimo di Farnese, che fu poi Paulo III., quando andò legato all' Imperatore Carlo V., deppe il sacco di Roma. (Appendix, No. XV.)*

† It is expressly stated in the before-mentioned instruction, that the pope had shown himself ready to acquiesce even in what was disagreeable to him, purché lo stato di Milano restasse al duca, al quale effetto si erano fatte tutte le guerre d'Italia. [In order that the state of Milan might remain in the duke's possession, a thing which had been the object of all the wars of Italy.]

‡ M. Giberto datario a Don Michele di Silva. *Lettere di Principi*, I. 197 b.

\* Vettori sums up his character in the most opprobrious manner. Era superbo oltre modo, invidioso, ingrato, avaro, venenoso e crudele, senza religione, senza umanità, nato proprio per distruggere l'Italia. [He was haughty beyond measure, envious, ungrateful, covetous, virulent and cruel, without religion, without humanity, born expressly for the destruction of Italy.] Morone, too, said once to Guicciardini, there was no more faithless, malicious man than Pescara (*Hist. d'Italia*, XVI., 476), and yet he made him the offer. I do not cite these judgments as though they were true; only they show that Pescara had evinced nothing but enmity and hatred towards the Italians.

the perpetual thralldom of Italy." He expresses no doubt of a successful issue. "Posterity will envy us that their lot had not been cast on our days, that they might have witnessed so high fortune and have had their part in it." He hopes there will be no need of foreign aid. "Ours alone will be the glory, and so much the sweeter the fruit \*."

With these thoughts and hopes Clement entered on his war against the Spaniards †. It was his boldest and loftiest conception, his most unfortunate and fatal.

The affairs of the State and of the Church are most intimately interwoven. The pope seemed to have left the commotions of Germany wholly out of consideration, and from these originated the first reaction.

At the moment when the troops of Clement VII. advanced into Upper Italy, in July 1526, the diet had assembled at Spires to come to a definitive resolution with regard to the dissensions in the church. That the imperial party, that Ferdinand of Austria who represented the emperor, and who himself had designs upon Milan, should have been very eager to uphold the power of the pope on this side the Alps, at the very time when beyond them they were attacked by him with the utmost determination, would have been contrary to the nature of things. Whatever intentions might have been entertained or announced before ‡, the state of open war between the pope and the emperor put an end to all considerations in favour of the former. Never had the towns spoken out more freely than on this occasion; never had the princes pressed more urgently for a removal of their burthens. The proposal was made that the books containing the new statutes should be forthwith burned without reserve, and that the holy Scriptures should be taken as the sole rule of faith. Although some opposition arose, yet never was a resolution adopted with more firmness. Ferdinand signed a decree of the diet, by virtue of which it was left open to the states so to comport themselves in matters of religion, as each might think to answer to God and the emperor, that is, to act according to their own judgment; a resolution in which not a thought was bestowed on the pope, and which may be regarded as the beginning of the actual reformation, and of the establishment of a new church in Germany. In Saxony, Hesse, and the neighbouring countries, measures in accordance with this resolution were taken without further delay. The legal existence of the protestant party in the empire rests essentially on the decree of Spires, of the year 1526.

We may assert that this state of public feeling in Germany was decisive for Italy likewise.

Zeal for their vast undertaking was far from being universal among the Italians, nor was there anything like perfect unity among those who actually took part in it. The pope, able as he was, and

thoroughly Italian in feeling, was yet not of that order of men by whom fate will submit to be mastered. His penetration seemed at times prejudicial to him. He seemed to know more clearly than was expedient, that he was the weaker party; all possible contingencies, every shape of danger, presented themselves to his mind and bewildered him. There is a practical inventiveness that in business instinctively perceives the simple principle, and unerringly seizes on the feasible or the expedient. He possessed it not\*. In the most important moments he was seen to hesitate, waver, and think of economizing money. As his allies now failed to keep their engagements with him, the results anticipated were far from being obtained, and the imperialists still kept their ground in Lombardy, when in Nov. 1526, George Frundsberg crossed the Alps with an imposing army of lansquenets, to bring the contest to an end. Both general and men were full of Lutheran sentiments. They came to revenge the emperor upon the pope. The latter's breach of the alliance had been represented to them as the cause of all the mischief then felt, the protracted wars in Christendom, and the success of the Ottomans, who were at that moment overrunning Hungary. "If I make my way to Rome," said Frundsberg, "I will hang the pope."

Painful is it to witness the storm gathering and rolling onwards from the narrowing horizon. That Rome, so full it may be of vices, but not less full of noble efforts, intellect, and mental accomplishments, creative, adorned with matchless works of art, such as the world had never before produced, a wealth ennobled by the stamp of genius, and of living and imperishable efficacy, that Rome is now threatened with destruction. As the masses of the Imperialists draw together, the Italian troops disperse before them: the only army that yet remains follows them from a distance. The emperor, who had long been unable to pay his army, could not, even if he would, give it any other direction. It marches under the imperial banner, but follows its own stormy impulses. The pope still hopes, negotiates, concedes, concludes: but he either will not or cannot lay hold on the only means that can save him, namely, contenting the army with the money it thinks it may demand. Well, then, shall at least a resolute stand be made against the enemy with the weapons that are at command? Four thousand men were sufficient to close the passes of Tuscany; yet the attempt is not once made. Rome numbered perhaps thirty thousand inhabitants capable of bearing arms; many of them had seen service; they went about with swords by their sides, fought with each other, and boasted loudly of their deeds. But to resist the enemy, who brought with them certain havoc, never more than five hundred men were mustered out of the city. The pope and his power were vanquished at the first onset. On the 6th May

\* G. M. Giberto al vescovo di Veruli. Lettere di Principi, I. p. 192 a.

† Foscarini too, says, "Quello fa a presente di voler far lega con Francia, fa per ben suo e d'Italia, non perchè ama Franciosi." [His present desire to ally himself with France is directed to his own good and that of Italy, and is not prompted by any love for the French.]

‡ The instructions of the emperor, which had caused the protestants some alarm, were of the date of March 1526, a period in which the pope was not yet in alliance with France.

\* Suriano, Rel. de 1533, finds in him "core frigidissimo; el quale fa la Beatissima S. esser dotata di non vulgar timidità, non dire pusillanimità: il che però parmi avere trovato comunemente in la natura fiorentina. Questa timidità causa che S. S. è molto irresoluta." [A very cold heart; for which reason his holiness is possessed with no common timidity, not to say cowardice. This, by the by, I think I have commonly noticed among Florentines. This timidity causes his holiness to be very undecided.]



1527, two hours before sunset, the Imperialists burst into Rome. Old Frundsberg was no longer at their head: he had been invalidated and left behind, having been struck with apoplexy on failing to meet with the usual obedience on the occasion of a disturbance among his troops. Bourbon, who had led the army so far, fell upon the first setting up of the storming ladders; and now restrained by no leader, the bloodthirsty soldiery, hardened by long privations, and rendered savage by their trade, burst over the devoted city. Never fell a richer booty into more violent hands, never was plunder longer, more continuous, or more destructive\*. The splendour of Rome fills the beginning of the sixteenth century; it distinguishes a wonderful period in the intellectual development of mankind: that day it came to an end. And thus did the pope, who had sought the liberation of Italy, see himself beleaguered in the castle of St. Angelo, and as it were a prisoner. We may assert, that by this great blow, the preponderance of the Spanish power in Italy was irrevocably established.

A new expedition of the French, which promised much at first, failed completely in the end; they were constrained to give up all their pretensions in Italy.

Not less important was another occurrence. Before Rome was yet captured, when it was merely seen that Bourbon's route lay thither, the enemies of the Medici at Florence had availed themselves of the confusion of the moment, once more to expel the family of the pope. Clement felt almost more acutely the revolt of his native city than the capture of Rome. With amazement men beheld him again connecting himself with the Spaniards after enduring such deep indignities at their hands. His motive was, that he saw in Spanish aid the only means of reinstating his kindred and his party in Florence. It seemed to him better to endure the domination of the emperor than the refractoriness of the rebels. The worse the fortune of the French, the nearer did he draw to the Spaniards. When at last the former were completely defeated, he concluded with the latter the treaty of Barcelona. So wholly did he change his policy, that he now himself made use of the same army that had taken Rome before his eyes, and kept himself so long besieged—that he made use of this, only recruited and improved, to subjugate his native city.

Thenceforth Charles was more powerful in Italy than any emperor for many centuries. The crown which he received at Bologna had once more its full significance. Milan gradually owned allegiance to him no less than Naples: in Tuscany, his restoration of the Medici in Florence procured him

direct influence throughout his life; the remaining powers sided with him or submitted: with the combined strength of Spain and Germany he held all Italy between the Alps and the sea in subjection to his victorious arms, and to the rights of the imperial crown.

Such was the course and result of the Italian war. Since that period foreign nations have not ceased to rule in Italy. Let us now look to the course of religious differences, which were so intimately connected with those of a political kind.

If the pope acquiesced in seeing the Spanish power paramount all around him, he might at least hope through the aid of that mighty emperor, who was pictured to him as catholic and devout, to have his authority re-established in Germany. This had been stipulated by an article in the treaty of Barcelona. The emperor promised with all his might to effect the reduction of the Protestants, and he seemed too resolved on doing so. He returned a very ungracious answer to the Protestant delegates who waited on him in Italy. On his journey into Germany in the year 1530, some members of the curia, particularly cardinal Campeggi, the legate who accompanied him, struck out some bold plans, most perilously threatening to Germany.

There exists a memorial presented by him to the emperor at the time of the diet of Augsburg, in which he sets these forth. I must in deference to the cause of truth, though with extreme reluctance, say a word respecting this document.

Cardinal Campeggi did not content himself with deploring the disorders in religion, but specially pointed out their political consequences; how the nobility had sunk in the cities of the empire through the operation of the Reformation, how neither spiritual nor temporal princes any longer met with due obedience, and how even the majesty of the emperor was no longer regarded. He then suggests the remedy for the evil.

The mystery of his curative system was not very profound. No more, he states, was necessary, than that a compact should be entered into between the emperor and the well-disposed princes, whereupon endeavours should be made to convert the disaffected either by promises or threats. But what if they remained stubborn? It would then be right to extirpate such pestilent weeds with fire and sword\*. The grand thing was, to confiscate their property temporal and spiritual, in Germany as well as in Hungary and Bohemia; for this is lawful and right with regard to heretics. When they should have been thus mastered, holy inquisitors should be appointed to trace out any remnants left of them, and to proceed against them as had been done in Spain against the Moors. Furthermore, the university of Wittenberg should be put under ban, and the students declared unworthy of imperial or papal favour, the books of the heretics should be burned, the monks sent back to the convents they had abandoned, and no heretics tolerated at any court. But above all things, a vigorous

\* Vettori: La uccisione non fu molta, perche rari si uccidono quelli che non si vogliono difendere; ma la preda fu inestimabile in danari contanto, di gioie, d'oro e d'argento lavorato, di vestite, d'arazzi, paramenti di casa, mercantie d'ogni sorte e di taglie. [The slaughter was not great, because few were killed but those who attempted to defend themselves; but the booty was inestimable in specie, jewels, wrought gold and silver, garments, tapestry, household furniture, merchandize of every kind, and ransom.] The pope, he says, was not to be blamed for the misfortune; it was owing to the inhabitants, superb, avari, homicidi, invidiosi, libidinosi e simulatori, [proud, covetous, murderers, envious, lustful and hypocritical] as he calls them. Such a population could not sustain itself.

\* Se alcuni ve ne fossero, che dio non voglia, le quali obstinamente perseverassero in questa diabolica eresia, quella (S. M.) potrà mettere la mano al ferro et al foco et radicitus extirpare questa mala venenosa pianta.



confiscation was necessary. "Even should your majesty deal only with the ringleaders," says the legate, "you may exact from them a large sum of money, which in any case is indispensable for operations against the Turks."

So runs this scheme\* ; these are its main propositions. How every word breathes of oppression, blood, and rapine ! We cannot wonder if the worst was apprehended by the Germans of an emperor who went among them under such escort, and if the Protestants consulted together as to the extent to which they might be warranted in carrying measures of self-defence.

Fortunately, as matters stood, no such proceedings as those suggested by the legate were to be apprehended.

The emperor was far from being strong enough to carry them out. This was convincingly demonstrated at the time by Erasmus.

But even had he possessed the power, his will would hardly have inclined that way.

He was by nature rather kind, considerate, deliberate, and averse to precipitation than otherwise. The more closely he examined these dissensions, the more they touched a chord in his own mind. His very proclamation for a diet announced his desire to hear the different opinions, weigh them, and endeavour to reduce them to the standard of Christian truth. Towards any such violent measures as those above mentioned he was far from disposed.

Even those who systematically doubt the purity of human intentions, cannot apply their opinions here. It would not have been for the interest of Charles to employ violence.

Was he, the emperor, to make himself the executor of the pope's decrees ? Should he subdue for the pope, not merely for the existing one, but for all his successors likewise, those enemies who would give them the most occupation ? The friendly disposition of the Roman see was far from being sufficiently secure to warrant this.

On the contrary, the existing state of things offered him spontaneously and naturally an advantage, which he had but to lay hold on to attain more unconditional superiority than that he yet possessed.

It was generally admitted, whether justly or not I will not inquire, that only an assembly of the Church could be adequate to the settlement of such important differences. Councils had maintained their credit for this very reason, that the popes entertained a natural repugnance to them ; and every act of opposition shown by the latter, had all along exalted their favourable reputation. In the year 1530, Charles applied his thoughts seriously in this direction. He promised a council within a brief specified period.

It had long been the habitual most earnest wish of the princes, in all their entanglements with the papal see, to be backed by some spiritual power. Charles would therefore acquire in a council assembled under these circumstances the most efficient of allies. Called together at his instigation, and held under his influence, the execution of

its decrees would act two ways : they would make themselves felt by the pope equally as by his opponents. The old notion of a reformation in head and members would be realized ; and what a predominance would this give to the temporal authority, above all to the emperor himself !

This course was rational ; it was, if you will, unavoidable ; but it was at the same time for the emperor's best interest.

On the contrary, nothing more grave could befall the pope and his court. I find that on the first serious apprehension of a council, the price of all the vendible offices of the court fell considerably\*. It is evident how much danger was apprehended to the existing state of things.

But in addition to all this, Clement VII. was influenced by personal considerations likewise. That he was not of legitimate birth, that he had not risen to the supreme dignity by perfectly pure means, and that from personal motives he had suffered himself to carry on a costly war with the forces of the Church against his native land, matters all of them which must weigh heavily against a pope, occasioned him well-grounded alarm. Clement, says Soriano, shunned as much as possible the very mention of a council.

Although he did not flatly reject the proposal (he durst not, with any regard to the honour of the papal see), it cannot be matter of doubt with what heart he set about carrying it into effect.

He did give way indeed, he was fully compliant ; but at the same time he put forward the opposing arguments in their strongest form, depicted in the liveliest manner all the difficulties and dangers incident to a council, and declared his belief that the result was more than doubtful†. He stipulated too for the co-operation of all other princes, and for a previous subjection of the Protestants, things that might very well figure in an abstract scheme of papal doctrine, but utterly impracticable in the existing state of things. But how indeed could it have been expected of him, that during the delay appointed by the emperor he should proceed, not merely in outward show and form, but vigorously and decisively, upon a work so repugnant to him ? Charles often upbraided him with his backwardness, ascribing to it all the further mischief that ensued. No doubt he hoped to evade the necessity that hung over him.

But it clung to him sternly and fast. When Charles again visited Italy in 1533, still full of what he had seen and projected in Germany, he pressed him in person (he held a congress with the pope in Bologna) and with increased earnestness on the subject of a council, which he had so often demanded in writing. The different opinions and inclinations were now brought into direct collision : the pope adhered to his stipulated conditions, while the em-

\* Lettera anonima all' arcivescovo Pimpinello. (Lettere di Principi. iii. 5.) Gli uffici solo con la fama del concilio sono inviliti, che non se ne trovano danari. I see that Pallavicini too cites this letter, iii. 7. 1 ; I know not how he comes to ascribe it to Sanera.

† Ex. gr. All' imperatore : di man propria di papa Clemente, Lettere di Principi, ii. 197. Al contrario nessun (rimedio) è più pericoloso e per partorir maggiori mali (del concilio), quando non concorrono le debite circostanze. [On the contrary, no remedy can be more perilous or pregnant with greater evils (than the council) if the requisite circumstances do not concur.]

\* Such a scheme they ventured to call an instruction. Instruction data Casari a reverendmo. Campoggio in dieta Augustana 1530. I found it in a Roman library in the handwriting of the time, and undoubtedly genuine.

peror on his part represented to him the impossibility of their fulfilment. They could not come to any agreement. In the briefs which were issued on these matters, a certain discrepancy is observable; in some the pope seems more disposed to the emperor's views than in others\*. But however that may have been, he had no alternative but to proceed to a fresh proclamation of the council. If he would not close his eyes to the light, he could not doubt that on the return of the emperor, who had set out for Spain, bare words would avail no longer; that the danger he apprehended, and with which a council summoned under such circumstances really menaced the Roman see, would burst upon his head.

The situation was one, in which the possessor of a power of whatever kind might well be excused, if he adopted even a desperate resolution to ensure his safety. The political preponderance of the emperor was already excessive; and even though the pope resigned himself to this, he could not but feel his own depressed condition. He was deeply mortified that Charles V. had decided the old disputes of the Church with Ferrara in favour of the latter: he bore it with outward calmness, but gave vent to his complaints among his friends. But how much more afflicting was it when that monarch, to whom he had looked for the immediate suppression of the Protestants, on the very contrary availed himself of the pretext of the religious dissensions, to obtain an ecclesiastical predominance unparalleled for centuries, and perilled even the spiritual authority and dignity of the Roman see! Was it to be Clement's fate to fall wholly into his hands, and be totally at his mercy?

He formed his resolution at once in Bologna: Francis I. had often already proposed to Clement an alliance to be cemented by ties of blood, which the latter had always declined. In his present need the pope himself recurrd to this. It is expressly affirmed, that the special ground on which Clement again lent an ear to the king of France was the demand made for a council†.

\* Valuable information respecting the negotiations at Bologna, derived from the archives of the Vatican, is to be found in one of the best chapters of Pallavicini, lib. iii. c. 12. He mentions the discrepancy spoken of in the text, and states that it rested on explicit negotiations. Indeed we find in the despatches to the catholic states in Rainaldus, xx. 659, Hortleder, I. xv. a repetition of the stipulation for a general co-operation; the pope promises to communicate the result of his efforts; in the list of points proposed to the Protestants, it is said expressly in the seventh article: *Quod si forsan aliqui principes velint tam pio negotio deesse, nihilominus summus D<sup>ns</sup>. nr. procedet eum saniori parte consentiente.* [But if perchance any princes shall refuse to co-operate in so pious a matter, our supreme lord shall nevertheless proceed with the consent of the more sound minded part.] It would seem that this was the discrepancy Pallavicini had in view, although he mentions another.

† Soriano Relatione, 1535. Il papa andò a Bologna contra sua voglia e quasi sforzato, como di buon logo ho inteso, e fu assai di cio evidente segno che S. S<sup>a</sup>. consumò di giorni cento in tale viaggio il quale potea far in sei dl. Considerando dunque Clemente questi tali casi suoi e per dire così la servitù nella quale egli si trovava per la materia del concilio, la quale Cesare non lasciava di stimolare, cominciò a rendersi più facile al Christianissimo. E quivi si trattò l'andata di Marsilia, et insieme la pratica del matrimonio, essendo già la nipote nobile et habile. [The pope went to Bologna contrary to his will and almost upon compulsion, as

Purely political motives would never perhaps have prompted this pope again to attempt effecting a balance of power between the two great rivals, and to divide his favour equally between them; but upon this course he was now determined, in consideration of the dangers threatening the Church over which he presided.

Shortly after this Clement had another meeting with Francis I.: it took place at Marseilles, and the strictest alliance was concluded between them. Precisely as at another period, in the Florentine emergency, the pope had cemented his friendship with the emperor by the marriage of a natural daughter of the latter with one of his own nephews, so now in the embarrassment of the Church he sealed the league he had formed with Francis I. by betrothing his young niece Catherine de' Medici with the king's second son. On the former occasion he had reason to fear the French and their indirect influence on Florence; on the present, the emperor and his intentions with regard to a convocation of the Church.

And now he took no further pains to conceal his aim. We have a letter from him to Ferdinand I., in which he declares that his exertions to obtain a co-operation of all Christian sovereigns towards the council had not been successful: king Francis I., with whom he had spoken, held the present moment unsuited to such a project, and refused to adopt it; but he, the pope, hoped on another opportunity to obtain a favourable decision from the Christian sovereigns\*. I cannot conceive how a doubt can exist as to the purposes of Clement VII. Even again, in his last document addressed to the catholic princes of Germany, he had repeated his conditions as to an universal participation in the proposed measure: his present declaration, that he could not succeed in obtaining this, is tantamount to an unambiguous refusal to give effect to his announcement of a council†. His alliance with France gave him alike courage and a pretext for this. I cannot persuade myself that this council would ever have taken place under his pontificate.

This however was not the only consequence of his new league. Another and unexpected one forthwith developed itself, one which is of the utmost importance, especially for the German people.

Very singular was the combination resulting from the alliance, as regarded the intermixture of ecclesiastical and temporal interests. Francis I. was then on terms of the best understanding

I have heard from good authority; an evident proof of which was, that his holiness spent a hundred days on the journey, whereas he might have completed it in six. Clement then, reflecting on the present condition of his affairs, and on the servitude, so to speak, in which he was placed as regarded the serious matter of the council, which the emperor never ceased to urge, began to be more compliant towards the most christian king. Thereupon negotiations were entered into for the conference at Marseilles, and for the marriage, the pope's niece being now marriageable.] At a previous period the pope would have alleged her birth and her age as a pretext for evading the match.

\* 20th March, 1534. Pallavicini, III. xvi. 3.

† La Seta. Vra. dunque in materia del concilio può esser certissima che dal canto di Clemente fu fugata con tutti li mezzi e con tutte le vie. [As regards the council, your serenity may therefore be assured that Clement took all possible ways and means to avoid it.]

with the Protestants, and now becoming so closely connected with the pope, he to a certain degree linked together the Protestants and the pope in one system.

And here we have evidenced the political strength of the position the Protestants had assumed. The emperor could not entertain the thought of so unconditionally subjecting them again to the pope; on the contrary, he availed himself of their proceedings to keep the latter in check. Gradually it appeared that the pope too, on his part, had no wish to see them wholly at the mercy of the emperor; it was not altogether unconsciously that Clement was in a measure leagued with them; he hoped to be able to turn their opposition to the emperor to account, and to occasion him some trouble in his turn.

It was immediately remarked at the time, that the king of France had persuaded the pope that the principal Protestant princes were dependent on him, and had induced him to hope he would prevail on them to impede the assembly of the council\*. But if we are not much mistaken, these engagements went still further. Shortly after his conference with the pope, Francis held another with Philip of Hesse. They agreed together on the restoration of the duke of Würtemberg, who at that time had been dispossessed by the house of Austria; Francis I. consented to aid with supplies of money. Landgrave Philip effected the enterprise with surprising rapidity in a brief campaign. It is certain he had intended to push his way into the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria†, and it was generally surmised that the king purposed an attack on Milan for once from the side of Germany‡. A still further view is set before us by Marino Giustiniano, in those days Venetian ambassador to France. He positively assures us that these German movements were concerted by Clement and Francis at Marseilles, and adds, that it was assuredly not foreign to the plan to cause the troops engaged in them to march upon Italy: the pope would privately have lent his co-operation to the enterprise§. It would be somewhat rash

to regard these assertions, however confidently made, as fully authentic; still further proofs were necessary to this: but even though we should not receive them, still we are met beyond the possibility of doubt by one very remarkable phenomenon. Who could have surmised it? At the moment the pope and the Protestants were pursuing each other with the most implacable hatred, whilst they were waging a spiritual war against each other that filled the world with discord, they were on the other hand bound together by the like political interests.

Now whereas, on previous occasions of Italian politics, nothing had proved so pernicious to the pope as the ambiguous supersubtle policy he pursued, the same system produced him still more bitter fruit in spiritual concerns.

King Ferdinand, threatened in his hereditary possessions, hastened to conclude the peace of Kadan, by which he abandoned Würtemberg, and even entered into a close understanding with the Landgrave. Those were Philip of Hesse's happiest days. That he had with a strong hand helped an exiled German prince to his rights, made him one of the most respected chiefs of the empire. But he had by the same means achieved another important result. This treaty of peace contained likewise a momentous decision respecting the religious controversies. The imperial chamber was directed to entertain in future no complaints concerning confiscated Church property.

I know not that any other single occurrence ever operated so decisively as this enterprise of Philip of Hesse's for the preponderance of the Protestant name in Germany. That direction to the imperial chamber involves a judicial security for the new party of extraordinary importance. Nor were its effects long delayed. We may, I think, regard the peace of Kadan as the second grand epoch of the rise of a Protestant power in Germany. After it had for a long period made a feeble progress, it began anew to spread in the most triumphant manner. Würtemberg, which had been taken, was reformed forthwith. The German provinces of Denmark, Pomerania, the March of Brandenburg, the second branch of Saxony, one branch of Brun-

\* Sarpi, *Historia del Concilio Tridentino*, lib. i. p. 68. Soriano does not confirm all Sarpi's assertions, but a considerable part of them he does. That ambassador says, *Avendo fatto credere a Clemente che da S. M. Chma, dipendessero quelli srt. principalissimi e capi della fattione luterana—si che almeno fugisse il concilio*. This is all I have ventured to assert.

† In his instruction to his ambassador to France, Aug. 1532, (Rommel *Urkundenbuch* 61.) he excuses himself "for our not having proceeded to attack the king in his hereditary possessions"—(*dass wir nit furtzugen, den König in seinen Erblanden anzugreifen*.)

‡ Jovius, *Historiæ sui temporis*, lib. xxxii. p. 129: *Paruta, Storia Venez.* p. 389.

§ Relazione del clarissimo M. Marino Giustinian el Kr. venuto d'ambasciator al Christianissimo re di Francia del 1535. (Archivio Venez.) Francesco fece l'abocamento di Marsilia con Clemente, nel qual videndo loro che Cesare stava fermo—*conchiusero il morimento delle armi in Germania*, sotto pretesto di voler metter il duca di Vitenberg in casa; nel quale se Iddio non avesse posto la mano con il mezzo di Cesare, il quale all'improvviso e con gran prestezza, senza saputa del Xmo; con la restitution del ducato di Vitenberg fece la pace, tutte quelle genti venivano in Italia sotto il favor secreto di Clemente. [Francis held a conference at Marseilles, with Clement, wherein seeing the emperor's firmness, they resolved on the war in Germany, under

pretext of reinstating the duke of Würtemberg; in the course of which if God had not interfered through the emperor, who suddenly and with great haste made peace unknown to the most christian king by the restitution of the duchy of Würtemberg, all those forces would have entered Italy under the secret countenance of Clement.] More accurate information will, I think, be yet obtained. Soriano superadds the following. *Di tutti li desiderii (del re) s'accommodo Clement, con parole tali che lo facevano credere S. S. esser disposta in tutto alle sue voglie, senza pero far provisione alcuna in scrittura*. [Clement acceded to all the king's desires in such terms as led him to believe that his holiness was disposed in every thing to comply with his will, but at the same time without making any stipulation in writing.] That an Italian expedition was talked of, cannot be denied. The pope maintained that he had declined it: "non avere bisogno di moto in Italia" [that he did not want any movement in Italy]. The king had told him he should remain quiet, "con le mani accorte nelle manichi" [with his hands tucked up in his sleeves]. Probably the French asserted what the Italians denied, so that the ambassador in France is more positive than the ambassador in Rome. If, however, the pope said he did not want a movement in Italy, it is obvious how little that expression excludes the idea of a movement in Germany.

wick, and the Palatinate, followed shortly after. Within a few years the reformation of the Church spread over the whole of Lower Germany, and obtained firm and permanent footing in Upper Germany.

And pope Clement had been privy to an enterprise which led to this result, which so immeasurably augmented the desertion from the Church's ranks, may he had perhaps approved of it.

The papacy was in an utterly untenable position. Its secular tendencies had engendered in it a corruption that had caused it numberless opponents and dissidents; but the continuation of that tendency, the further commingling of spiritual and temporal interests, brought it wholly to the ground. Even the English schism arose essentially from this source.

It is very deserving of attention, that however hostilely Henry VIII. may have declared against Luther, and however closely connected he may have been with the Roman see, nevertheless on the first difference in purely political matters in the beginning of the year 1525, he threatened the papacy with ecclesiastical innovations\*. Matters were accommodated, indeed, on that occasion; the king made common cause with the pope against the emperor. When Clement was besieged in the castle of St. Angelo, and abandoned by every one, Henry VIII. found means to furnish him with aid; for this reason Clement was perhaps personally inclined to him, more than to any other potentate†. But, since that period, the question of the king's divorce had arisen. It is not to be denied, that in the year 1528, the pope, if he did not promise a satisfactory decision of the question, at least held out a show of its probability, "so soon as the Germans and Spaniards should have been driven out of Italy‡." The very contrary of this took place, as we know. The Imperialists now first acquired a footing of real stability; we have seen into what strict alliance Clement entered with them: under such circumstances he could not fulfil the expectations, which, he it observed, he had warranted only by a passing hint§. No sooner was the peace of Barcelona

concluded, than he called the case before the tribunal of Rome. The wife from whom Henry wished to part, was the emperor's aunt; the validity of the marriage had been expressly declared by a former pope; was there a possibility of doubt as to the decision, when once the suit was brought in usual form before the judiciary court of the curia, particularly under the permanent influence of the Imperialists? Hereupon, Henry, without more ado, adopted the course that had before this time presented itself to him. In essentials, in what regarded dogmas, he was, and continued, undoubtedly catholic; but that affair of his, which was dealt with so openly in Rome in its political bearings, now excited him to an opposition to the temporal power of the papacy, that every day grew more vehement. To every step taken in Rome to his disadvantage he responded with some measure against the curia; from stage to stage his separation from it became continually more formal. When the curia at last pronounced its definitive sentence in the year 1534, he, too, wavered no longer, but pronounced the total separation of his kingdom from the pope's authority. So weak were, already, the ties that bound together the Roman see and the several national churches, that it needed only the resolve of a sovereign to wrest his kingdom from the connexion.

These events filled up the last year of Clement's life: they were the more bitter to him, inasmuch as he was not wholly blameless with regard to them, and his mischances stood in a painful relationship with his personal qualities. And day by day the course of events assumed a more perilous aspect. Francis I. was already threatening a fresh attack on Italy, and in this he asserted he was sanctioned, not, indeed, by the written, but at least by the orally expressed approval of the pope. The emperor would no longer be put off with pretences, and urged the summoning of a council more pressing than ever. Family discords swelled the catalogue of his troubles. After all the pains it had cost to bring Florence under, the pope was doomed to see his two nephews fall at variance with each other, and break out into the most savage hostility. His reflections on this catastrophe, his fear of coming events, "sorrow and secret anguish," says Soriano, "brought him to the grave\*."

\* Wolsey had written, threatening "che ogni provincia doventerà Lutheran;" [that every province will become Lutheran:] an expression that may fairly be considered as the first symptom of secession from Rome shown by the English government. (See Giberto ai nunzi d'Inghilterra: Lettere di Principi, l. p. 147.)

† Contarini, Relatione di 1530, expressly affirms this. Soriano, too, says, in 1533, Anglia S. Santità ama e era conjunctissima prima. [His holiness loves the king of England, and was at first on terms of the strictest friendship with him.] The king's design of obtaining a divorce he flatly declares to be a "pazzia" [a piece of folly].

‡ From the Despatches of Doctor Knight of Orvieto, 1st and 9th Jan. 1528; Herbert's Life of Henry VIII., p. 218.

§ The whole situation of affairs is explained by the following passage of a letter from the papal secretary Sanga to Campeggi, dated Viterbo, 2nd September, 1528, at the moment the Neapolitan enterprise had failed, (an event alluded to in the letter,) and when Campeggi was preparing to go to England:—Come vostra Sign. Revma. sa, tenendosi N. Signore obligatissimo come fa a quel Serenissimo re, nessuna cosa è sì grande della quale non desideri compiacervi, ma bisogna ancora che sua Beatitudine, vedendo l'imperatore vittorioso e sperando in questa vittoria non trovarlo aliena della pace, non si precipiti a dare all'imperatore causa di nuova rottura, la quale leveria in perpetuo ogni speranza di

pace: oltre che al certo metteria S. S. a fuoco et a totale eccidio tutto il suo stato. (Lettere di diversi autori, Venetia, 1556, p. 39.) [Our lord the pope, esteeming himself, as your most reverend lordship knows, most deeply obliged to that most serene king, there is nothing of such magnitude that he would not willingly do to gratify him; but still there is need that his holiness, seeing that the emperor is victorious, and having reason, therefore, to expect to find him not averse to peace, should not rashly give the emperor cause for a new rupture, which would for ever obliterate all hope of peace: besides, that his holiness would undoubtedly bring down ruin and destruction upon his whole state.]

\* Soriano. L'imperatore non cessava di sollecitar il concilio.—S. M. Christma. dimandò che da S. S. li fussino osservate le promesse essendo le condizioni poste fra loro. Percio S. S. si pose a grandissimo pensiero, e fu questo dolore et affanno che lo condusse alla morte. Il dolor fu accresciuto dalle pazzie del cardinal de Medici, il quale allora più che mai intendeva a rinunziare il capello per la concurrenza alle cose di Fiorenza. [The emperor pressed incessantly in demanding the council.—His most christian majesty required that his holiness should fulfil what he had

We have designated Leo as fortunate : Clement was perhaps a better man—in any case, freer from faults, more active, and in particulars even more acute ; but in all his concerns, active and passive, ill-luck attended him. In truth, he was the most ill-fated man that had ever filled the pontiff's chair. He met the superiority of the hostile forces that surrounded him on all sides with an uncertain policy, dependent on the probability of the moment, and this was his utter ruin. The attempts, to which the most distinguished of his predecessors had devoted themselves, to found an independent temporal power, it was his fate to see issue in a directly opposite result : he had to endure, that those from whose grasp he sought to wrest Italy should consolidate their dominion there for ever. The great Protestant secession proceeded unremittently before his eyes ; whatever means he employed against it, all helped to spread it more widely. He left the papal see infinitely sunk in reputation, without spiritual, without temporal authority. That North Germany, which from of old had been so important to the papacy, through whose first conversion in remote times the power of the popes in the West had been mainly esta-

blished, whose revolt against the emperor Henry IV. had so greatly served them towards the completion of their hierarchy, that country had now stood up against them. To Germany belongs the imperishable merit of having restored Christianity in a purer form than it has worn since the first centuries, of having re-discovered the true religion. Armed with such weapons it was irresistible. Its convictions made themselves paths through every neighbouring land. They had already possessed Scandinavia ; they spread in England, contrary to the king's intention, but under protection of the measures he had adopted ; in Switzerland they achieved for themselves, with a few modifications, an unassailable existence ; they made bold progress in France ; in Italy, and even in Spain, we find traces of them as early as under Clement's reign. Ever further and further spreads the vast inundation. There is a power in these opinions that convinces and captivates all minds ; and the struggle between spiritual and temporal interests in which the papacy had engaged, seems to have been directly adapted to procure them complete dominion.

## BOOK THE SECOND.

### BEGINNING OF A REGENERATION OF CATHOLICISM.

#### *Introduction.*

It is not in our day that the influence of public opinion first made itself felt in the world ; in every age of modern Europe it has been an important element in social life. Who can tell whence it arises, how it is fashioned ? We may regard it as the most peculiar production of our common nature, as the nearest expression of the inward movements and revolutions of the great frame of society. It springs from and is fed by secret sources : without requiring much force of reasoning, it seizes on men's minds by involuntary conviction. But it is only in its most general outlines it is consistent with itself ; within these it is reproduced with various special modifications, in innumerable greater and smaller circles. And since a host of new observations and experiences are perpetually flowing in upon it, since there are original minds that are moved indeed by it, but not wholly borne along by its current, and that exercise upon it a vigorous reaction, it is hence involved in an endless

promised on the conditions stipulated between them. His holiness was thereby cast into a state of profound and melancholy reflection, and this grief and vexation it was that led to his death. His grief was augmented by the mad schemes of the cardinal de Medici, who was at that time more than ever bent on renouncing the cardinal's hat, to enter the lists of political competition at Florence.]

series of metamorphoses—it is transient, multiform, sometimes more, sometimes less in unison with truth and justice, being rather a tendency of the moment than a fixed system. Frequently it only accompanies the occasion that calls it forth, and fashions itself to its complexion ; but now and then, when it encounters an unaccommodating will which it cannot overcome, it chafes and swells, and assumes a character of exorbitant demand. It must be admitted that it commonly displays a just apprehension of wants and deficiencies, but the course of proceeding which these demand it is not in its nature to conceive with any instinctive accuracy. Thus it happens, that in the course of time it often runs into directly opposite extremes. It helped to establish the papacy, it helped likewise towards its demolition. In the times under our consideration it was at one period utterly profane ; it became thoroughly spiritual. We have remarked how throughout all Europe it inclined to Protestantism ; we shall also see how in a large part of the same quarter it took another colouring.

Let us set out with observing how the doctrines of the Protestants made way even in Italy.

#### *Opinions analogous to Protestantism entertained in Italy.*

Literary associations exercised an incalculable influence on the development of learning and art

in Italy. They grew up sometimes round a prince, sometimes round a distinguished scholar, or a private individual of literary tastes and easy fortune, occasionally, too, in the free companionship of equals. Such institutions are usually most valuable when they arise, naturally and without formal plan, out of the immediate wants of their day. It is with pleasure we explore the vestiges of their course.

At the same period as the protestant movements began in Germany, literary meetings, assuming a religious colour, made their appearance in Italy.

Just when it was the fashion of society, under Leo X., to doubt or deny the truth of Christianity, a reaction exhibited itself in the minds of able men, men who possessed the acquirements of their age, without merging in it their individual character. It was very natural that they should seek each other's society. The human mind needs the support of kindred opinion—at least it always loves it; but it is indispensable to it in religious convictions, the very basis of which is the profoundest feeling of community.

So early as in Leo's times mention is made of an Oratory of Divine Love, which had been founded by some distinguished men in Rome for their mutual edification. They met to worship God, to preach and practise spiritual exercises, in the Trastevere, in the church of St. Silvestro and Dorotea, not far from the place where the apostle Peter was supposed to have resided, and superintended the first assemblies of the Christians. They were in number about 50 or 60. Contarini, Sadolet, Giberto, and Caraffa, all of whom afterwards became cardinals, Gaetano da Thiene, who has been canonized, Lippomano, a spiritual writer of much repute and industry, and some other celebrated men, were of the number. Julian Bathi, minister of the church where they met, was the centre round which they were grouped\*.

It was far from being the case, as might easily be supposed from their place of meeting, that their general views were directly opposed to those of Protestantism; on the contrary, they coincided with them to a certain extent, as for instance, in the purpose (the same as that from which Luther and Melancthon set out) to stay the general cor-

ruption of the Church by the revived force of religious conviction. Their numbers were made up of men who subsequently displayed great diversity of sentiment; at that time they all entertained a community of opinion. But very soon more decided and heterogeneous tendencies arose among them.

We again, after a lapse of a few years, meet a part of this Roman society in Venice. Rome had been sacked, Florence subdued; Milan had become the continual haunt of armies. In the midst of this general ruin Venice had maintained itself untouched by foreigners and their armies, and was, therefore, regarded as the common place of refuge. In that city met together the scattered literati of Rome, and the patriots of Florence, whose native land was for ever closed against them. In these latter, particularly, was manifested a very strong spiritual tendency, not unmarked by the influence of Savonarola's doctrines, as instances of which, we may mention the historian Nardi, and Brucioli, the translator of the Bible. The same feelings were shared by other refugees also, such as Reginald Pole, who had quitted England to escape from the innovations of Henry VIII. They met with a ready welcome from their Venetian hosts. At Peter Bembo's, in Padua, who kept open house, the constant topics of conversation related to classic literature and Ciceronian Latin. More profound discussions occupied the guests of the learned and intelligent Gregorio Cortese, abbot of San Giorgio Maggiore at Venice. Brucioli lays the scene of some of his dialogues in the groves and bowers of San Giorgio. Not far from Treviso was the villa of Luigi Priuli, named Treville\*. His was one of those pure and finished Venetian characters, such as we now and then encounter even in the present day, full of calm susceptibility for true and noble sentiments, and for disinterested friendship. The chief occupations of his circle lay in spiritual studies and discourse. There was the Benedictine Marco of Padua, a man of deep piety, the same apparently from whom Pole asserts he drew his ghostly nurture. Gaspar Contarini might be regarded as the head of the whole band, a man of whom Pole says, that nothing was unknown to him which the human mind had discovered by its own powers of investigation, or which God's grace had imparted to it; and to this store of wisdom he added the adornment of virtue.

If we now inquire what were the leading convictions of these men, we shall find foremost among them that doctrine of justification, which, as taught by Luther, had originated the whole Protestant movement. Contarini wrote a special tract on the subject, which Pole knows not how sufficiently to praise. "Thou hast," he says to him, "brought to light that jewel which the Church kept half-buried." Pole himself finds that Scripture in its profounder connexion preaches nothing but this doctrine; he congratulates his friend that he had begun the disclosure of that "holy, fruitful, and indispensable truth†." To the circle of friends who attached themselves to this doctrine belonged M. A. Flaminio. He resided a long time with

\* I extract this notice from Caracciolo, Vita di Paulo IV., MS. Quel pochi huomini da bene ed eruditi prelati che erano in Roma in quel tempo di Leone X., vedendo la città di Roma e tutto il resto d'Italia, dove per la vicinanza alla sede apostolica doveva più fiorire l'osservanza de' riti, essere così maltrattato il culto divino,—si uniron' in un' oratorio chiamato del divino amore circa sessanta di loro per fare quivi quasi in una torre ogni sforzo per guardare le divine leggi. [Those few men of worth and learned prelates who were in Rome in those days of Leo X., seeing divine worship so ill conducted in the city of Rome and throughout all the rest of Italy, where the observance of religious rites should have more especially flourished, from the vicinity of the apostolic see,—united themselves, to the number of about sixty, in an oratory called that of Divine Love, there to make, as in a strong tower, every effort to maintain the divine laws.] In the Vita Cajetani Thienæ, (AA. SS. Aug. II.) c. i. 7-10, Caracciolo has repeated this, and with fuller details, though in the latter place he reckons but fifty members. The Historia Clericorum Regularium, vulgo Theatinorum, by Joseph Silos, confirms it in many passages, which are printed in the Commentarius prævius to the Vita Cajetani.

\* Epistolæ Reginaldi Poli, ed. Quirini, tom. ii. Diatriba ad Epistolas Schelhornii, clxxxiii.

† Epistolæ Poli, tom. iii. p. 57.

Pole : Contarini wished to take him with him to Germany. Observe how decidedly he proclaims the doctrine in question. "The Gospel," he says in one of his letters \*, "is nothing else than the glad tidings that the only-begotten Son of God, clothed in our flesh, has satisfied the justice of the eternal Father for us. He who believes this enters the kingdom of heaven : he enjoys the universal forgiveness ; from being a carnal he becomes a spiritual creature, from being a child of wrath he becomes a child of grace ; he lives in a sweet peace of conscience." It is scarcely possible to find expressions more orthodoxly Lutheran.

These convictions spread just like a literary opinion or tendency over a great part of Italy †.

Now it is worthy of remark, how suddenly a controversy upon a point that had previously been only now and then mentioned among the school-men, could seize upon and engross a century, and call forth the activity of every mind. In the sixteenth century, the doctrine of justification was the parent of the greatest agitations, ruptures, and even revolutions. It would seem to have befallen by way of counterpoise to the worldliness settled upon the Church, now almost blind to the notion of man's immediate relation to God, that so transcendental a question, affecting the profoundest mystery of that relation, became the universal subject of men's thoughts.

Even in pleasure-loving Naples it was widely promulgated, and that by a Spaniard, Juan Valdez, one of the viceroy's secretaries. Unfortunately the writings of Valdez have wholly disappeared ; but we have at least very distinct evidence as to their character, from the objections made to them by his opponents. About the year 1540, a little book "On the Benefits bestowed by Christ," obtained circulation, which, as a notification by the Inquisition expresses it, "treated in an insinuating manner of justification, undervalued works and merits, and ascribed every thing to faith alone ; and forasmuch as that was the very point on which so many prelates and monks stumbled, the book had been diffused to an unusual extent." The name of the author has been frequently inquired after ; this notification distinctly identifies him. "It was a monk of San Scerrino," it asserts, "a pupil of Valdez : Flaminio revised it ‡." According to this account therefore, with a pupil and friend of Valdez rests the authorship of this book, which in reality had

an incredible success, and for a length of time made the doctrine of justification popular in Italy. Valdez, for all that, was not exclusively devoted to theological pursuits ; being in the discharge of an important secular office, he founded no sect, and this book was the result of a liberal study of Christianity. His friends thought with rapture of the sweet days they had enjoyed with him at Chiaja and Posillipo, "where nature smiles and rejoices in her rich array." Valdez was gentle, of pleasing manners, not without vigorous reach of mind. His friends used to say of him, "A part of his soul served to animate his feeble slender body ; with the greater part, the clear unclouded intellect, he was ever uplifted to the contemplation of truth."

Valdez had extraordinary influence among the nobility and the learned of Naples : even the women took a lively interest in these religious and intellectual movements. Among these was Vittoria Colonna. After the death of her husband Pescara, she had given herself up wholly to study. Her poems and her letters display a heartfelt morality and a religion void of hypocrisy. How beautifully does she console a female friend for the loss of her brother, "whose peaceful spirit has passed into the everlasting true peace. She must not complain, since she can now speak with him, without his absence hindering her, as so often before, from being understood by him \*." Pole and Contarini were among her most confidential friends. I am not disposed to think that she devoted herself to spiritual exercises of a monastic kind. At least Aretilo writes to her with much *naïveté*, that "it surely is not her opinion that the silent tongue, the downcast eyes, and the coarse raiment are the great essentials, but purity of soul."

The house of Colonna generally, and in particular Vespasiano duke of Palliano, and his wife Julia Gonzaga, the same who was reputed the most beautiful woman in Italy, participated in these religious sentiments. Valdez dedicated one of his books to Julia.

But these doctrines made moreover an uncommon progress among the middle classes. The report of the Inquisition almost seems exaggerated, when it reckons three thousand schoolmasters attached to them. But how deeply must even a smaller number have wrought upon the minds of youth and upon the people !

Scarcely with less cordiality was the doctrine received in Modena. The bishop himself, Morone, an intimate friend of Pole and Contarini, was in

\* To Theodorina Sauli, 12th Feb. 1542. *Lettere Volgari* (Raccolta del Manuzio), Vinegia, 1553. ii. 43.

† Among other documents, Sadolet's letter to Contarini (Epistolæ Sadoleti lib. ix. p. 365.) upon his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans is very remarkable, "in quibus commentariis," says Sadolet, "mortis et crucis Christi mysterium totum aperire atque illustrare sum conatus ;" [in which commentary I have endeavoured to unfold and illustrate the whole mystery of Christ's death and passion.] He had not however quite satisfied Contarini, nor did he quite concur in opinion with the latter. He promises meanwhile to undertake in the new edition, a clear explanation of the doctrines of original sin and grace : "de hoc ipso morbo nature nostre et de reparatione arbitrii nostri a spiritu sancto facta."

‡ Schellhorn, Gerdesius, and others, have ascribed this book to Annius Palearius, who says in a discourse, "hoc anno Tusce scripsi, Christi morte quanta commoda allata sint humano generi," [this year I wrote in the Italian language, a work on the numerous advantages conferred on mankind

by the death of Christ.] The words of the compendium of the inquisitors, which I found in Caracciolo, Vita di Paolo IV. MS., are on the other hand as follows : Quel libro del beneficio di Christo, fu il suo autore unmonaco di Sanseverino in Napoli, discepolo del Valdez, fu revisore di detto libro il Flaminio, fu stampato molte volte, ma particolarmente a Modena da mandato Moroni : ingannò molti, perché trattava della giustificazione con dolce modo, ma hereticamente. Now the passage quoted from Palearius, does not so distinctly indicate this book as to make it certain none other is meant : Palearius says, that he was called to account for it the same year ; while, on the contrary, the words of the compendium admit of no doubt, and it goes on to say, "quel libro fu da molti approvato solo in Verona, fu conosciuto e reprobato, dopo molti anni fu posto nel Indice." For these reasons, I hold the opinion of the above mentioned scholars to be erroneous.

\* *Lettere Volgari*, i. 92. *Lettere di diversi Autori*, p. 604. A very useful collection, especially the first part.



its favour. The work, "On the Benefits bestowed by Christ," was printed at his express command, and numerous copies of it circulated. His chaplain, Don Girolamo da Modena, was president of a society, in which the same principles prevailed\*.

Mention has from time to time been made of the Protestants of Italy, and we have already adduced many of the names recorded in their lists. Certainly some of the convictions predominant in Germany had taken root among these men; they sought to build doctrine on the basis of scriptural testimony, and in the article of justification they approximated closely to the Lutheran opinions; but that they participated in these on all other points cannot be asserted; the sense of the Church's unity and reverence for the pope had struck too deeply into their minds, and many catholic usages were too intimately interwoven with the national character to have been so easily shaken off.

Flaminio composed an exposition of the Psalms, the dogmatic contents of which have been approved of by Protestant writers; but even to this he prefixed a dedication, in which he called the pope "The Warder and Prince of all Holiness, the Vicegerent of God on earth."

Giovan Battista Folengo ascribes justification to grace alone; he speaks even of the utility of sin, which is not far removed from the sinfulness of good works; he is vehement in his zeal against trusting in fasts, frequent prayers, masses and confessions, nay even in the priestly calling, tonsure, and mitre†; and yet he died quietly, somewhere about his sixtieth year, in the same Benedictine convent in which he had taken the vows in his sixteenth‡.

Not far otherwise was it for a long while with Bernardino Ochino. If we believe his own words, it was from the very first a deep longing, as he expresses himself, "after the heavenly paradise that is achieved through God's grace," that led him to become a Franciscan. His zeal was so deep-seated, that he soon passed over to the severer penitential practices of the Capuchins. He was named general of the order in its third, and again in its fourth chapter, and filled the office with extraordinary credit. But however rigorous was his life, (he always went on foot, slept on his cloak, never drank wine, and was most strict in enforcing the vow of poverty on others, as the most efficacious means towards evangelical perfection,) yet even he was by degrees convinced and penetrated by the doctrine of justification through grace. He presented it in the most urgent manner in the confessional and from the pulpit. "I opened my heart to him," says Bembo, "as I could have done to Christ himself; it seemed to me that I had never beheld a holier man." The cities poured out their multitudes to hear him preach; the churches were too small to contain them; the learned and the common people, both sexes, old

and young, all were gratified. His coarse garb, his beard that swept his breast, his gray hairs, his pallid meagre countenance, and the feebleness he had contracted from his obstinate fasts, gave him the aspect of a saint\*.

Thus was there yet a line within catholicism, which the opinions analogous to the new doctrines never overstepped. Priesthood and monachism encountered no direct opposition in Italy; none there entertained a thought of assailing the primacy of the pope. How, for instance, should that principle have failed to command the strong attachment of a Pole, who had fled from England rather than acknowledge his king as head of the English Church? They thought, as Ottonello Vida, a pupil of Vergerios, declared to the latter, that "in the Christian Church every one had his appointed office; to the bishop belonged the care of the souls in his diocese, whom he was to protect from the world and the evil one; it was the metropolitan's duty to see to the residence of the bishops; the metropolitans were in their turn subject to the pope, to whom was committed the general control of the Church which he was to guide with holiness of mind†. Every man must fulfil his several calling‡." These men regarded separation from the Church as the worst of evils. Isidoro Clario, a man who improved the Vulgate with the aid of the Protestant works, and prefixed to it an introduction which has been subjected to expurgation, warned the Protestants from such a project in a special treatise. "No corruption," he says, "could be so great as to warrant a revolt from the hallowed communion of the Church. Were it not better to repair what we have, than to commit ourselves to dubious attempts at producing something else? Our sole thought should be how the old institution may be ameliorated and freed from its defects."

With these modifications there was a multitude of adherents to the new doctrine in Italy; among them Antonio del Pagliarici of Siena, to whom had been imputed the authorship of the book, "Of the Benefits bestowed by Christ;" Carnesecchi of Florence, who was considered as an adherent to its doctrines and a promoter of its circulation; Giovan Battista Rotto of Bologna, who had patrons in Morone, Pole, and Vittoria Colonna, and found means to aid the poorest of his followers with money; Fra Antonio of Volterra, and some man of eminence in almost every city of Italy§. It

\* Boverio, *Annali di Frati Minori Capuccini*, i. 375. Grattiani *Vie de Commendone*, p. 143.

† In the original, "mit heiligem Geiste." (*Translator.*)

‡ Ottonello Vida *Dot. al Vescovo Vergerio*; *Lettere*, vol. ix. l. 80.

§ The extract from the compendium of the inquisitors is our authority on this subject. Bologna, it says, fu in molti pericoli, perché vi furono heretici principali, fra quali fu un Gio. B. Rotto, il quale haveva amicizia et appoggio di persone potentissime, come di Morone, Polo, Marchesa di Pescara, e raccoglieva danari a tutto suo potere, e gli compartiva tra gli heretici oculenti e poveri che stavano in Bologna: abjurò poi nelle mani del padre Salmerone (the Jesuit,) per ordine del legato di Bologna (compend. fol. ix. c. 91.) [Bologna was beset with danger, because the principal heretics were there, among them one Gio. B. Rotto, who enjoyed the friendship and patronage of very influential people, such as Morone, Pole, and the Marchesa di Pescara, and who collected money with all his might, and distributed it among

\* In Schelhorn's *Amoenitatt. Literar.* tom. xli. p. 564. are reprinted, the *Articuli contra Moronum*, published by Vergerio in the year 1558, and in which these accusations do not fail to appear. The more exact notices I take from the compendium of the inquisitors.

† Ad Psalm. 67. f. 246. An extract from these explanations is given in the "*Italia Reformata*" of Gerdesius, p. 257—261.

‡ *Thuanii Historiæ* ad a. 1559. l. 473.



was a system of opinion decidedly religious, but tempered by the forms of the Church, that stirred the whole land from end to end in all its circles.

*Attempts at inward reforms, and at a reconciliation with the Protestants.*

The saying is attributed to Pole, that men should content themselves with their own inward convictions, without concerning themselves to know if errors and abuses existed in the Church\*. But precisely from a party to which he himself belonged, proceeded the first attempt at reformation. That was perhaps the most honourable act of Paul III. with which he marked the commencement of his reign, namely, the calling to the college of cardinals several distinguished men, without regard to anything besides their merits. He began with that Venetian Contarini already mentioned, who again is supposed to have suggested the names of the rest. They were men of irreproachable manners, in high repute for learning and piety, and who must have been intimately acquainted with the wants of the several countries; Caraffa, who had resided long in Spain and the Netherlands; Sadolet, bishop of Carpentras in France; Pole, a refugee from England; Giberto, who, after he had long taken part in the general administration of affairs, conducted his bishopric of Verona with exemplary excellence; Federigo Fregoso, archbishop of Salerno, almost all, as we see, members of the oratory of Divine Love, and several of them participating in the tendencies akin to Protestantism†.

It was these same cardinals who now, by command of the pope, concocted a project of church reform. It became known to the Protestants, who rejected it with derision. They had themselves indeed by this time advanced much further. But it can hardly be denied that it was a matter of strange signification for the catholic church, to see the evil thus grappled with in Rome itself—that in language addressed to a pope, was urged the reproach of the popes, stated in that introduction to this document, that “they had frequently selected servants, not to learn from them what their duty demanded, but that they might be flattered by them with the declared lawfulness of what their desires coveted;” that such abuse of supreme power was declared to be the most prolific source of corruption‡.

Nor did matters rest here. There are extant some short pieces by Gaspar Contarini, in which he waged the most vehement war on abuses, especially those abuses which were profitable to the curia. The custom of compositions, that is, the taking of money even for the bestowal of religious favours, he pronounces simony, which may be regarded as

a species of heresy. It was taken amiss that he inculcated former popes. “What!” he exclaimed, “shall we concern ourselves so much about the fame of three or four popes, and not rather amend what is deformed, and win ourselves a good name? It would indeed be a trying task to defend all the acts of all the popes.” He attacks the abuse of dispensations most earnestly and effectively. He considers it idolatrous to say, as was actually maintained, that the pope was bound by no rule but that of his own will in confirming or suspending the positive law. It is worth while to hear his remarks on this subject. “The law of Christ,” he says, “is a law of liberty, and forbids such gross servitude, which the Lutherans were perfectly justified in likening to the Babylonish captivity. But furthermore, can that be indeed called a government, the rule whereof is the will of a man by nature prone to evil, and of innumerable affections? No! all true dominion is a dominion of reason. It has for its end to lead those who are subject to it by the right means to their great end, happiness. The authority of the pope is likewise a dominion of reason; God has bestowed it on St. Peter and his successors, to guide the flocks confided to them to everlasting blessedness. A pope must know that they are free men over whom he exercises it. He must not command, or forbid, or dispense according to his own good pleasure, but in obedience to the rule of reason, of God’s commands, and of love; a rule that refers every thing to God, and to the greatest common good. For the positive law is not arbitrarily imposed, but in unison with natural rights, the commandments of God, and circumstances; only in accordance with the same laws and the same things, can it be altered.” “Be it the care of your holiness,” he says to Paul III., “not to depart from this rule. Turn not to the impotence of the will, which chooses evil, to the servitude which ministers to sin. Then wilt thou be mighty, then wilt thou be free: then wilt the life of the Christian commonwealth be sustained in thee.”

Here, we see, was an attempt to found a rational papacy; the more remarkable, inasmuch as it set out from the same doctrine concerning justification and free-will, which served as the principle of the Protestant defection. We do not merely conjecture this, as knowing that Contarini cherished these views; he affirms it in express terms. He lays it down that man is prone to evil; that this comes of the impotence of the will, which, as soon as he turns to evil, becomes rather passive than active; that only by Christ’s grace he becomes free. He distinctly recognizes the papal authority; but he requires that it be guided with a view to God and to the greatest common good.

Contarini laid his essay before the pope. On a fine day in November, 1538, he journeyed with him to Ostia. “On the way thither,” he writes to Pole, “this our good old man drew me aside, and talked with me alone about the reform of the compositions. He said he had by him the little treatise

the secret and needy heretics of Bologna. He afterwards read his recantation before father Salmerone, by order of the legate of Bologna.] The same course was pursued in all the towns.

\* Passages from Atanagi in Mc Crie’s Reformation in Italy. German translation, p. 172.

† Vita Reginaldi Poli in the edition of his letters by Quirini, tom. i. p. 12. Floribelli de vita Jacobi Sadoleti Commentarius, prefixed to the Epp. Sadoleti Col. 1590, vol. 3.

‡ This is the Consilium delectorum Cardinalium et aliorum Prælatorum de emendanda ecclesia. It is signed by Contarini, Caraffa, Sadolet, Pole, Fregoso, Giberto, Cortese, and Aleander.

\* G. Contarini Cardinalis ad Paulum III. P. M. de potestate pontificis in compositionibus: Printed in Rocaberte’s Bibliotheca Pontificia Maxima, tom. xii. There is also a Tractatus de compositionibus datarii Revmd. D. Gasparis Contarini, 1536, no copy of which I have anywhere found in print.

tise I had written on the subject, and that he had read it in his morning hours. I had already given up all hope; but now he spake to me with such Christian feeling, that I have conceived fresh hope that God will accomplish something great, and not suffer the gates of hell to prevail over his Spirit \*."

It may easily be conceived that a thorough reform of abuses, with which were bound up so many personal rights and claims, and so many habits of society, was of all things the most difficult that could be undertaken. Pope Paul, however, appeared gradually disposed to proceed seriously to the task.

Thus he named commissions for carrying out reform † in chamber, *ruota*, chancery, and penitentiaria: he also called back Giberto to his counsels. Bulls were issued also of a reforming character, and preparations were made for the general council which Clement had dreaded and shunned, and which Paul III. might have found many reasons of a private nature to avoid.

How, now, if an amelioration had actually taken place, the Roman court been reformed, and the abuses of the constitution removed? How if then the same dogma from which Luther had set out had become for the Church a principle of renovation in life and doctrine? would not a reconciliation in that case have been possible? For even the Protestants but slowly and reluctantly tore themselves away from the unity of the Church. To many this seemed possible, and no few built great hopes on a religious conference. Theoretically speaking, the pope should not have consented to the latter, since its object was to decide, not uninfluenced by the secular power, upon religious controversies, over which he himself laid claim to paramount authority. Accordingly, he was very guarded on the subject of the conference, though he suffered it to proceed, and sent his delegates to attend it.

He proceeded with great circumspection in the matter; invariably selected moderate men, persons who subsequently, on many occasions, incurred the suspicion of Protestantism. Furthermore, he gave them sound admonitions as to their personal and political conduct.

Thus, for instance, when he sent Morone, who was still young, to Germany, in 1536, he failed not to enjoin him that "he should contract no debts, that he should pay in the lodgings assigned him, and dress without luxury, and also without meanness; that he should, indeed, visit the churches, but by all means without any show of hypocrisy." ‡ He was to represent in his person that Roman reform of which so much had been said; and he was counselled to maintain a dignity tempered with cheerfulness †. In the year 1540 the bishop of Vienna had counselled a very extreme course. In his opinion it was advisable to lay before the adherents of the new sect those articles of Luther and Melancthon's, which had been declared heretical, and to ask them yes or no, whether they were disposed to renounce them. But to such a course

as this the pope by no means counselled his nuncio. "They would rather die, we fear," he says, "than make such a recantation \*." He only wishes to see a hope of reconciliation: at the first glimpse of it he will send a formula conceived in terms free from offence, already drawn up by wise and venerable men. "Would it were now come to that! Hardly do we dare to expect it!"

But never did the two parties approach each other nearer than in the Ratisbon Conference, in the year 1541. The aspect of politics was singularly favourable. The emperor, who needed the strength of the empire for the purposes of a war against Turkey or France, longed for nothing more ardently than a reconciliation. He chose for speakers the most intelligent and moderate men among the catholic theologians, Gropper, and Julius Pflug. On the other side, Landgrave Philip was again on good terms with Austria, and hoped to obtain the chief command in the war now in preparation: the emperor beheld him with admiration and delight ride into Ratisbon on his stately charger, himself as vigorous as the steed. The placid Bucer, and the yielding Melancthon appeared on the Protestant side. How earnestly the pope desired a happy result was evinced by the choice of the legate he sent, that same Gaspar Contarini, whom we have seen so deeply engaged in the new course of sentiment that had arisen in Italy, and so active in devising schemes of general reform. He now assumed a more important position, midway between two systems of opinion, between two parties that divided the world, commissioned in an advantageous moment, and earnestly purposing to reconcile them; a position, which if it does not make it our duty, yet affords us permission more nearly to examine his personal characteristics.

Messer Gaspar Contarini, the eldest son of a noble house in Venice that traded to the Levant, had devoted himself especially to philosophical studies. His manner of proceeding in this is not unworthy of remark. He set apart three hours daily for his special studies, never devoting to them more, and never less. He began each time with accurate repetition: whatever he did, he did thoroughly, never slurring over any subject before him †.

He did not suffer the subtleties of Aristotle's commentaries to beguile him into similar point-splitting. He found that nothing is more astute than untruth.

He displayed the most decided talent, but still greater perseverance. He did not aim at the graces of language, but expressed himself simply and to the purpose.

As nature unfolds the growing plant in regular succession, yearly producing ring on ring, so did his mind develop itself.

When he was admitted at rather an early age

\* Gaspar C. Contarenus Reginaldo C. Polo. Ex ostiis Tiberinis, 11 Nov. 1538. (Epp. Poli, ii. 142.)

† Acta Consistorialia, (6 Aug. 1540,) in Rinaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, tom. xxi. p. 146.

‡ *Instructio pro causa fidei et consilii*, data episcopo Mutina, 24 Oct. 1536. MS. (App. No. XXII.)

\* *Instructioes pro Revmo D. ep. Mutinensi apostolico nuncio interfectu conventui Germanorum Spire, 12 Maii, 1540, celebrando.* "Timendum est atque advo certo sciendum, ista quæ in his articulis pie et prudenter continentur non solum fretos salvo conductu esse eos recusatos, verum etiam ubi mors præsens immineret, illum potius prælecturos." App. No. XXXV.

† *Johannis Casæ Vita Gasparis Contarini*; in *Jo. Casæ Monumenta Latina*, ed. Hal. 1708, p. 88.

into the council of the Pregadi, the senate of his native city, he did not for a while venture to speak; he could have wished to do so; he could have found matter worth delivering; still he could not summon up resolution; but when at length he conquered his timidity, he spoke, neither very engagingly, indeed, nor wittily, nor warmly and energetically, but so simply, and with such solidity of reasoning, that he acquired the highest consideration.

He was cast upon most agitated times. He was born to see his native city stripped of its territory, and he contributed towards its recovery. On the first arrival of Charles V. in Germany, he was sent as ambassador to him, and there he witnessed the beginning of the division in the Church. They entered Spain as the ship *Vittoria* returned from the first circumnavigation of the globe\*: he was the first, so far as I can discover, to solve the enigma, that she entered port a day later than she should have done, according to the reckoning in her log-book. He helped to reconcile the emperor and the pope, under whose orders he passed, after the taking of Rome. Of his sagacious penetrating views of men and things, and his judicious patriotism, there are clear proofs in his small book on the Venetian constitution, a very instructive and well-arranged little work, and in his reports of his embassies, which exist here and there in manuscript†.

One Sunday, in the year 1535, just as the great council was assembled, and Contarini, who, meanwhile, had been advanced to the most important offices, was seated by the balloting urn, the news arrived, that pope Paul, whom he did not know, and with whom he had no manner of connexion, had named him cardinal. Every one hastened to congratulate the astonished man, who would hardly believe the report. Aluise Mocenigo, who had hitherto been opposed to him in political matters, exclaimed that the republic lost in him her best citizen‡.

This honourable fortune, nevertheless, presented to him one painful aspect. Should he abandon his free native city, that offered him its highest dignities, and in any case a sphere of action in full equality with the heads of the state, to enter the service of a pope, often swayed by passion and restricted by no binding law? Should he withdraw from the republic of his forefathers, whose manners harmonized with his own, to measure himself against the rest in the luxury and splendour of the Roman court? The consideration, that in such trying times the example of contempt for so high a dignity would have injurious effects, was, we are assured, what chiefly determined him to accept it§.

\* Beccatello, *Vita del C. Contarini*, (Epp. Poll. iii.) p. 103. There is also a separate edition, but which has only been detached from the volume of letters, and has similarly numbered pages.

† The first belongs to the year 1525, the second to the year 1530. The first is, above all, very important in relation to the earlier times of Charles V. I found no trace of it, either in Vienna, or in Venice. I discovered one copy in Rome, but never met with another elsewhere. (App. No. XVIII.)

‡ Daniel Barbaro to Dominico Veniero: *Lettere Volgari*, i. 73.

§ Casa, p. 102

The whole zeal which he had hitherto devoted to his native city, he now bestowed on the affairs of the Church. He often had against him the cardinals, who thought it strange that a new comer hardly installed, and a Venetian, should take upon him to reform the Roman court: sometimes too he encountered the resistance of the pope. He once opposed the nomination of a cardinal. "We know," said the pope, "how the land lies; the cardinals like it not that another should be made equal in honour with themselves." Hurt at this, Contarini replied; "I do not think that the cardinal's hat constitutes my greatest honour."

He continued to maintain in Rome all his previous gravity, simplicity, and activity, all his dignity and gentleness of character. Nature leaves not the simple weed without the adornment of its blossoms, in which its very being breathes and imparts itself. To man, she gives the disposition, the combined product of all the higher powers of his organization, which shapes his moral demeanour and bestows its expression on his aspect. Contarini's was characterized by gentleness, innate truth, pure morality; above all, by that deep religious conviction that blesses while it enlightens its possessor.

Endowed with a temper like this, full of moderation, and almost of like views with the Protestants upon the weightiest point of doctrine, Contarini appeared in Germany, where he hoped by a doctrinal reform based on that same great principle common to himself and the Lutherans, and by the suppression of abuses, to heal the division in the Church.

But had it not already gone too far? Had not the dissentient opinions already struck too deep root? This is, I think, a question not to be decided off-hand.

Marino Giustiniano, another Venetian who left Germany shortly before the meeting of this diet, and who seems to have carefully observed the position of things, represents the scheme as at least very feasible\*; only a few important concessions he thinks were indispensable. He particularizes the following: "The pope must no longer claim to be Christ's representative in secular as well as in spiritual matters—substitutes of blameless life, and capable of instructing the people, must be appointed in the place of the unlearned and the profligate bishops and priests—neither sale of masses, nor accumulation of benefices, nor abuse of compositions, must any longer be tolerated—the breach of fasting ordinances must be visited at the very most with light punishments—then if the communion in both kinds be accorded, and the marriage of priests sanctioned, all parties in Germany will forthwith abjure their dissensions, yield obedience to the pope in spiritual things, assent to the mass, submit to oral confession, and even admit the necessity of good works as fruits of faith, in so far as they spring from faith. As the present discord arose out of abuses, so it will be allayed by their abolition."

In relation to this subject let us recollect, that Landgrave Philip of Hesse had declared the year before, that the temporal power of the bishops

\* *Relazione del chiaro M. Marino Giustiniano Kavv. (ritornato) dalla legazione di Germania sotto Ferdinando, re di Romani. Bibl. Corsini in Rome, n. 481.*

might be tolerated in proportion as means were found for the suitable exercise of their spiritual authority; and that with respect to the mass, matters might easily be accommodated, provided the question of the two kinds were conceded\*. Joachim von Brandenburg declared his readiness to acknowledge the pope's supremacy, doubtless under certain conditions. Meanwhile, advances were made from the other side also. The imperial ambassador reiterated, that concessions must be made by both parties, so far as ever it was possible, consistently with the honour of God. Even the nonprotesting party would have welcomed the withdrawal of spiritual power throughout all Germany from the bishops, who had become to all intents and purposes secular princes, and its transference to superintendents, and the adoption of one general measure for the conversion of Church property. Men began already to talk of neutral things which might be retained or omitted; and even in the ecclesiastical electorates, prayers were offered up for the prosperous issue of the work of reconciliation.

We will not debate the degree of possibility and probability of this consummation; it was in any case very difficult, but if there appeared even a glimmering of hope, the attempt deserved well to be made: thus much we see, that a great inclination to such a result had manifested itself, and that vast expectations were built upon it.

It was now asked, whether the pope too, without whom nothing could be done, was disposed to abate something from the strictness of his demands. With respect to this, a passage in his instructions to Contarini on his departure for the conference, is very worthy of attention†.

He had not conferred on him the unlimited authority which was pressed for on the part of the Imperialists. He suspected that demands might be put forward in Germany, which no legate, nor even himself the pope could concede without consulting the other nations. But he did not absolutely reject all negotiations thereupon. "We must first see," he says, "whether the Protestants accord with us in the main principles, for example, the supremacy of the holy see, the sacraments, and some others." If we now ask what are these others, we find that the pope does not express himself very clearly respecting them. He describes them generally as "whatever is sanctioned as well by the holy Scriptures as by the perpetual usage of the Church, matters all of them well known to the legate." "Upon this basis," he adds, "endeavours may then be made to arrange all differences‡."

There cannot be a question, but that this vague-

ness of expression was purposely adopted: Paul III. might have desired to see how far Contarini could bring matters, and might have been unwilling to bind himself beforehand to a ratification of all his acts. He allowed the legate a certain latitude. Undoubtedly it would have cost the latter new and arduous efforts, to make that result acceptable to the intractable Roman curia, which should have been compassed in Ratisbon with much straining, and without the possibility of fully contenting all parties; but on the main object of reconciling and uniting the assembled divines, everything in the first instance depended. The conciliatory tendency was still much too loose and undefined, it scarcely admitted of a name; not till it had acquired consistence and stability could it promise to possess greater efficacy.

The discussion began on the 5th of April, 1541, and a plan of proceeding proposed by the emperor, and admitted with some slight alterations by Contarini, was adopted. Just at this point the legate deemed it expedient to depart a step from his instructions. The pope had required in the very first place the recognition of his supremacy. Contarini saw clearly, that upon this topic, so fitted to stir the passions, the design might be wrecked in the very onset: he therefore suffered the question touching the papal supremacy to be the last in the list proposed for discussion, holding it better to begin with those on which he and his friends approximated to the Protestants, questions decidedly of the highest importance, which concerned the fundamental principles of faith. He himself bore the largest part in the deliberation on these points. His secretary assures us that nothing was resolved on by the catholic theologians, not even a single variation proposed, until his opinion had been previously consulted\*. Morone, bishop of Modena, and Tomaso da Modena, Maestro di Sacro Palazzo, both men who entertained the same views touching the article of justification, aided him with their advice†. The main difficulty arose on the part of a German theologian, Luther's old antagonist, Doctor Eck: but upon compelling him to close discussion point by point, even he was brought at last to a satisfactory explanation. In fact the two parties speedily agreed—who could have ventured to hope it!—upon the four important articles of human nature, original sin, redemption, and even justification. Contarini acquiesced in the main point of the Lutheran doctrine, that man's justification ensues without merit, through faith alone, adding only thereto, that this faith must be lively and active. Melancthon admitted that this was precisely the Protestant creed‡. Bucer boldly maintains, that in the articles mutually admitted, was included

\* Despatch of the Landgrave in Rommels Urkundenbuch, p. 85. Compare that of the bishop of Lunden in Seckendorf, p. 299. Contarini al Cl. Farnese, 28th April, 1541, (Epp. Poli, III. p. cclv.) The landgrave and the elector demanded the right of marriage for both orders of the priesthood, and the sacrament in both kinds. The former made more difficulty with respect to the pope's supremacy, the latter with respect to the doctrine "de missa quod sit sacrificium," [that the mass is a sacrifice.]

† Instructio data Revmº Cl. Contareno in Germaniam legato, d. 28 mensis Januarii, 1541. MS. in many libraries; printed in Quirin; Epp. Poli, iii. cclxxvi.

‡ Videndum inprimis est an Protestantæ et ii qui ab ecclesiæ gremio defecerunt in principis nobiscum conven-

ant, ejusmodi est hujus sanctæ sedis primatus, tanquam a Deo et Salvatore nostro institutus, sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ sacramenta et alia quedam, quæ tam sacrarum litterarum auctoritate tum universalis ecclesiæ perpetua observatione hoc tenus observata et comprobata fuerit, et tibi nota esse bene scimus, quibus statim initio admissis omnis super aliis controversiis concordia tentaretur. We must with respect to this subject keep steadily in view the position of the pope, which was in the highest degree orthodox, and by its very nature inflexible, in order to perceive how much lay in such a turn of affairs.

\* Becanelli, Vita del Cardinal Contarini, p. cxvii.

† Pallavicini, IV. xiv. p. 433, from Contarini's letters.

‡ Melancthon to Camerarius, 10th May, (Epp. p. 360). "Ad-

"every thing necessary towards a godly, righteous, and holy life, in the eyes of God and among men \*."

They were equally content on the other side. The bishop of Aquila calls this a holy conference, and doubts not that it will bring about the reconciliation of Christendom. Contarini's friends, who sympathized with him in feeling and opinion, were delighted to hear of the progress he had made. "When I observed this unanimity of sentiment," says Pole in a letter to the former, "I experienced a feeling of pleasure such as no harmony of tones could have afforded me: not alone because I foresee the coming of peace and union, but also because these articles are the foundations of the Christian faith. They seem, indeed, to treat of a variety of matters, of faith, works, and justification; on this latter, however, justification, repose all the rest; and I wish you joy, and I thank God, that the theologians of both parties are agreed thereon. We hope that he who has begun so mercifully will also complete what he has begun †."

This, if I err not, was a crisis of essential importance for Germany, nay for the world. With respect to the former, the points we have touched on tended in their consequences to a change in the whole spiritual constitution of the nation, and to putting the latter, as regarded the pope, in a freer, more independent position, elevated above the reach of his temporal encroachment. The unity of the church would have been maintained, and with it that of the nation. But the results would have been still infinitely more extensive. If the moderate party, that had planned and conducted this peace-making effort, had been able to keep the upper hand in Rome and in Italy, what a wholly altered aspect must the Catholic world have needs assumed!

But so vast a result was not to be obtained without a vehement struggle.

The resolutions adopted at Ratisbon required to be confirmed on the one side by the pope's sanction, on the other by the assent of Luther, to whom a special embassy even was deputed.

But here arose numerous difficulties. Luther could not persuade himself that the doctrine of jus-

tification had taken root amongst the other party likewise. He justly regarded his old adversary as incorrigible, and yet he too had taken an active part in the matter. Luther saw in the concerted articles nothing but a patchwork made up from both systems; he therefore, ever regarding himself as he did, as one engaged in a fight between heaven and hell, thought that here too he discerned Satan's hand. He most urgently dissuaded his sovereign the elector from proceeding in person to the diet. "He was just the very one whom the devil was looking for \*." The appearance of the elector at the diet, and his assent to the conclusions adopted, would indeed have had immense weight.

Meanwhile, the articles in question had arrived in Rome, where they excited an extraordinary sensation. The cardinals Caraffa and San Marcello, particularly took great offence at the declaration respecting justification, and it was with difficulty Priuli could make its real import clear to them †. The pope, however, did not express himself in such positive terms as Luther. Cardinal Farnese wrote to the legate, that his holiness neither sanctioned nor rejected this conclusion: but all others who had seen it were of opinion, that, provided always its meaning was in accordance with the Catholic faith, it might have been conceived in clearer language.

However strong this theological opposition might have been, it was yet neither the only one, nor perhaps the most efficacious. Another arose out of the bearings of politics.

A reconciliation, such as that contemplated, would have given Germany an universal unity, and bestowed extraordinary strength upon the emperor, who would have been able to avail himself of that unity ‡. As the head of the moderate party he would of necessity have obtained a great pre-eminence in the eyes of all Europe, especially whenever a general council took place. All the usual feelings of enmity were naturally aroused at such a prospect.

Francis I. looked on himself as especially threatened, and neglected nothing that could throw impediments in the way of an union of parties. He complained vehemently of the concessions made by the legate at Ratisbon §, saying that "his conduct

*sentiantur justificari homines fide, et quidem in eam sententiam ut nos docemus.*" [They admit that men are justified by faith, and that too in the sense in which we teach.] Compare Planck, *Geschichte des protestantischen Lehrbegriffs*, III. ii. 93.

\* All the negotiations and writings for the reconciliation of the religious parties, executed by his Imperial Majesty, A.D. 1541, by Martin Bucer, in Hortleder, book i. chap. 37, p. 280.

† Polus Contareno Capranica, 17 Maji 1541. Epp. Poli, tom. iii. p. 25. The letters of the bishop of Aquila in Rainaldi, 1541, No. 11, 12, are also deserving of attention. It was thought, that if once the question of the Lord's Supper was set at rest, every other difficulty would be easily overcome. *Id unum est quod omnibus spem maximam fecit, assertio Cæsaris se nullo pacto nisi rebus bene compositis discessurum, atque etiam quod omnia scitu consiliisque reym legati in colloquio a nostris theologis tractantur et disputantur.* [What above all things fills every one with the highest hopes, is the declaration of the emperor, that he will on no account depart till matters are satisfactorily arranged, and also that our divines conduct themselves in the disputation, in all respects, with the knowledge and by the advice of the most rev<sup>d</sup> legate.]

\* Luther to John Frederick, in de Wette's collection, v. 353.

† I cannot forgive Quirini for his failure to give without curtailment Priuli's letter on these circumstances, which he had in his hands.

‡ There always existed an Imperial party, which strove for that result. In this lies, among other things, the whole secret of the archbishop of Lunden's negotiations. He represented to the emperor: "Che se S. M. volesse tollerare che i Lutheran stessero ne' loro errori, disponeva a modo e voler suo di tutta la Germania." *Istruzione di Paolo III. a Montepulciano, 1539.* [That if the emperor would tolerate the persistence of the Lutherans in their errors, he might dispose of all Germany at his own will and pleasure.] The emperor too, at that time, wished for toleration.

§ He spoke on the subject with the papal ambassadors at his court. Il C<sup>o</sup> di Mantova al C<sup>o</sup> Contarini in Quirini, III. cclxxviii: *Lores, 17 Maggio 1541.* S. M<sup>a</sup> Ch<sup>ma</sup> diveniva ogni di più ardente nelle cose della chiesa, le quali era risoluto di voler difendere e sostenere con tutte le forze sue e con la vita sua e di figliuoli, giurandomi che da questo si moveva principalmente a far questo officio. [His most Christian Majesty grew every day more ardent with respect to the

discouraged the good and emboldened the bad; he would go to such extremities out of complaisance to the emperor, that the matter would be past cure. The advice of other princes also ought surely to have been taken." He affected to consider the pope and the church in danger; and promised he would defend them with his life, and with all the might of his kingdom.

And already at Rome other scruples had taken fast hold, besides those of a theological character already mentioned. It was noticed that the emperor, on opening the diet and announcing the intention of assembling a general council, had not said that it was for the pope alone to convene it. Indications, it was thought, existed that he pretended to that right for himself. In the old articles agreed on with Clement VII. at Barcelona, there was a passage which some were disposed to think aimed that way. And did not the protestants unceasingly assert, that the right of convening a council belonged to the emperor? How ready might he not be to yield to them on a point in which his own advantage so visibly coincided with their doctrine\*. Herein was involved the greatest danger of a rupture.

In the mean time Germany too was on the alert. Giustiniani assures us, that the power the landgrave had acquired by putting himself at the head of the protestant party, already excited a desire in other sovereigns to attain a similar accession of strength at the head of the catholics. One who took part in the diet, acquaints us, that the dukes of Bavaria entertained an abhorrence of every proposition for agreement: the elector of Mainz was also decidedly opposed to it. He warns the pope in a special letter against a national council, nay, against any council to be held in Germany; "the pope would be constrained by it to inordinate concessions †." There are other documents too extant, in which catholics complain directly to the pope of the progress made by protestantism in the diet, the obsequiousness of Gropper and Pflug, and the withdrawal of the catholic princes from the discussion ‡.

affairs of the church, which he was resolved to defend and uphold with all his might, and with his own life and those of his sons, vowing to me that it was chiefly on this account he was moved to take upon himself such duties.] Granvella, on the other hand, had different instructions. M' affermò, says Contarini in a letter to Farnese, *ibid. eelv.*, con giuramento havere in mano lettere del re Christiano, il quale scrive a questi principi Protestanti che non si accordino in alcun modo, e che lui aveva voluto veder l'opinioni loro, le quali non li spiacevano. [He assured me on oath that he held letters in his hands from the most Christian king, who wrote to these Protestant princes that they should not in any wise assent, and that he had been desirous to learn their opinions, which were not displeasing to him.] According to this, Francis I. would have caused impediments on both sides to a reconciliation.

\* Ardinghelli al nome del Cl. Farnese al Cl. Contarini, 29 Maggio, 1541.

† *Litteræ Cardinalis Moguntini, in Rainaldus, 1541, No. 27.*

‡ Anonymous, likewise in Rainaldus No. 25. The side from which they came is obvious, from the fact that Eck is thus spoken of in them: "Unus duntaxat peritus Theologus adhibitus est." [One able divine at least was brought forward.] They are full of insinuations against the emperor. "Nihil," they say, "ordinabitur pro robore ecclesie, quia timetur illi (Cæsari) displicere." [Nothing will be arranged

In short, in Rome, France, and Germany, there arose a keen opposition to the conciliatory project of Charles V. on the part of his enemies, and of those who were either truly or ostensibly the most zealous for Catholicism. In Rome they remarked an unusual intimacy between the pope and the French ambassador; it was said his holiness purposed a marriage between his niece Vittoria Farnese and one of the house of Guise.

These movements could not fail of a lively reaction upon the theologians. Eck, independently of all this, adhered to Bavaria. "The emperor's enemies," says Contarini's secretary, "in Germany and without it, who feared her greatness should he combine all Germany in unity, began to sow disension among the theologians. Carnal envy broke up the conference \*." Considering the natural difficulties of the matter, it is no wonder if from that time forth there was no further possibility of agreeing on a single article.

They overstep the bounds of justice who ascribe the blame of this solely, or even principally, to the protestants. The pope very soon announced it to his legate as his decided will, that he should neither in his public nor his private capacity sanction any resolution, in which the Catholic opinions were expressed in other words than such as admitted of no ambiguity. The formulae in which Contarini had thought to reconcile the various opinions as to the pope's supremacy, and the power of councils, were unconditionally rejected at Rome †. The legate was constrained to abide by explanations, that even seemed in contradiction with his own previous language.

But that some practical result might be obtained, the emperor wished at least that both parties should for the present abide by the articles mutually assented to, extending toleration to the several opinions entertained on other points. But neither Luther nor the pope could be brought to consent to this. It was announced to the cardinal as the unanimous determination of the whole college, that no toleration with regard to such essential articles, should under any conditions be admitted.

After such great hopes and so prosperous a beginning, Contarini returned home wholly frustrated. He had wished to accompany the emperor to the Netherlands, but he was not permitted. He was forced to return to Italy, to endure the slanders that were spread from Rome over the whole country touching his conduct, and the reputed concessions he had made to the protestants. He had loftiness enough of soul to feel still more keenly the ill success of designs of such enlarged utility.

How grand a position was that which moderate Catholicism had assumed in his person. But now that it had failed to carry out its vast and comprehensive designs, it became a question whether it would be able even to maintain its own existence.

conducive to the strength of the church, because of the fear of offending him (the emperor).

\* Beccatelli Vita, p. 119. "Hora il diavolo, che sempre alle buone opere s'attraversa, fece sì che sparsa questa fama della concordia che tra Catholici e Protestanti si preparava, gli invidi dell' Imperatore, in Germania e fuori, che la sua grandezza temevano quando tutti gli Alemanni fussero stati uniti, cominciarono a seminare zizania tra quelli theologi collocatori."

† Ardinghelli a Contarini. *Ibid.* p. 224.

To every great tendency is imperatively assigned the task of vindicating itself, and winning its own way; if it cannot attain to command, its doom is speedy ruin.

#### *New Ecclesiastical Orders.*

Meanwhile another tendency had already developed itself, in its origin nearly related to that already indicated, but continually diverging from it, and though likewise founded on the idea of reform, yet directly opposed to protestantism.

If Luther repudiated the existing priesthood in its very principle and conception, so on the other hand there arose in Italy a movement towards the re-establishment of that very principle, and the renewal of its credit and consideration in the church, by means of a more rigid observance of its tenour. Both parties were aware of the corruption of the ecclesiastical institutions: but whereas in Germany men would be content with nothing but the abolition of monachism, in Italy, they desired its renovation; whilst there the clerk shook off so many fetters he had previously worn, here it was contemplated to place him in a still more restricted condition. On this side of the Alps men struck into a wholly new path; beyond them, on the other hand, they repeated attempts that had been made from time to time during the course of centuries.

For it was a thing of old occurrence that the institutions of the church should yield to the growth of worldly tendencies, and then again bethink them of their origin, and amend their errors. How necessary had the Carlovingians found it to enforce upon the clergy the rule of Chrodegang, enjoining them to community of life and voluntary subordination! The simple rule of Benedict of Nursia was not long sufficient even for the convents: during the tenth and eleventh centuries small secluded congregations, with peculiar regulations after the model of Clugny, were every where thought requisite. All this had an immediate effect on the secular clergy; they became, by the enforcement of celibacy, as already said, themselves almost reduced to the form of a monastic order. Notwithstanding all this, and in spite of the great religious impulse given to the nation by the crusades, so that even the knights and nobles submitted their trade of war to the forms of monkish laws; all these institutions had fallen deeply into corruption when the mendicant orders arose. At first, they unquestionably contributed to the restoration of primitive simplicity and severity, but we have seen how they too gradually degenerated, and became tinctured with worldliness; and how precisely in them was evinced one of the most glaring instances of the church's corruption.

So early as the year 1520, and since with continually increasing earnestness in proportion to the progress made by protestantism, there was felt in the countries not yet invaded by the new doctrine, a sense of the necessity of again reforming the hierarchal institutions. The feeling was manifested even in the orders themselves, sometimes in the one, sometimes in the other.

In spite of the great seclusion of the order of Camaldoli, Paolo Giustiniani found it involved in the general corruption. In the year 1522, he formed a new congregation of the order, which

received the name of Monte Corona, from the mountain on which afterwards stood its principal establishment\*. Giustiniani held three things essential to the attainment of spiritual perfection: solitude, vows, and the separation of the monks into distinct cells. He descants with peculiar satisfaction in one of his letters, on those little cells and oratories still to be found here and there on the loftiest mountains amidst the wild charms of nature, that seem to invite the soul at once to sublime aspirations, and to profound repose†. The reforms effected by these hermits were felt all over the world.

Among the Franciscans, who were perhaps the most deeply tainted of all, a new experiment of reform was made, in addition to the many that had preceded it. The Capuchins proposed to revive the regulations of the first founder, the midnight worship, the prayers at stated hours, discipline and silence, with all the personal austerity of the original institution. We cannot avoid smiling at the importance they attached to trivial things; it cannot, however, be questioned, that they once more evinced great energy of conduct, as for instance, during the plague of 1528.

After all, but little had been gained by the reform of the religious orders, so long as the secular clergy were so wholly estranged from their calling. An amelioration, to signify anything, must needs affect the latter.

Here we again encounter members of the Roman oratory before-mentioned. Two of them, men as it seemed of wholly opposite character, undertook to prepare the way for this desirable measure: the one, Gaetano da Thiene, pacific, retiring, gentle, of few words, wrapt in the charmed reveries of spiritual enthusiasm; a man of whom it was said, that he could wish to reform the world without its being known that he was in it‡: the other, John Peter Caraffa, of whom we shall have yet to speak at length, sanguine, turbulent, impetuous and bigoted. But Caraffa, too, owned, as he said, that his heart was but the more oppressed the more it had pursued its own desires; that it could find no rest but in abandoning itself for God, and in converse with heavenly things. Thus these two men agreed in that craving for seclusion, which was in the one an instinct of nature, in the other the longing after a cherished ideal of perfection, and in a desire to be active in the cause of religion. Convinced of the necessity of a reform, they combined in founding an institution (since called the order of theatines), that had for its objects, contemplation, and at the same time the amendment of the clergy§.

\* It is reasonable to date the foundation from the drawing up of the rules, after Masacio was ceded to the new congregation in 1522. Basciano, the successor of Giustiniani, was the first founder of Monte Corona. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, V. p. 271.

† Lettera del C. Giustiniano al vescovo Teatino in Bromato, *Storia di Paolo IV.* lib. iii. § 19.

‡ Caracciolus, *Vita S. Cajetani Thienari*, c. ix. p. 101. In conversatione humilis, mansuetus, modestus, pauci sermonis, — meminisse me illum sæpe vidisse inter precandum lacrymantem. He is very well described by the testimony of a pious society in Rienenza, which is also to be found in the same work, c. i. No. 12.

§ Caracciolus, c. ii. § 19, specifies it as their views "clericis quos ingenti populorum exitio improbitas inscitique corruptissent, clericos alios debere suffici, quorum opera dam-



Gaetano belonged to the *protonotari partecipanti*: he gave up his emoluments: Caraffa held the bishopric of Chieti, and the archbishopric of Brindisi; he resigned them both\*. On the 14th Sept. 1524, in company with two intimate friends, they solemnly took the three vows†. To the vow of poverty they added the special clause, that not only would they possess nothing, but that they would abstain from begging, waiting only in their dwelling for alms. After a short abode in the city they withdrew to a small house on the Monte Pincio, near the Vigna Capisuechi, which was afterwards converted into the Villa Medici, and where, although it was within the walls, a deep solitude reigned in those days. Here they lived in that poverty they had imposed on themselves, in spiritual exercises, and in the strictly appointed and monthly-repeated study of the gospel: they then descended to the city to preach.

They did not call themselves monks, but regular clergy: they were priests with monks' vows. Their purpose was to establish a sort of seminary for the priesthood. Their foundation deed permitted them expressly to receive secular clergy. They did not originally adopt a determined colour and form of garb, leaving these to be determined by the local customs of the clergy. The forms of service too, they proposed should every where be in conformity with national usage. Thus they freed themselves from many restrictions under which the monks laboured: they declared expressly that no usage should be binding on the conscience, either as regarded life or worship‡; on the other hand they resolved to dedicate themselves to clerical duties, to preaching, the ministration of the sacraments, and the care of the sick.

And now, a thing that had fallen into total disuse in Italy, priests were seen in the pulpit with the baret, the cross, and the clerical gown. This occurred chiefly in the oratory of Divine Love, frequently also in the streets in the form of missions. Caraffa himself preached with all that overflowing eloquence that remained his own till his death. He and his associates, most of them men of noble birth, and who might have enjoyed all the plea-

tures of the world, began to visit the sick in private houses and hospitals, and to stand by the bed of the dying.

Here we behold a resumption of clerical duties of very great importance. This order did not indeed become, properly speaking, a seminary for priests; its numbers were never sufficient for that purpose; but it grew to be a seminary for bishops. It became in time the peculiar order of the nobility; and as it was sedulously observed from the first that the new members should be of noble descent, so in later times proofs of nobility were here and there required for admission into the order. It will readily be admitted that the original plan of living upon alms, without having recourse to begging, could only be carried out under such conditions.

The main thing, however, was, that the happy thought of conjoining clerical duties and consecration to the ministry with monks' vows, was elsewhere approved and imitated.

Upper Italy had been visited since the year 1521 with continual war, and in its train with devastation, famine, and disease. How many children were there made orphans, and threatened with ruin in body and soul. Happily, pity dwells among men close by misfortune. A Venetian senator, Girolamo Miani, gathered together the children who were fugitives in Venice, and received them in his house, seeking them out through the islands and the city. Without paying much heed to the scolding of his sister-in-law, he sold his plate and the handsomest tapestry in his house, to procure for the children lodging, food, raiment, and instruction. By degrees he devoted his whole energy to this vocation. His success was particularly great in Bergamo. The hospital which he founded there was so strenuously supported, that he was encouraged to make similar experiments in other towns. By and by hospitals of the same kind were established at Verona, Brescia, Ferrara, Como, Milan, Pavia, and Genoa. Finally, he entered with some friends of like sentiments into a congregation of regular clergy, modelled on that of the Theatines, designated by the name di Sonasea. Their main object was education. Their hospitals received a common constitution\*.

No city had felt more severely all the horrors of war than Milan, exposed as it had been to repeated sieges and captures, now by the one party, now by the other. To mitigate the effects of these evils by deeds of mercy, and to repair the barbarism they entailed by instruction, preaching, and example, was the object of the three founders of the order of Barnabites, Zaccaria, Ferrari, and Morigia. We learn from a Milanese chronicle with what astonishment men first beheld these new priests going through the streets, all alike in homely garb, with their round barets, with downcast heads, and all still young. They had their dwelling near the church of

*num quod illi per pravam exemplum intulissent sanare-tur.*" [That other clergy should be substituted for those whom vice and ignorance had corrupted, to the great ruin of the people, so that with the aid of the latter the mis chief done by the evil example of the former might be cured.]

\* We find it authenticated by a letter of the papal datary of Sep. 22, 1524. (Lettere di Principe, l. p. 135) that the pope long hesitated to accept the resignation ("non volendo privare quelle chiese di così buon pastore—not being willing to deprive those churches of so good a pastor"). He only yielded to Caraffa's repeated and urgent entreaties.

† The acts on this subject are to be found in the *Commentarius prævius AA. SS.*, Aug. 11, 249.

‡ Rule of the Theatines in Bionato's *Vita di Paolo IV.* lib. iii. § 25. *Nessuna consuetudine, nessun modo di vivere o rito che sia, tanto di quelle cose che spettano al culto divino e in qualunque modo fannosi in chiesa, quanto di quelle che pel viver comune in casa o fuori da noi si sogliono praticare, non pernettiamo in veruna maniera che acquistino vigore di precetto.* [We do not permit that any usage, or any manner of living or rite whatever, either in those things that concern divine worship, or which are in any way practised in church, or in those which relate to living in community with us or otherwise, shall in anywise acquire force of prescription.]

\* *Approbatio societatis tam ecclesiasticarum quam secularium personarum, nuper instituta ad erigendum hospitalia pro subventionem pauperum orphanorum et mulierum convertitarum* (which last object, the support of converted women, was in some places combined with the first). Bull of Paul III. 5 June, 1540. *Bullarium, Cocquelines IV.*, p. 173.

It appears, however, from the bull of Pius V. *Infinitum nobis*, Dec. 6, 1568, that the members of this congregation took their first vows at that date.



S. Ambrosio, where they lived in community. The countess Lodovica Torella, who sold her paternal inheritance Guastalla, and devoted the proceeds to good works, was their special protectress\*. The Barnabites had likewise the form of regular clergy.

But whatever all these congregations might effect in their own circles, they were debarred from the exercise of any universal or deep-searching influence, either by the limited nature of their aim, as in the case of the last-named order, or by the inherent limitation of their means, as in that of the Theatines. They are deserving of attention, because their spontaneous rise is evidence of a great tendency that contributed immensely to the regeneration of Catholicism: but to resist the bold march of Protestantism was a task demanding other powers.

And these arose and entered upon a similar path, but the mode in which they were produced was very unexpected, and quite unparalleled.

### *Ignatius Loyola.*

The Spanish chivalry was the only one in the world that still retained something of its religious character. The war with the Moors, scarce ended in the peninsula, and still carried on in Africa; the vicinity of the subjugated Moors who remained in Spain, and with whom the victors continued to hold an intercourse, characterized by all the rancour of discordance in faith; and the adventurous expeditions against other unbelievers beyond the ocean, all fostered and perpetuated this spirit. It was idealized in books like *Amadis de Gaul*, full of a simple, enthusiastic, loyal gallantry.

Don *Íñigo Lopez de Recalde*†, the youngest son of the house of Loyola, was born in the castle of that name, between *Azpeitia* and *Azcotia* in *Guipuseoa*, of a race belonging to the noblest of the land (*de parientes mayores*), the head of whom claimed of right to be always summoned by a special writ to do homage. He was brought up at the court of Ferdinand the Catholic, and in the suite of the duke of Najara. *Íñigo* was deeply imbued with the spirit of his class and nation. He longed for knightly renown; for none had fine arms and horses, the fame of valour, the adventures of the duel and of love, more charms than for him: but the religious bent of his people was equally marked in him: he celebrated the first of the apostles in a chivalric romance, composed in this earlier period of his life‡.

In all probability, however, we should have read his name among those of the other brave Spanish cavaliers, to whom Charles V. supplied such ample opportunity to distinguish themselves, had he not unluckily been severely wounded in both legs in the defence of *Pampeluna* against the French, in 1521. Being carried to his lodgings, he twice endured the opening his wounds with singular fortitude, in the

worst agony of the operation only strongly clenching his fists: he recovered, indeed, but the cure was most unfavourable.

He was versed in the romances of chivalry, and greatly attached to them, particularly to *Amadis de Gaul*: he now, during his confinement, had opportunity to read the lives of Christ and of some of the saints.

Visionary by nature, his course for ever barred upon a path that seemed to promise him the most brilliant fortune, compelled to inactivity, and at the same time excited and agitated by his sufferings, he fell into a state of mind the most singular that can be conceived. The deeds of St. Francis and St. Dominic, that were here displayed before him in all the lustre of ghostly fame, seemed to him no less worthy of imitation than those of his chivalric models; and as he read he felt himself possessed of the courage and the strength to follow their footsteps, and to vie with them in austerity and self-denial\*.

Frequently, indeed, these ideas gave way to very mundane thoughts. He would picture to himself how he would visit the city where dwelt the lady to whose service he had dedicated his heart—"she was no countess," he says himself, "no duchess, but something higher still"—how he would address her with gay and graceful discourse, how he would testify his devotion to her, and what knightly devoirs he would accomplish to her honour. Wholly immersed in these varying fancies, his mind fluctuated alternately between them.

But the longer his recovery was protracted, and the worse issue it seemed to promise, the more did his religious reveries gain the upper hand. Shall we do him wrong if we impute this result to his growing conviction that he could never be fully restored to his former vigour, nor ever again be fit for military service, and the pursuit of knightly honour?

Nor was the transition so abrupt, or to so opposite an extreme as it may at first sight perhaps appear. In his spiritual exercises, the origin of which was coincident with the first extatic contemplation of his awakened soul, he sets two camps before his mind's eye, the one at Jerusalem, the other at Babylon, Christ's and Satan's, on that side all the good, on this all the bad, both armed and ready for mutual combat. Christ is a king who proclaims his intention of subjugating all the countries of the unbelievers. Whoso will follow his banners must, however, eat of the same food and wear the same raiment as his King, and endure the same hardships and vigils as he: according to this measure he shall be admitted to share in the victory, and in the soldier's reward. Each man shall then declare before Christ, the Virgin, and the whole heavenly host, that he will follow his lord with all possible fidelity, partake of every mischance

\* The *Acta Antiquissima*, a *Lodovico Consalvo ex ore Sancti* excerpta, AA. SS. LI. p. 634, gives us very authentic information on this subject. The thought occurred to him once: "Quid si ego hoc agerem quod fecit b. Franciscus? quid si hoc quod b. Dominicus?" [What if I were to do like St. Francis or St. Dominick?] Again: "De muchas cosas vanas que si le ofrecian, una tenia." [Of many vain thoughts that occurred to him, one clung fast to his mind.] namely, the honour he thought to pay his lady. "Non era condesa, ni duquesa; mas era su estado mas alto que ninguno destas." A singularly naïf acknowledgment.

\* Chronicle of Burigozzo in Custode: continuation by Verri, *Storia di Milano* IV. p. 38.

† So stands the name in judicial acts; that no one knows how he came by the name Recalde, is no proof against its authenticity. *Acta Sanctorum*, 31 Julii. *Commentarius* prævius, p. 410.

‡ Maffei, *Vita Ignatii*.

with him, and serve him in true poverty, bodily and spiritual \*.

Such fantastic conceptions as these it may have been that facilitated his transition from mundane to ghostly chivalry, for this was now the end of his aspirations, a chivalry, the very ideal of which was embodied in the acts and the self-denying practices of the saints. He tore himself from his paternal house and his relations, and climbed the Montserrat, not impelled by anguish for his sins, nor by any peculiar religious longings, but only, as he himself has told us, by his thirst to achieve such great deeds as those by which the saints had won their renown, to undergo penances as hard or even harder; and to serve God in Jerusalem. He hung up arms and armour before an image of the Virgin; holding before it, as he knelt or stood in prayer with his pilgrim's staff in his hand, a vigil different from that of incipient knighthood, but expressly suggested by the romance of Amadis †, in which all the details of the rite are so accurately depicted. He gave away the knightly dress in which he had arrived, and provided himself with the coarse garb of the hermits, whose lonely dwellings were hewn out between those naked rocks. After he had made a general confession, he did not immediately betake himself to Barcelona in pursuance of his intention to visit Jerusalem, fearing that he should be recognized on the main roads, but first to Manresa, from which place he proposed, after fresh penances, to reach the harbour.

But here other trials awaited him: the ideas to which he had yielded, rather from caprice than from any settled conviction, had acquired almost complete mastery over him. In the cell of a Dominican convent he gave himself up to the severest penances, rose at midnight to pray, passed seven hours daily on his knees, and scourged himself regularly thrice a day. Not only, however, did he find these severities so great that he doubted whether he should be able to continue them all his life; but, what was still more serious, he felt that they did not give him peace. He had spent three whole days on Montserrat, making a general confession of all his past life; still he thought he had not done enough. He repeated it in Manresa; dragged back forgotten sins to light, and even searched sedulously after the merest trifles; but the more painfully he explored, the more afflicting were the doubts that assailed him. He believed he was not accepted by God nor justified before him. He read in the works of the fathers that God had once been softened by abstinence from all food, and moved to be gracious. So he abstained on one occasion from one Sunday to another, from all use of aliment. His confessor forbade him this practice, and he, who exalted the idea of obedience above every other, desisted from it. Now and then it did appear to him as if his melancholy was removed, as if a heavy garment had fallen from his shoulders, but soon all his old anguish returned. It seemed to him as if his whole life had been one uninterrupted series of sin upon sin. Sometimes

he deliberated whether or not he should throw himself out of the window \*.

We are involuntarily reminded by these details of the painful state in which Luther was sunk some twenty years before, by similar doubts. Religion's great demand, a full reconciliation with God, and a conscious assurance thereof, could never in the ordinary way proposed by the church be satisfied to the filling up the fathomless depths of a soul at war with itself. But very different were the paths by which they both issued from this labyrinth. Luther attained to the doctrine of reconciliation through Christ, altogether without works; this it was that first unlocked to him the meaning of the Scripture, which became his strong support. For Loyola, we do not learn that he searched the Scriptures, or that any dogma had made an impression on him. Living in a world of inward emotions, in thoughts that sprang up in his own mind, he believed that he experienced the suggestions now of the good, now of the evil spirit. At last he came to be able to discriminate them, remarking that the soul was cheered and comforted by the former, and harassed and tortured by the latter †. One day it seemed to him as if he had awoke out of a dream. He thought he could palpably perceive that all his torments were assaults of Satan. From that hour he resolved to have done for ever with all his past life, to tear open those wounds no more, nor ever to handle them again. This was not so much a return of peace as a resolution: it was rather an engagement entered into at the free option of the will than a conviction enforcing its subjection. It had no need of the Scriptures, it was based on the feeling of an immediate intercourse with the world of spirits. It would never have sufficed for Luther. Luther desired no inspirations, no visions; he held them all for things of perdition: he would have nothing but the simple, written, indubitable word of God. Loyola, on the other hand, lived wholly in fantasies and inward visions. He thought that no one so well understood Christianity as an old woman, who had told him in his anguish that Christ was yet to appear to him. At first he could scarcely feel assured of the fact, but by and by he was satisfied that he beheld at one time Christ, at another the Virgin, with his bodily eyes. He stood on the steps

\* Maffei, Ribadeneira, Orlandino, and all his other biographers, recount these struggles: but the most authentic testimony is that of Ignatius himself. The following passage in his writings, depicts the condition he was in. Cum his cogitationibus agitare, tentabat saepe graviter magno cum impetu ut magno ex foramine quod in cellula erat sese deliceret. Nec aberat foramen ab eo loco ubi preces fundebat. Sed cum videret esse peccatum se ipsum occidere, rursus clamabat, Domine, non faciam quod te offendat. [Agitated with these thoughts, he was often sorely tempted with a vehement impulse to throw himself out of a large window in the cell, not far from where he poured forth his prayers. But seeing it was a sin to slay himself, he cried out again, "Lord, I will not do what is offensive to thee."]

† One of his most peculiar and most original perceptions, the beginning of which he himself refers to his fantasies in illness. It grew to certainty while he was at Manresa. It is greatly expanded in the "Spiritual Exercises," in which we find explicit rules: Ad motus animae quos diversi excitant spiritus discernendos, ut boni solum admittantur et pellantur mali.

\* Exercitia Spiritualla: secunda hebdom. Contemplatio regni Jesu Christi ex similitudine regis terreni subditos suos evocantis ad bellum, and other passages.

† Acta Antiquissima: Cum mentem rebus his refertur: haberet que ab Amadeo de Gaula conscripte et ab ejus generis scriptoribus (a curious mistake, for Amadis is surely not an author) nonnullæ illi similes occurrant.

of the church of St. Dominick at Manresa, and wept aloud because he beheld the mystery of the Trinity visibly revealed to him at that moment\*. He spoke of nothing else that whole day, and was inexhaustible in similes and comparisons. The mystery of creation suddenly flashed upon him in mystic symbols. He beheld in the host him who was God and man. Once on his way along the banks of the Llobregat to a distant church, he sat down and bent his eyes on the deep stream before him: when suddenly he felt himself in an ecstasy, wherein the mysteries of faith were visibly revealed to him: he rose up, he thought, another man. Thenceforth for him there was no more need of testimony of Scripture. Even had there been no such thing he would yet have gone unhesitatingly to death for the faith he had hitherto cherished, the truth of which he now saw with his eyes†.

If we have rightly seized the main features of this most strange state of mind, of this chivalry of abstinence, this pertinacity of enthusiasm and fantastic asceticism, there will be no need that we should continue to accompany Inigo Loyola at every step of his life. He did actually go to Jerusalem, in the hope of contributing both to the corroboration of the faithful, and to the conversion of the unbelievers. But how was he to accomplish the latter, uninstructed as he was, without associates, and without plenary powers? His purpose to remain in the Holy Land was frustrated by the imperative order to depart, given him by the authorities of Jerusalem, who had the express sanction of the pope for so doing. On his return too to Spain, he had vexations enough to encounter. He fell even under the suspicion of heresy, on his beginning to teach, and to invite others to participate in his religious exercises. It would have been a most singular freak of chance, if Loyola, whose society ended in illuminati, had himself been associated with a sect of that name‡. Nor can it be denied that the Alumbrados, the Spanish Illuminati of that day, entertained opinions that had some analogy to his fantasies. They, too, revolting from the doctrine of salvation by works till then taught in Christendom, gave themselves up to ecstasy, and thought, like him, that mysteries were revealed to them by intuition, particularly, as they asserted, that of the Trinity. Like Loyola, and his followers after him, they made general confession a condition to absolution, and insisted in the first place on inward prayer. I should hardly, indeed, venture to maintain that Loyola was wholly uninctured with these opinions; but neither can it be said that he ever belonged to the sect. The grand difference between them was, that whereas they considered themselves exalted by the claims of the spirit above all common duties, he, on the other hand, with the feelings of an old soldier, declared obedience to be the first of all duties. He invariably submitted all

his enthusiastic feelings and all his inward convictions to the church and its powers.

Meanwhile, these troubles and obstacles had a decisive influence upon his future life. In the condition in which he then was, without learning or systematic knowledge of theology, and without political support, his existence must have passed away without leaving a trace behind, fortunate enough if he had succeeded in making some two or three conversions within the limits of Spain. But the injunction imposed on him in Alcala and Salamanca to study theology for four years, before he again attempted to hold forth on certain of the more knotty points of doctrine, compelled him to enter on a path that gradually opened to him an unexpected field in which to indulge his impulse to religious activity.

He betook himself to Paris, then the most famous university in the world.

Academical studies possessed peculiar difficulties for him. He had to pass through the classes of grammar, which he had already begun in Spain, and of those of philosophy, before he was admitted to those of theology\*. But with every word he parsed, with every logical conception he had to analyse, he was rapt in contemplation of the deeper religious sense he was accustomed to connect with them. There is something of magnanimity in the fact, that he pronounced these indulgences to be suggestions of the evil spirit, and that he forced himself most vigorously to abstain from them.

Whilst his studies were thus opening to him a new world, the word of realities, he did not for a moment intermit the prosecution of his religious views, or fail even to impart them to others. It was in this very place he made his first lasting conversions, pregnant with important results for the whole world.

Of Loyola's two chamber companions in the college of St. Barbara, the one, Peter Faber of Savoy, proved an easy conquest. He was a man who had grown up among his father's herds, and who had by night under the open heaven dedicated himself to God and to study. He repeated the course of philosophy with Ignatius (this was the name borne by Inigo among foreigners), and the latter communicated to him his own ascetic principles. Ignatius taught his young friend to combat his faults prudently, not all at once, but one after the other, as there was ever some virtue he should especially aspire after. He kept him strictly to confession and to frequent participation in the Lord's Supper. They united themselves together in the closest bonds of community: Ignatius shared with Faber the alms that were furnished him somewhat abundantly from Spain and Flanders. He had a harder task with his other companion, Francis Xavier of Navarre, whose only longing was to add the name of a learned man to the list of renowned warriors, extending through the five hundred years of his noble pedigree: he was handsome, rich, full of talent, and had already obtained a footing at the royal court. Ignatius delayed not to manifest towards him the respect to which he laid claim, and

\* En figura de tres teclas. [Under the figure of three keys of a musical instrument.]

† Aeta antiquissima: His visis haud medioeriter confirmatus est (in the original he dieron tanta confirmacione siempre de la fe) ut sæpe etiam id cogitaret, quod etsi nulla Scriptura mysteria illi fidei doceret, tamen ipse ob ea ipsa que viderat, statueret sibi pro his esse munerum.

‡ This charge was likewise brought against Lainez and Borgia. Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, III., p. 83. Melchior Cano flatly termed them illuminati, the gnostics of the age.

\* According to the oldest chronicle of the Jesuits, Chronicon Breve AA. SS. I. l. p. 525, Ignatius was in Paris from 1528 to 1535. Ibi vero non sine magnis molestiis et persecutionibus primo grammaticæ de integro, tum philosophiæ ac demum theologicæ studio sedulam operam navavit.

to see that it was paid him by others likewise. He procured him a considerable attendance at his first lectures. Having thus begun by rendering him personal services, he failed not in obtaining for his own example and personal austerity, the influence they were adapted to produce. He brought Xavier, as he had the other, to practise religious exercises under his own guidance. He did not spare them. Three days and three nights he made them fast; nor did he allow Faber any intermission in the hardest winter, when carriages passed over the frozen Seine. He made them both wholly his own, and full participators in his own thoughts and feelings\*.

How remarkable was that cell of St. Barbara, that held these three men, where, full of visionary notions of religion, they formed plans and devised enterprises that were to lead, they themselves knew not whither!

Let us notice the circumstances that prompted the farther development of this association. After a few more Spaniards, Salmeron, Lainez, and Bobadilla, to all of whom Ignatius had rendered himself indispensable by his counsels or his protection, had joined their number, they betook themselves one day to the church of Montmartre. Faber, who was now a priest, read mass. They took the vow of chastity, and swore, after completing their studies, to dedicate their lives in strict poverty to the care of Christian souls in Jerusalem, or to the conversion of the Saracens: or should it be impossible to reach that place or to remain there, they pledged themselves in that case to offer their services to the pope, to go to any place he should assign them, without reward or condition. Having thus sworn, each received the host, and lastly Faber did the same. After this they had a repast together at the fountain of St. Denis.

A league this between young men, based on enthusiasm, and directed to purposes not even attainable; still in accordance with the ideas originally entertained by Ignatius, or departing from them only in so far as on an express calculation of probabilities they thought it unlikely they could fully carry them out.

In the beginning of 1537 we find them actually assembled in Venice with three other associates, and preparing to set out on their pilgrimage. We have already noticed many changes in Loyola: we have seen him pass from a worldly to a spiritual chivalry, fall into the most intense mental conflicts, and force his way out of them with the help of a visionary asceticism. Next he became a theologian, and the founder of an enthusiast society; and now, finally, his purposes assumed their permanent bent. The war which had just then broken out between Venice and the Turks prevented his voyage, and deferred still more the prospect of the intended pilgrimage: but he found on the instant in Venice an institution that, we are almost tempted to say, first opened his eyes to his true vocation. For a while Loyola attached himself very closely to Caraffa, taking up his residence in the convent of the Theatines, which had been formed in Venice. He attended in the hospitals which Caraffa super-

intended, and in which he exercised his novices. Ignatius was not indeed perfectly satisfied with the Theatine institution: he proposed some alterations in it to Caraffa, and this is said to have led to a rupture between them\*. But even this much shows what deep impression the institution made on his mind. He saw an order of priests devoting themselves to proper clerical duties with zeal and austerity. If, as seemed every day more probable, he was destined to remain on this side the Mediterranean, and to exercise his powers within the limits of western Christendom, it was manifest to him that here was the only system he could himself adopt with advantage.

Accordingly, he and all his companions received priestly consecration in Venice, and after forty days of prayer he began to preach with three of them in Vicenza. On the same day, and at the same hour, they appeared in different streets, mounted up on stones, waved their hats, and began with loud cries to exhort to confession. Strange preachers they were, ragged and emaciated, and speaking an unintelligible medley of Spanish and Italian. They remained in the same neighbourhood till the year they had resolved to wait was expired, after which they set out for Rome.

Upon their separation, for they determined on making the journey by different routes, they laid down their first rules, to enable them to observe a certain uniformity of conduct even when apart. But what answer should they give, should they be asked the nature of their occupation? They pleased themselves with the thought of making war as soldiers against Satan, calling themselves, in accordance with Loyola's old military propensities, the Company of Jesus, just like a company of soldiers, who bear the name of their captain†.

In Rome their situation was at first by no means desirable: Ignatius thought he saw every door closed against them, and they had to clear themselves there once more of suspicion from the heresy. Meanwhile, however, their manner of life, their zeal in preaching and instructing, and their care of the sick, had procured them numerous adherents, and so many showed an alacrity to join them, that they were in a condition to think of formally instituting their society.

They had already taken two vows; they now added a third, that of obedience. Now as Ignatius had always pronounced obedience to be one of the foremost virtues, they made it their aim to surpass all other orders in this particular. It was already going far to resolve, as they had done, that the election of the general should always be for life; but even this was not enough for them. They superadded the special obligation "to do all that

\* Sachinus, in his treatise, *Cujus sit autoritatis quod in b. Cajetani Thienensi vita de beato Ignatio traditur?* previously to Orlandinus, discusses all the particulars of the intercourse between these two men.

† Ribadeneira, *Vita Brevior*, c. 12, remarks that Ignatius chose this title, "ne de suo nomine diceretur." [That the society should not be called after his own name.] Nigroni expounds the word *societas*, "quasi dicas cohortem aut centuriam quæ ad pugnam cum hostibus spiritualibus conserendam conscripta est." [A cohort or century, as it were, enrolled to do battle against spiritual enemies.] *Postquam nos vitamque nostram Christo Domino nostro et ejus vero ac legitimo vicario internis obuturamus*,—in the *Deliberatio Primorum Patrum*, AA. SS. l. i. p. 463.

\* Orlandinus, who likewise wrote a life of Faber which I have not seen, is in his great work too, *Historiæ Societatis Jesu*, pars i. p. 17, more circumstantial on this point than Ribadeneira.

was commanded them by the pope for the time being, to go forthwith into every country, among Turks, pagans, and heretics, wherever he should send them, without objection, and without condition or reward."

What a contrast to the previous tendencies of those times! Whilst the pope was experiencing opposition and defection on every side, and had nothing to expect but continual defection, here was a zealous enthusiastic society, spontaneously formed for the purpose of devoting itself exclusively to his service. He could not hesitate to give his sanction to their institution, at first (in the year 1540) with some restrictions, and soon after (1543) unconditionally.

Meanwhile the society, on its part, took the best preliminary step. Six of the oldest associates met together to choose their president, who, as was stated in the first draft of the constitution they presented to the pope, "should dispense grades and offices as to him should seem fit, project the plan of the constitution for the order, with the advice and assistance of the members, and in all other matters exercise sole and undivided command; in him should Christ be honoured as present in his person." Their choice fell unanimously on Ignatius, who, as Salmeron said in his voting paper, "had begotten them all in Christ, and fed them with his milk \*."

And now at last the society had acquired its form. It, too, was an assembly of *clerici regulari*; it, too, was characterized by an union of clerical and monastic duties; but still there were many distinctions between it and others of the sort.

If the Theatines had set the example of laying aside several less important obligations, the Jesuits went still further †. Not only did they discard all semblance of the monastic costume, but they moreover freed themselves from the general services and devotional practices that consumed so much time in the convents, and from the obligation to sing in choir.

Relieved from these minor occupations, they devoted their whole time and all their powers to the discharge of essential duties; not to one especial duty, like the Barnabites, although they bound themselves to the care of the sick, because it procured them a good name; nor under restrictive conditions, like the Theatines, but with their very utmost exertions. First, to preaching: upon their first separation at Vicenza, they had pledged themselves to each other to preach chiefly for the common people; to think more of making an impression than of distinguishing themselves by nice choice of language; and this system they now continued to observe. Secondly, confession: for

thereby immediately hung the power of conducting and swaying consciences, and for this they found valuable help in the spiritual practices to which they had themselves been inured by Ignatius. Lastly, the instruction of youth: to this they had thought of binding themselves from the first, by a special clause in their vows, and although that was not done, they made the practice of this duty imperative by the most cogent rules. Their most earnest desire was to gain the rising generation. In short, they laid aside all by-work, and wholly devoted themselves to essential practical labours, and such as promised to enlarge their influence.

Thus had a system pre-eminently practical unfolded itself out of the visionary aspirations of Ignatius, and his ascetic conversions resulted in an institution, planned with all the skilful adaptation of means that worldly prudence could suggest.

He saw all his expectations far surpassed. He had now the uncontrolled conduct of a society which had adopted a large part of his instructions, and which deliberately, and with study, formed their religious persuasions in the way in which he had acquired his by chance, and by the force of genius; a society which did not indeed carry out his plan regarding Jerusalem, by which nothing could have been obtained, but which elsewhere entered upon missions the most remote and the most crowned with success, and which especially took upon it that care of souls which he had always enjoined, to an extent he could never have anticipated; one, finally, that rendered him at once military and spiritual obedience.

Before we more nearly contemplate the practical efficacy to which the society very soon attained, we must investigate one of the most important causes that led thereto.

#### *First sittings of the Council of Trent.*

We have seen what interests were engaged on the imperial side in demanding a council, and on the papal side in refusing it. There was but one point of view in which a general assembly of the Church could offer anything desirable to the pope. In order to the inculcation and dissemination of the doctrines of the catholic church with entire unwavering zeal, it was necessary that the doubts should be removed that had risen in the bosom of the church itself touching sundry points among its dogmas. A council alone could do this with plenary authority. The great matter to be effected was, that it should be called at a favourable period, and be held under the influence of the pope.

That grand crisis in which the two church parties had approximated more nearly than ever, through the medium of a moderate system of opinions, was also decisive of this long agitated question. The pope, as already said, thought he perceived that the emperor pretended to the right of summoning the council; and being at this instant assured of the attachment of the catholic princes on all sides, he lost no time in anticipating the imperial intentions. The movements already detailed were yet pending, when he came to the definitive resolution of putting an end to all further delay, and proceeding to an ecumenic convo-

\* Suffragium Salmeronis.

† In this they place the difference between themselves and the Theatines. Didacus Payva Andradius, *Orthodoxarum Explicat.* lib. i. f. 11: Illi (Theatini) sacramentum aeternarumque rerum meditationi psalmodiæque potissimum vacant: isti vero (Jesuitæ) cum divinarum mysteriorum assidua contemplatione, docendæ plebis, evangelii amplificandi, sacramenta administrandi atque reliqua omnia apostolica munera conjungunt. [The Theatines apply themselves principally to meditation on sacred and eternal things, and to psalmody: but the Jesuits combine with constant contemplation of the divine mysteries, the duties of instructing the people, expounding the gospel, administering the sacraments, and all other apostolic functions.]

eration of the church\*. He forthwith made his determination known to Contarini, and through him to the emperor; the negotiations were conducted with spirit, and at last the pope's citations were issued. The following year we find his legates in Trent †.

New hindrances, however, presented themselves: even now the number of bishops who appeared to the summons was much too small, the times much too involved in war, and the general state of things not perfectly favourable. It was not till December 1543, that the opening of the council actually took place. At last the dilatory old man had found the wished for moment.

For what moment could be more so than that in which the emperor had wholly broken with the two heads of the Protestant party, and was preparing for war against them. Being now in need of the pope's aid, he could not assert the claims he had once thought of setting up as to the council. The war would give him full occupation; the strength of the Protestants made it impossible to foresee the embarrassments in which he would become involved; so much the less therefore would he be in a condition to insist on the reforms with which he had hitherto threatened the papal see. Moreover, the pope had other means of baffling him. The emperor demanded that the council should begin with the subject of reform: the papal legates carried the resolution that questions of reform and of dogma should be treated together ‡; but in point of fact, the latter were first considered.

Whilst the pope succeeded in putting aside what would have been prejudicial to him, he secured that on which he himself was bent. The establishment of the disputed doctrines was, as already shown, of the utmost importance to him. It was now to be decided whether or not any of those views that inclined to the Protestant system, should be able to maintain their place in the body of the catholic faith.

Contarini indeed was now dead, but Pole still survived, and there were many warm champions of their principles in the assembly. The question was, would they be able to vindicate the superiority of their own opinions?

In the first place (for everything was done very systematically), the discussion turned on revelation itself, and the sources from which the knowledge of it is to be derived. Even at this early stage of

the proceedings some voices were raised of a Protestant cast. The bishop Nachianti of Chrozza, would hear of nothing but scripture: according to him, every thing was written in the Gospel that was necessary to salvation. But he had an enormous majority against him. The resolution was passed, that the unwritten traditions received from the mouth of Christ Himself, and propagated through succeeding times down to the most recent, under the protection of the Holy Spirit, were to be received with like reverence as holy writ. With respect to the latter mentioned, were not even referred back to the original text. The Vulgate was recognized as the authentic translation of the latter, with the mere promise subjoined, that for the future it should be printed with the utmost care\*.

After the foundation had been thus laid, (not untruly was it said to be half the work,) they passed on to that great distinctive doctrine of justification, and to the other connected with it. The highest possible interest was attached to this controversy.

For there were actually no few members of the council, whose views on this subject coincided with the opinions of the Protestants. The archbishop of Siena, the bishop Della Cava, Giulio Contarini, bishop of Belluno, and with them five theologians, ascribed justification wholly and solely to the merits of Christ and to faith. Charity and hope they pronounced to be the companions, and works to be the proofs of faith; they were nothing more, but the basis of justification was faith alone.

How was it to be supposed that, at a moment when the pope and the emperor were attacking the Protestants with force of arms, the main principle on which the whole existence of the latter as a party was founded, should have its validity acknowledged in a council held under the auspices of the pope and the emperor? In vain did Pole exhort the members not to reject an opinion for no other reason than because it was maintained by Luther. There were too many embittering associations connected with it. The bishop Della Cava, and a Greek monk, proceeded to actual violence against each other. Upon so unquestionably Protestant a topic, there was no possibility of the council's arriving at even valuable discussions: their debates turned (and even this was no small thing) only on the intermediate system of opinion as propounded by Gaspar Contarini and his friends.

Seripando, the general of the Augustines, advanced this doctrine, but not without expressly premising, that it was not Luther's opinions he advocated, but, on the contrary, those of his most distinguished opponents, for instance, Pflug and Gropper. Justification, he asserted, was twofold †; the one kind indwelling and inherent in us, through which, from being sinners, we become children of God, and this too of grace and without merit, a principle active in works, visible in virtues,

\* Ardinghella al Ci Contarini 15 Guigno 1541, in Quirini iii. cxlvi: Considerato che n' la concordia a Christiani è successa, e la tollerantia [which was proposed in Ratibon, but was rejected by the consistory of cardinals] è illecitissima e dannosa, e la guerra difficile e pericolosa -- pare a S.S. che si ricorra al rimedio del concilio. -- Adunque -- S. Beatitudine ha determinato di levar via la prorogazione della suspensione del concilio e di dichiararlo e congregarlo quanto piu presto si potrà. [Considering that no concord has been brought about among Christians, and that toleration is most illicit and pernicious, and war difficult and dangerous, it seems good to his holiness to have recourse to the remedy of a council. Therefore, his holiness has determined to put an end to the suspension of the council, and to proclaim and assemble it as quickly as possible.]

† They arrived on the 22d of Nov. 1542.

‡ An expedient proposed by Thomas Campeggi, Pallavicini, vi. vii. 5. A bull concerning reform had been prepared from the very first, but it was not published. Bulla reformationis Pauli papæ III. concepta, non vulgata, primum editit H. N. Clausen. Havn. 1829.

\* Conc. Tridentini Sessio iv. In publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, predicationibus, et expositionibus pro authentica habeatur: [be it held authentic in public readings, disputations, preachings, and expositions.] It was to be printed in an amended form, posthac [hereafter], not exactly as Pallavicini states, "quanto si posset più tosto"; vi. 15. 2 [as soon as possible.]

† Parere dato a 13 di Luglio 1544. Cited by Pallavicini viii. xi. 4.

but not capable by itself of conducting us to God's glory: the other, the righteousness and the merits of Christ applied and imparted to us, repairing all deficiencies, complete, and saving. Exactly thus had Contarini taught. "If the question be," says he, "on which of these two kinds of righteousness we must build, the indwelling or that in Christ imputed to us, the answer of the devout must be, that we can confide only on the latter; that our own righteousness is but inchoate, imperfect, full of deficiencies; that Christ's righteousness on the contrary is true, perfect, and in God's sight thoroughly and solely well pleasing: for its sake alone can we trust to be justified before God \*."

Yet even under such a modification (which as we see left the Protestant doctrine unaffected, and which might even have been sanctioned by the adherents of the latter) this opinion encountered warm opposition.

Caraffa, who had already resisted it when it was discussed in Ratisbon, was now among the cardinals to whom was confided the control of the council of Trent. He came forward with a treatise on justification of his own composition, wherein he vehemently opposed all opinions of the kind †. The Jesuits were now in the field, and lent them their support. Salmeron and Lainez, had secured themselves the advantageous privilege of exposing their opinions in succession. They were learned, able, in the prime of life, and filled with zeal. Enjoined by Ignatius never to pledge themselves to an opinion that verged in the least upon innovation ‡, they opposed Seripando's doctrine with all their might. Lainez appeared in the list with a substantive work rather than with a reply. He had the majority of the theologians on his side.

These disputants left altogether unquestioned the distinction drawn between the two kinds of justifications. But they maintained that the imputed kind passed into the inherent, or that Christ's merits become immediately applied and imparted to man through faith; that we must by all means build on the righteousness of Christ, not because it fills up our own, but because it promotes it. This was precisely the turning point of the whole controversy. According to the views of Contarini and Seripando, the merit of works could not subsist, but this system saved them. It was the old doctrine of the schoolmen, that the soul invested with grace, merits for itself eternal life §. The archbishop of Bitonto, one of the most learned and eloquent of those fathers, distinguished between a previous justification dependent on the merits of Christ,

through which the sinner is rescued from the state of condemnation, and a consequent justification, the achievement of a righteousness proper to the individual, dependent on the grace infused into us, and indwelling in us. In this sense, said the bishop of Fano, faith is but the gate to justification; but we must not stop there; we must complete the whole course.

Closely as these opinions appear to approximate, they are yet diametrically opposed to each other. The Lutheran doctrine asserts the necessity of inward regeneration, points out the way to salvation, and maintains that good works must follow; but it deduces the bestowal of divine grace solely from the merits of Christ. The council of Trent, on the contrary, admits indeed the merits of Christ, but ascribes justification to them only so far as they promote regeneration, and thereby good works, on which all depends in the last result. "The sinner," it says †, "is justified, when through the merit of the most holy passion, and through the operation of the Holy Spirit, the love of God is implanted in his heart and abides in it; thus become a friend of God, man goes forward from virtue to virtue, and becomes renewed day by day. Whilst he observes the commandments of God and of the Church, he grows, with the help of faith through good works, in the righteousness attained through Christ's grace, and becomes more and more justified."

And thus were the opinions of the Protestants wholly excluded from catholicism; all mediation was utterly discarded. This happened at that very time, when the emperor was already victorious in Germany, when the Lutherans were surrendering on all sides, and the victor was proceeding to put down those who still held out. The advocates of the intermediate opinions, cardinal Pole and the archbishop of Siena, had already quitted the council, of course under different pretexts ‡: instead of prescribing views of faith to others, they had reason to fear lest their own should be assailed and condemned.

The greatest difficulty was now overcome. Since justification is progressive in the heart of man, and undergoes a continual development, it cannot dispense with the sacraments through which it either begins, or is continued if begun, or if lost, is again recovered §. There was no difficulty in upholding them all seven, as they had hitherto been received, and referring back their origin to the Author of faith, since the institutions of Christ's Church were communicated not by scripture alone, but also by tradition §. Now these sacraments, as is well known, embrace the whole life of man and every portion of its progress: they are the foundation of the power, whereby the hierarchy rules every day and

\* Contareni *Tractatus de Justificatione*. The reader must not, as happened at first to me, refer to the Venetian edition of 1589, in which this passage will be sought for in vain. In 1571 the Sorbonne had approved of the treatise as it stood: in the Parisian edition of the same year it is given without mutilation. In 1589, on the contrary, the Venetian inquisitor, Fra Marco Medici, put his veto upon it; nor was he content with striking out offending passages, but they were so altered as to accord with received dogmas. We are struck with astonishment when we meet with the collation in Quirini *Epp. Poli*, iii. cxxviii. These unjustifiable acts of violence must be borne in mind, if we would explain so bitter a hatred as that cherished by Paul Sarpi.

† Bromato, *Vita de Paolo*, iv. Tom. ii. p. 131.

‡ Orlandinus vi. p. 127.

§ Chemnitius, *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, i. 355.

\* Sessio vi. c. vii. x.

† It was at least a singular coincidence if they were both detained, as was alleged, by the accident of extraordinary illness from going to Trent. Polo al *Ch Monte e Cervini* 15 Sett. 1546, *Epp. t. iv.* 189. These opinions were very injurious to Pole. Mendoza al Emperador Carlos, 13 Jul. 1547, "Lo Cardinal de Inglaterra le haze danno lo que se a dicho de la justificacion." [The English cardinal has done himself hurt by his language respecting justification.]

‡ Sessio vii. Proemium.

§ Sarpi gives the discussions on this point; *Historia del Concilio Tridentino*, p. 241 ed. 1629. Pallavicini's account is very insufficient.



hour of the layman ; since they not only typify grace but impart it, they complete the mystic relationship in which man is thought to stand to God.

Tradition was upheld for this special reason, that the Holy Spirit perpetually abides in the Church ; the Vulgate, because the Romish Church had by special divine grace been kept free from all error. It is in harmony with this indwelling of the divine nature in the Church, that the justifying principle should in like manner have its abode in the individual, that the grace bound up as it were with the visible sacrament, should be imparted to him step by step, and embrace his life and death. The visible Church is at the same time that true Church which has been named the invisible. She cannot recognize any religious existence beyond her own pale.

### *The Inquisition.*

Meanwhile measures had been adopted for propagating these doctrines, and for suppressing those opposed to them.

We must here recur once more to the times of the Ratisbon conference. When it was perceived that no conclusion was come to with the Protestants of Germany, and that at the same time, even in Italy, controversies respecting the sacraments, doubts concerning purgatory, and other speculations of great moment as regarded the Romish ritual, were gaining ground, the pope one day asked cardinal Caraffa "what means he could devise against these evils." The cardinal declared that the only one was "a thorough searching inquisition." John Alvarez de Toledo, cardinal of Burgos, joined with him in this opinion.

The old Dominican inquisition had long ago fallen into decay. The choice of inquisitors was committed to the monastic orders, and it frequently happened that these partook of the opinions which it was sought to put down. In Spain, the earlier form of the institution had been so far departed from, that a supreme tribunal of the Inquisition for that country had been erected there. Caraffa and Burgos, old Dominicans both of them, both men of harsh and gloomy views of rectitude, zealots for the purity of catholicism, austere in life, and intractable in their opinions, counselled the pope to found in Rome, on the model of that of Spain, a general supreme tribunal of the inquisition, on which all others should be dependent. "As St. Peter," said Caraffa, "vanquished the first heresiarchs on no other spot than Rome, so must the successor of St. Peter overcome all the heresies of the world in Rome \*." The Jesuits reckon it to their honour, that their founder Loyola supported this proposal by a special memorial. On the 21st of July 1542, the bull was issued.

It names six cardinals, among whom Caraffa and Toledo stood first, to be commissioners of the apostolic see, general and universal inquisitors on this side the Alps and beyond them. It bestows on them the right to delegate ecclesiastics with similar power, to all such places as it shall seem good to them, to determine absolutely all appeals against the acts of the latter, and even to proceed

without the participation of the ordinary spiritual courts. Every man, without a single exception, without any regard whatever to station or dignity, shall be subject to their jurisdiction ; the suspected shall be thrown into prison, the guilty shall be punished even capitally, and their property confiscated. One restriction is imposed on the court. To punish shall be its function : the pope reserves to himself the right of pardoning the guilty who become converted. Thus shall everything be done, ordered, and accomplished, to suppress and uproot the errors, that have broken out among the Christian community \*.

Caraffa lost not a moment in putting this bull into execution. He was not over rich, but upon this occasion he would have regarded it as a loss, had he waited for a payment from the apostolic chamber : he immediately hired a house, fitted up the rooms for officers and the prisons at his own cost ; provided them with bars and strong locks, with blocks, chains, and bonds, and all the horrible utensils of his office. He then named commissioners general for the several countries. The first, as far as I can discover, for Rome, was his own chaplain, Teofilo di Tropea, of whose severity cardinals, such as Pole, had soon reason to complain.

"The following rules," says the MS. biography of Caraffa, "were conceived by the cardinal to be the best directed to the end in view †.

"Firstly, In matters of faith, not a moment's delay must be made, but upon the least suspicion, measures must immediately be taken with the utmost rigour.

"Secondly, No respect must be shown to any prince or prelate, however high his station.

"Thirdly, Extraordinary and extreme severity must be used, against such as shall seek to defend themselves through the protection of any potentate ; only whose confessions, shall be treated mildly and with fatherly compassion.

"Fourthly, We must not debase ourselves to any sort of toleration towards heretics, and especially towards Calvinists."

All, we see, is rigour, unrelenting, unscrupulous rigour, till the confession has been worked out. Horrible, especially at a moment when opinions were not yet fully developed, when many were seeking to conciliate the profounder doctrines of Christianity, with the institutions of the existing Church. The weaker gave way and submitted ; those of stronger mould, on the contrary, now first decidedly embraced the tenets of opposition, and sought to withdraw themselves from violence.

One of the first among them was Bernardino Ochino. For some time he had been observed to be less sedulous in the discharge of his monastic duties ; in 1542 his preaching too was held to be objectionable. He maintained most positively the doctrine that faith alone justifies ; he exclaimed, citing St. Augustin, "He that created thee with-

\* Licet ab initio. Deputatio nonnullorum S. R. E. Cardinalium generalium inquisitorum hereticæ pravitatis July 21, 1542. Coquilines, iv. p. 211.

† Caracciolo, Vita di Paolo IV. MS. c. 8. Haveva egli questi infrascritte regoli tenute da lui come assai verisimi : la prima, che in materia di fede non bisogna aspettar punto, ma subito che vi è qualche sospetto o indizio di peste heretica far ogni sforzo e violenza per estirparla," etc.

\* Bromato, Vita di Paolo IV. lib. vii. § 3.



out thy aid, will he not without thy aid save thee?" His comments on purgatory did not appear very orthodox. Already the nuncio at Venice forbade him the pulpit for two days; thereupon he was cited to Rome; he had already reached Bologna and Florence, when, apparently alarmed at the newly instituted Inquisition, he determined on flight.

The historian of his order\* describes him as pausing when he had reached St. Bernard, and recalling to memory all the honours that had been paid him in his beautiful native land, and the countless multitudes that greeted his appearance in the pulpit with eagerness, listened to him with excited attention, and departed with admiring satisfaction. An orator certainly loses more in the loss of his country than any other man. That loss he now sustained in his old age. He gave the seal of his order, which he had hitherto carried with him, to his companion on the road, and proceeded to Geneva. Even yet, however, his convictions were not firmly established; he fell into very extraordinary errors.

About the same time Peter Martyr Vermigli left Italy. "I broke away from the midst of so many false pretensions, and saved myself from the impending danger." Many of the pupils he had till then brought up in Lucca, subsequently followed him †.

Calio Secondo Curione had a narrow escape. He waited till the bargello appeared to arrest him. Curione was large and powerful. With the knife he had about him he cut his way through the shirri, sprang on his horse and rode away, bending his route to Switzerland.

There had already been commotions in Modena; they were now revived. People denounced each other. Filippo Valentino withdrew to Trent, and Castelvetro found it advisable to secure himself at least for a time in Germany.

Every where throughout Italy, persecution and terrors broke out. The rancour of contending factions seconded the designs of the inquisitors. How often, after long waiting in vain other opportunity of revenge, was a man's enemy known to have recourse to the charge of heresy. Of two parties that cherished an equal degree of rancorous hate against each other, the monks of the old school, and all that host of men of talent, who had been led by their literary labours to a religious tendency, the former had now got weapons in their hands, and condemned their antagonists to perpetual silence. "It is hardly possible," exclaims Antonio dei Pagliarici, "to be a Christian and die in one's bed ‡." The academy of Modena was not the only

one broken up. The Neapolitan too, founded by the Seggi, and originally intended only for studies, from which, in accordance with the spirit of the age, they proceeded to theological disputations, was closed by the viceroy\*. Literature in general, was subjected to the severest scrutiny. In the year 1543, Caraffa gave orders that for the future no book, whatever were its contents, whether it were old or new, should be printed without the permission of the inquisitors: booksellers were also to send them in catalogues of their stock, and were not to sell any more books without their permission: the customs' officers of the Dogana received orders not to deliver to its address any package of MS. or printed books without first having laid it before the inquisition †. By degrees the index of forbidden books came to be published: the first example had been set in Louvain and Paris.

In Italy Giovanni della Casa, who was on terms of the closest intimacy with the house of Caraffa, printed the first catalogue of about seventy numbers in Venice. More lengthened lists appeared in 1552 at Florence, in 1554 at Milan, and the first drawn up in what was afterwards the usual form at Rome in 1559. It contains works of the Cardinals, and the poems of that same della Casa himself. Not only were these laws imposed on printers and booksellers, but it was made an obligation of conscience upon private persons to denounce forbidden books, and to contribute to their destruction. The rule was applied with incredible strictness. Many as were the thousands of copies circulated of the book on "The Benefits bestowed by Christ," it wholly vanished, and is no longer to be found. In Rome, whole piles of confiscated copies were burnt.

In all these contrivances and undertakings the clergy employed the aid of the secular arm ‡. It was of advantage to the popes that they possessed a territory of their own of such considerable extent, where they could set an example and establish the model for imitation. In Milan and Naples the administration could make the less opposition to the new measures, inasmuch as it had itself purposed introducing the Spanish inquisition there; only in Naples the confiscation of property was forbidden. In Tuscany the inquisition was accessible to worldly influence, through the agency of the legate, whom duke Cosmo contrived to procure for his court: nevertheless, the brotherhoods formed by it gave great offence. In Sicenna and

\* Giannone, Storia di Napoli, xxxii. cv.

† Bromato, vii. 9.

‡ Other laymen also joined in their efforts. "Fu rimediato," says the compendium of the Inquisitors, "opportunamente dal S. Officio in Roma con porre in ogni città valenti e zelanti inquisitori, servendosi anche talhora de secolari zelanti e dotti per ajuto della fede, come verbi gratia del Godescalcio in Como, del conte Albano in Bergamo, del Mutio in Milano. Questa risoluzione di servirsi de' secolari fu presa perche non soli moltissimi vescovi, vicarii, frati e preti, ma anco molti dell' istessa inquisitione erano heretici." [This was opportunely remedied by the Office in Rome, by placing in every city able and zealous inquisitors, and employing also zealous and learned laymen in aid of the faith, as for instance, Godescalcio in Como, the count Albano in Bergamo, and Mutio in Milan. This resolution of employing secular persons was taken, because not only very many bishops, vicars, monks and priests, but even many members of the inquisition itself were heretics.]

\* Boverio, Annali i. 438.

† A letter of Peter Martyr's to the community he had left, in which he expresses his repentance for having sometimes veiled the truth, in Schlosser, Leben Bezas and Peter Martyrs, p. 400. Gerdesius and Mc. Crie have collected numerous detached notices in the works already mentioned.

‡ Antoni Palerri Opera, ed. Wetsten. 1696, p. 91. Il Cl. di Ravenna al Cl. Contarini Epp. Poli, 208, already mentions this. "Sendo quella città (Ravenna) partialissima, nè vi rimanendo huomo alcuno non contaminato di questa macchia della fazione, si van volentieri dove l'occasione s'offrisce garricando l'un l'altro da inimici. [This city (Ravenna) being full of party spirit, not a man in it being uncontaminated with the stain of faction, they seize every opportunity of denouncing each other.]

Pisa it proceeded to inordinate lengths against the universities. In the Venetian dominions the inquisitor was not indeed altogether free from secular control; from April 1547, three Venetian nobili continued to sit in his tribunal: in the provinces, the rettore of every town had part in the investigations, calling in occasionally the advice of doctors, and in difficult cases, especially when charges were brought against persons of importance, applying for his guidance to the council of ten: nevertheless, this did not hinder the ordinances of Rome being carried into effect in all essentials.

Thus was the agitation of dissentient opinions in religion violently stifled and destroyed in Italy. Almost the whole order of Franciscans was forced to recant. The greater part of the followers of Valdez had to do the same. In Venice a certain freedom was allowed the foreigners, Germans for the most part, who resided there for trade or for study; natives, on the other hand, were forced to abjure their opinions, and their meetings were broken up. Many took to flight: we meet these fugitives in every town of Germany and Switzerland. Those who neither would give way nor could escape, endured the penalty. In Venice they were sent with two vessels beyond the lagoons out to sea. A plank was laid between the two vessels, and the condemned placed upon it; the vessel was moved asunder both at the same moment, the plank fell; the sufferers called once more on the name of Christ and sank. In Rome, auto-da-fes were held in all form before the church of Santa Maria alla Minerva. Many were they that fled from place to place with wife and children: we trace their wanderings awhile, and then they vanish; they are fallen most likely into the toils of their merciless hunters. Others kept quiet. The duchess of Ferrara, who but for the salique law, would have been heiress to the crown of France, was not protected by her birth and high rank. Her husband himself was her accuser. "She sees no one," says Marot, "to whom she can complain: the mountains are between her and her friends: she mingles her wine with tears."

#### *Progress of the Jesuit institution.*

In this state of things, when opponents had been put down by force, and the dogmas of the Church again firmly reinstated in the mind of the age, and whilst the ecclesiastical power was guarding their observance with resistless weapons, the order of Jesuits now arose in the strictest alliance with that power.

Not only in Rome, but in all Italy, the order obtained extraordinary success. It had originally designed itself for the common people; it speedily found acceptance among the higher classes.

In Parma it was favoured by the Farnese \*:

\* Orlandinus expresses himself in singular terms. Et civitas, he says, ii. p. 78, et privati quibus fuisse dicitur aliqua cum Romano pontifice necessitudo, supplices ad eum literas pro Fabro retinendo dederunt. [Both the state and private individuals who were said to be in some degree related to the Roman pontiff, sent letters to him entreating him to retain Faber.] Just as if it was not notorious that Paul III. had a son. The Inquisition was subsequently

princesses submitted to its spiritual exercises. In Venice, Lainez expounded the Gospel of St. John expressly to the nobility, and with the help of a Lippomano he succeeded, so early as 1542, in laying the foundation of the Jesuit college in that city. In Montepuciano Francesco Strada had so much command over some of the foremost men of the city, that they accompanied him through the streets begging; Strada knocked at the doors, and they received the donations. In Faenza, although Ochino had greatly exerted himself there, they succeeded in acquiring great influence, appeasing enmities that had subsisted for centuries, and founding societies for the support of the poor. I mention but a few examples of their success. In every direction they made their appearance, procured adherents, formed schools, and firmly established themselves.

But as Ignatius was wholly a Spaniard, and had set out on his career from peculiarly national ideas, and as his ablest disciples were naturally furnished by Spain, it followed that his society, thus Spanish in spirit, made greater progress in that peninsula than in Italy itself. In Barcelona he made a very important conquest in the person of the viceroy Francis Borgia, duke of Gaudia; in Valencia a church was insufficient to contain the hearers of Araoz, and a pulpit was erected for him in the open air; in Valencia adherents in considerable strength very speedily mustered round Francis Villanova, although he was sickly, of mean descent, and wholly destitute of learning; it was principally from this place and from Salamanca, where they began in 1548, with a very small and sorry house, that the Jesuits spread over Spain \*. Nor were they meanwhile less warmly received in Portugal. Of the first two sent him at his request, the king sent but one to the East Indies, (that Xavier who there achieved the name of an apostle and a saint,) the other, Simon Roderigo, he kept with him. The Jesuits acquired extraordinary approbation at both courts. The Portuguese they thoroughly reformed; at that of Spain, they became at once the confessors of the leading men of rank, of the president of the council of Castile, and of the cardinal of Toledo.

Already, in the year 1540, Ignatius had sent some young persons to Paris to study there. From thence his society extended over the Netherlands. In Louvain, Faber met with the most decisive success: eighteen young men, already bachelors or masters, presented themselves, abandoning home, university, and country, to accompany him to Portugal. Jesuits were already seen in Germany; and among the first was Peter Canisius, who did them so much service, and who entered their order on his three-and-twentieth birth-day.

This rapid success of the order must naturally have exercised the most cogent influence upon the development of its constitution. It moulded itself in the following fashion.

Into the class of his first associates, the professed members, Ignatius admitted but few. He found that men at once fully educated, good, and devout, were in scanty number. In the very first project

introduced into Parma, on account of the opposition manifested to the priests who favoured Jesuitism.

\* Ribadeneira, Vita Ignatii, c. x. n. 244. c. xxviii. n. 285.

he laid before the pope, he declares his intention of founding colleges at one or other of the universities, to train up young men. Of these an unexpected multitude, as we have said, attached themselves to his society. They constituted the class of scholars, as distinguished from that of professed members\*.

But an inconvenience was very soon felt. As the professed members had bound themselves by the fourth vow to continual travel on the service of the pope, it was inconsistent to assign to them so many colleges as were now required, establishments that could only flourish through their constant presence. Ignatius soon found it necessary to constitute a third class between these two, spiritual coadjutors, priests like the others, possessed of requisite learning, and who expressly engaged themselves to the duty of instructing youth. One of the most momentous institutions this, and, so far as I can learn, peculiar to the Jesuits; one too on which the most brilliant success of the order was founded. These coadjutors were allowed to settle themselves in the several localities, become residents, gain influence, and control education. Like the scholars, they took but three vows, and these, be it remarked, only simply, not solemnly. That is to say, they would themselves have incurred excommunication had they attempted to separate from the society; but the latter possessed the right, though only in accurately defined cases, of discharging them from their vows.

And now but one thing more was requisite. It would have interrupted the studies and occupations to which these classes were destined, had they been obliged at the same time to take upon them the care of their own subsistence. The professed members lived in their houses on alms; the coadjutors and scholars were spared that necessity, the colleges being allowed to possess corporate revenues. For the administration of these, so far as that did not fall to the share of the professed, who could not themselves enjoy them, and for the management of all other external matters, Ignatius further appointed a class of secular coadjutors. These, as well as the others, took the three simple vows, but had to content themselves with the persuasion that they were serving God by aiding a society that watched over the salvation of souls, and were not permitted to aim at anything higher.

These arrangements, individually judicious, served at the same time to constitute a hierarchy, which in its several gradations possessed a still further special control over the minds of its members†.

If we steadily examine the laws that were from time to time promulgated to the society, we find that the foremost consideration on which they reposed was the utter severing of the ordinary rela-

tions of life. Love of kindred is denounced by them as a carnal inclination\*. He who gives up his wealth to enter the society, is not to transfer it to his relations, but to divide it among the poor†. He who has already entered, neither receives nor dispatches a letter till it has been first read by a superior. The society requires the whole man: all his inclinations must wear its fetters.

It demands even to participate in his secrets. He enters the order with a general confession; he is required to set forth his own defects and even his virtues. A confessor is appointed him by the superior: the superior retains to himself the right of absolving in those cases with which it is expedient he should be acquainted‡. He insists particularly on this, in order that he may perfectly know the characters of his subordinates, and use them as he pleases.

For obedience in this society took the place of every other relation, of every other motive that can sway the actions of men; absolute obedience, without a thought of its object or consequences§. No one shall covet any other grade than that he occupies: the secular coadjutor, if he does not already read and write, shall not learn to do so without permission. Every member shall submit in blind subjection to the rule of his superiors, to the total abjuration of his own judgment, like a lifeless thing, like a staff that is wielded at will by the hand that holds it. Those superiors are in his eyes invested with divine providence||.

\* Summarium constitutionum, § 8. in the *Corpus Institutum societatis Jesu*. Antverpiæ, 1709. tom. i. In Orlandinus III. 66 it is mentioned in Faber's praise, that once on reaching his native town after an absence of some years, he so triumphed over his feelings as to pass on without stopping.

† Examen generale, civ. § 2.

‡ Rules separately contained in the *Summarium constitutionum*, § 32, § 41, the *Examen generale*, § 35, § 36, and the *Constitutionum Pauli III. c. i. n. 11*. "Illiuscus reservabuntur," it is said in the latter place, "quos ab eo (superiore) cognosci necessarium videbitur aut valde conveniens." [Those cases shall be reserved, of which it shall appear necessary or very expedient that they should be known to him (the superior).]

§ The letter of Ignatius, "fratribus societatis Jesu qui sunt in Lusitania," 7 Kal. Ap. 1553. § 3.

|| Constitutiones, vi. 1. Et sibi quisque persuadent, quod qui sub obedientia vivunt, se ferri ac regi a divina providentia per superiores suos sinere debent, perinde ac cadaver essent. [And be each one well assured, that those who are bound to obedience ought to suffer themselves to be moved and governed by divine providence through their superiors, just as though they were dead bodies.] Here is also the other constitution, vi. 5. according to which, it seems as though a sin could be enjoined. Visum est nobis in Domino—nullas constitutiones, declarationes, vel ordinem ullum vivendi posse obligationem ad peccatum mortale vel veniale inducere, nisi superior ea in nomine Domini Jesu Christi vel in virtute obedientie jubeat. [It has seemed good to us in the Lord—that no constitutions, declarations, nor any order of living can induce an obligation to mortal or venial sin, unless the superior command them in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, or in virtue of obedience.] We can hardly trust our eyes as we read this; and indeed, another interpretation of the passage is possible, besides that which obviously occurs at first sight. "Obligatio ad peccatum mortale vel veniale," may possibly rather mean, the binding force of a constitution, such, that he who breaks the latter is guilty of one or the other kind of sin. [The passage thus interpreted would

\* Pauli III. facultas coadjutores admittendi d. 5 Junii, 1546: ita ut ad vota servanda pro eo tempore quo tu, filii præpositi, et qui pro tempore fuerint ejusdem societatis præpositi, eis in ministerio spirituali vel temporalium utendum judicaveritis, et non ultra astringantur. *Corpus Institutum*, i. p. 15. [In suchwise that they shall be bound to keep their vows for such a time as you, my son, and those who shall provide for the time being over the society, shall think fit to employ their spiritual or temporal services, and no longer.]

† The basis of the society consisted of novices, guests, and indifferents; from these rose the several classes.

What a power was now committed to the general, in whom was vested for life the right of swaying this obedience, unsubjected to any necessity of accounting for the use he made of it! According to the project of 1543, all the members of the order who should chance to be in one and the same place with the general, were to be consulted even in slight matters. The project of 1550, confirmed by Julius III., releases the general from this restriction, except in so far as he may himself think good to submit to it\*. It is only in cases of alterations in the constitution, and of the suppression of houses and colleges already established, that a consultation continued to be held necessary. In other respects, every power is committed to him that might be useful to the governing of the society. He has assistants in the several provinces, but these discharge no functions but those specially committed to them by him. He names at his pleasure the presidents of provinces, colleges, and houses, accepts and dismisses, dispenses and punishes: he exercises a kind of papal power on a smaller scale†.

There was only this danger to be apprehended, that the general in possession of such vast power might himself lapse from the principles of the society. As far as regarded this consideration, he was subjected to a certain limitation. It is perhaps no such great matter as it may have appeared to Ignatius, that the society or its deputies were entrusted with the faculty of arranging certain external things, the hours of meals, and of sleep, costume, and all that concerned the daily habits of life‡; but it was assuredly something that the possessor of supreme authority was deprived of a freedom enjoyed by the meanest individual. The assistants, who were not named by him, watched him continually in this respect. There was an appointed admonisher, and on the occurrence of gross faults, the assistants could call a general congregation, which in that case had the prerogative of even pronouncing the deposition of the general.

This carries us a step farther.

If we do not suffer ourselves to be dazzled by the hyperbolic expressions, in which the Jesuits have set forth this power, and rather consider what may have been practical under the great extent very soon acquired by the society, we shall observe the following state of things. The general exercised the supreme guidance of the whole order, and particularly the control of the superiors, whose

consciences he was to know, and whose offices were in his distribution. These again had a similar power in their own sphere, and frequently exercised it with more severity than the general\*. The superiors and the general in some degree counterpoised each other. Furthermore, the general was required to be informed as to the personal characteristics of every subordinate, of every member of the society; and though in this particular it is manifest he could interpose only on urgent occasions, he still possessed the highest supervision. A committee of the professed members, on the other hand, exercised supervision over him.

There have been other institutions that, forming a special world within the great world, have severed their members from all other relations, made them their own property, and engendered a new principle of life within them. This was precisely the aim of the Jesuit institution. But it is peculiar to it, that on the one hand it not only favoured, but demanded a development of individual minds, and on the other hand it took them completely captive, and made them its own property. Hence all personal relations between the members, merged in subordination and mutual supervision. Nevertheless they formed a firmly compacted, perfect unity; they had nerve and active vigour. For this reason they so greatly strengthened the monarchical power: they submitted themselves to it wholly, even though its possessors fell off from first principles.

It was quite in keeping with the character of this society, that none of its members were permitted to fill any ecclesiastical dignity. They would have had duties to fulfil, and have been placed in circumstances that would have rendered all supervision impossible. At the beginning at least this rule was most rigidly observed. Jay neither desired nor was allowed to accept the bishopric of Trent; when Ferdinand I. who offered it him desisted from his purpose in compliance with a letter from Ignatius, the latter caused solemn masses to be celebrated and *Te Deum* to be sung‡.

Another important point is, that the whole society raised itself above the observance of the more irksome devotional practices. Thus the several members were enjoined not to push their religious exercises to excess: they were not with fastings, vigils, and castigations, either to weaken their bodies, or to withdraw too much time from the service of their neighbours. In labour too they were commanded to observe moderation, the spirited steed was not to be spurred only, but curbed; they were not to encumber themselves with so many weapons that they could not wield them all: they were not so to overload themselves with labour that the elasticity of the mind should give way beneath it‡.

It is manifest how thoroughly the society regarded all its members as its own property, but left

signify, That no constitution, &c. can impose an obligation amounting in its force to the contingency of mortal or venial sin, unless the superior command those constitutions, &c. *Trans.*] It will at least be confessed that the constitution ought to be more perspicuous; no fault can be alleged against one who shall bona fide refer "ea" to "peccatum mortale vel veniale," and not to "constitutiones."

\* Adjutus, quatenus ipse opportunus iudicabit, fratrum suorum consilio, per se ipsum ordinandi et jubendi quæ ad Dei gloriam pertinere videbuntur, jus totum habeat, says Julius III. Confirmatio Instituti. [He shall have the entire right of ordaining and commanding of himself those things, which to him shall appear conducive to the glory of God, assisted therein, as far as he himself shall judge fit, by the advice of his brethren.]

† Constitutiones, ix. 3.

‡ *Schedula Ignatii AA. SS. Commentatio prævia*, n. 872.

\* Mariana, Discurso de las Enfermedades de la Compania de Jesus, c. xi.

† Extract from the Liber Memorabilis of Ludovicus Gon salvus: "quod desistente rege S. Ignatius indixerit missas et *Te Deum* laudamus in gratiarum actionem." *Commentarius prævius* in AA. SS. Julii vii. n. 41.

‡ Constitutiones, v. 3. 1. Epistola Ignatii ad fratres qui sunt in Hispania. *Corpus Institutum*, ii. 510.

them at the same time to the most vigorous development of their individual energies consistent with that principle.

In fact, this was indispensable to the accomplishment of the difficult functions undertaken by the order. These, as we have seen, were preaching, instruction, and confession. To the two latter, above all, the Jesuits devoted themselves in a manner peculiarly their own.

The business of instruction had till then been in the hands of those men of letters, who, after long prosecuting their studies in a manner merely profane, had afterwards taken a spiritual bent, at first not very favourably regarded by the Roman court, and subsequently wholly reprobated by it. The Jesuits took upon them to drive them from their posts, and to occupy these in their stead. They began with a close observance of system: they divided their schools into classes, and their course of instruction was pursued in a perfectly uniform spirit, from the lowest to the highest grade. Furthermore, they paid attention to morals, and produced well bred men; they were patronized by the civil powers, and lastly, they gave their instructions gratis. Wherever a city or a prince had founded a college, private individuals were not called on for any further payment. It was expressly forbidden the members of the order to ask or accept of remuneration or alms; their instruction was gratuitous as well as their sermons and their masses; there was even no box for offerings in their churches. Human nature being what it is, this must have tended immeasurably to the advance of their cause, especially as they actually taught with as much success as zeal. "Not only were the poor thus aided," says Orlandini, "but the rich too had a burthen lightened for them \*." He remarks what immense success the educational labours of the society enjoyed. "We see many," he says, "glittering in the cardinal's purple, whom we had but a little before on our scholars' benches: others have attained to the government of cities and states; we have educated bishops and their counsellors, and even other spiritual communities have been recruited from the numbers of our scholars." The order, as will readily be supposed, contrived to appropriate to itself all the pre-eminent talents among its pupils. Its members constituted a professional body of teachers, that achieved for itself an incalculable amount of influence, since it spread throughout all catholic countries, was the first to give to education that religious tone it has since retained, and observed a strict unity in its discipline, its methods, and its lessons.

But how greatly was this influence strengthened by the fact, that the order succeeded likewise in appropriating to itself the duties of the confessional, and the guidance of consciences! No age was ever more susceptible to this kind of influence, more thirsted for it, as it were. Their code of laws enjoins the Jesuits, "in their manner and way of imparting absolution, to pursue one uniform method, to exercise themselves in cases of conscience, to accustom themselves to a short mode of questioning, and to have the examples of the

saints, their words, and other helps, in readiness against every kind of sin \*:" rules, as it is obvious, most accurately calculated to meet the wants of man. The extraordinary success, however, which they obtained in this branch of their labours, and which involved a real diffusion of their peculiar way of thinking, depended further on another important point.

That little book of spiritual exercises is very remarkable, which Ignatius, I will not say was the first to plan, but which he worked out in the most singular manner †, with which he gathered together his first, and afterwards his latter pupils, and his followers generally, and made them wholly his own. Its efficacy was progressive and continual; the more so perhaps, as it was recommended only for occasional study, in moments of inward uneasiness, and spiritual craving.

It is not a book of doctrine; it is a guide to self-contemplation. "The longings of the soul," says Ignatius, "are not to be satisfied by a host of knowledge, but only by inward intuition and feeling ‡."

This process he undertakes to direct. The guide of souls indicates the points of view, the exercitant is to follow these out. He must on retiring to rest, and immediately on his first awaking, turn his thoughts in the assigned direction, sedulously barring every other: doors and windows are shut close, and then kneeling or prostrate on the earth he completes his task of contemplation.

He begins with being conscious of his sins; he considers how for a single act of will the angels were hurled down into hell; but for him, although he has committed far greater trespasses, the saints have offered their prayers, heaven and its stars, animals and plants of the earth have ministered to him; that he may now be free from his guilt, and not cast into everlasting condemnation, he calls on Christ crucified; he feels his reply: there ensues between them a discourse, like that between friend and friend, like that between a servant and his master.

He then seeks chiefly to edify himself by the contemplation of holy Scripture. "I see," says Ignatius, "how the three persons of the Godhead overlook the whole earth, filled with men doomed to hell: they resolve that the second person shall for their redemption take upon him human nature: I cast my eyes over the whole range of the round earth, and in a corner I discern the hut of the Virgin Mary, from which salvation issues forth." He proceeds onward from point to point through the sacred history; pictures to himself the several transactions in all their particulars, according to the category of the senses: the widest scope is allowed to the religious fancy unshackled by the bonds of the letter: imagination touches and kisses the garments, the footsteps of the sacred personages. In this exalted state of imagination, possessed with the feeling, how great is the blessedness of a soul that is filled with divine graces and

\* Regula Sacerdotum, § 8. 10. 11.

† For after all that has been written pro and contra, it is manifest that Ignatius had in view a similar work by Garcia de Cisneros. But all that is most peculiar seems his own. Comm. prævius, n. 64.

‡ Non enim abundantia scientiæ, sed sensus et gustus rerum interior desiderium animæ replere solet.

\* Orlandinus, lib. vi. 70. A comparison might be made with the conventual schools of the Protestants, in which too the religious tendency fully predominated. See Sturm in Ruhkopf, Geschichte des Schulwesens, 8. 378. The points of difference would be the most interesting.

virtues, the exercitant returns to the contemplation of his own condition. If a man has yet to choose his calling, he chooses it now in accordance with the wants and wishes of his heart, keeping ever one sole object in view, how he may be saved to God's glory, and believing he stands in the presence of God and all the saints. If the choice no longer remains to be made, he then ponders on his way of life, his daily walk and conversation, his domestic economy, his necessary expenditure, what he has to give to the poor; all this he considers in that tone of mind in which in the hour of death he will wish he had communed with himself, looking exclusively to what tends to the honour of God and to his own salvation.

Thirty days are devoted to these exercises. Reflections on sacred history, on the individual's personal circumstances, prayers and resolutions, alternate with each other. The soul is continually intent and spontaneously active. Lastly, when the individual represents to himself God's provident care, "who in his creation labours actively as it were for man," he once again thinks he stands in the sight of the Lord and his saints: he beseeches Him to vouchsafe to accept his love and adoration; he offers up to Him his freedom, dedicates to him memory, understanding, and will, and thus he seals with Him the league of love. Love consists in the community of all capacities and possessions. In return for its devotedness, God bestows his grace on the soul.

It is enough that we give this passing view of this book. In its general tenour, its several propositions and their mutual connection, there is a certain cogeney that excites the thoughts indeed to inward activity, but confines them within a narrow circle. It is most happily adjusted to the author's aim, the fostering of a spirit of meditation under the government of the imagination; the more so, inasmuch as it is based upon his own experience. In this work Ignatius successively embodies every striking phenomenon of his religious awakening and his progress, from the beginning to the year 1548, when his system received the pope's sanction. It has been said that Jesuitism turned the experience of the Protestants to good account, and this may be true in some few particulars: but on the whole the two principles are diametrically opposed. Here at least Ignatius set up in opposition to the discursive, logical, radical, and, by its very nature, polemical method of the Protestants, another wholly different, brief, intuitive, and leading to contemplation, adjusted to the imaginative principle, and prompting to instantaneous resolves.

Thus after all did every visionary trait that had marked his temperament from the beginning, grow at last to extraordinary practical significance. Being too a soldier, he gathered together a spiritual standing army, recruited, likewise, by the help of religious fancy, selected man by man, individually trained to his purpose, and commanded by himself in the service of the pope. He beheld it overspread every country of the earth.

When Ignatius died, his society numbered thirteen provinces, exclusively of the Roman\*. Mere inspection of the list shows where lay the strength of

the order. The majority of these provinces, seven, belonged to Spain and her colonies. There were ten colleges in Castile, five in Arragon, and the same number in Andalusia. The greatest progress had been made in Portugal, where there were houses both for professed members and for novices. In Brazil there were twenty-eight members of the society busily engaged, and about one hundred in the East Indies from Goa to Japan. From this quarter an experiment had been made on Æthiopia, and a provincial sent thither: the prosperity of the enterprise seemed to be secure. All these provinces, of Spanish and Portuguese language and habits, were under the direction of a commissioner general, Francesco Borgia. The nation which had witnessed the birth of the society, was also that in which its influence had become most comprehensive. Nor indeed was it much less so in Italy. There were three provinces of the Italian tongue; there was the Roman, which was under the immediate direction of the general, with houses for professed members and novices, the *Collegium Romanum*, and the *Collegium Germanicum*, which latter had been erected by the advice of cardinal Morone expressly for Germans, but which had not yet made any decisive progress: Naples also belonged to this province. The second province was the Sicilian, with four colleges already completed and two begun: the viceroy Della Vega had introduced the first Jesuits there\*: Messina and Palermo had vied with each other in establishing colleges, from which the others subsequently took their rise. The third was the province of Italy proper, including upper Italy, and containing ten colleges. The order had not made such good speed in other countries; in them it was everywhere opposed by Protestantism, or by an already well marked and matured inclination thereto. In France they had but a single college actually in operation: they reckoned two German provinces, but these were yet in their infancy. The first embraced Vienna, Prague, and Ingolstadt, but its existence was in every way very precarious; the other comprised the Netherlands; but Philip II. had not yet granted the Jesuits any legal existence in these territories.

Nevertheless, this first rapid success was in itself a guarantee to the order of the might it was destined to attain. That it had risen to such power and influence in those purely catholic countries, the two peninsulas, was a circumstance of vast significance.

#### Conclusion.

Thus we see, in opposition to those Protestant movements that every moment spread more widely, a new tendency had arisen in the midst of catholicism in Rome, around the pope.

This too, like its antagonist, rose out of the mundane corruption of the church, or rather out of the wants thereby excited in the minds of men.

At first these two tendencies approximated to each other. There was a moment in which the Germans had not so fully determined on casting off the hierarchy—in which even Italy would have been disposed to see the power of that hierarchy rationally modified. That moment passed away.

\* In the year 1556. Sacchini, *Historia Societatis Jesu*, p. ii. sive Lainius from the beginning.

\* Ribadeneira, *Vita Ignatii*, n. 293.

Whilst the Protestants, relying on the Scriptures, went back more and more boldly to the primitive forms of the Christian faith and Christian life; the opposite party resolved to stand fast by the ecclesiastical institutions that had been consolidated in the course of the century, and truly to

renovate them, and imbue them with fresh spirit, earnestness, and strictness.

So rise two neighbouring and kindred springs on the mountain top; and then gushing over different declivities, roll their forever-parted waters in opposite directions.

## BOOK THE THIRD.

### THE POPES ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

#### *Introduction.*

THE sixteenth century is pre-eminently distinguished by its spirit of religious productiveness. To this very day we live and breathe amidst the conflicting notions which then first broke upon the world.

If we would still more closely mark the momentous crisis in which the severing of the two religions was completed, we should find it did not coincide with the first appearance of the reformers; for their opinions did not instantly assume a fixed character, and for a long time there was reason to hope for an accommodation between the conflicting doctrines: it was not till the year 1552 that all efforts towards this end were finally and utterly wrecked, and the three great forms of western Christianity for ever parted from each other. Lutheranism became more strict, austere, and exclusive. Calvinism diverged from it in the most important articles, whereas Calvin himself had formerly passed for a Lutheran. Opposed to them both, catholicism assumed its modern form. The three conflicting theologies sought to establish themselves firmly, each on the ground it had severally assumed, and from thence to harass and subdue the others, and bring the world under subjection.

It might appear that the catholic tendency, which sought principally only the renovation of existing institutions, would have found it an easier task than could the others to make good its progress. But the advantage on its side was not great. It, too, was encompassed, and its course impeded, by many other impulses affecting society, such as secular feelings, profane learning, and dissentient theological opinions. It rather resembled a fermenting principle, of which it was yet questionable whether it would really lay hold on and assimilate to itself the elements around it, or be overwhelmed by them.

It encountered its first obstacle in the popes themselves, their personal circumstances, and their policy.

We have remarked how a thoroughly unspiritual temper having taken root in the heads of the church, elicited that opposition which gave such an immense impetus to protestantism.

The question was, whether, and to what extent, the strict ecclesiastical tendencies would overcome and transform that temper.

It appears to me that the conflict between these

two principles, between the active and passive habits of policy that had hitherto prevailed, and that had now grown inveterate, and the necessity of applying to these a thorough internal reform, constitutes the paramount interest in the history of the next popes.

#### PAUL III.

Excessive stress is too often laid in the present day on the designs and influence of exalted personages, princes, and governments: their memory is often compelled to atone for faults committed by the multitude; frequently, also, they are allowed credit for what really proceeded spontaneously from the community.

The catholic movement which formed one of the subjects of our consideration in the preceding book, began under Paul III. but it would be an error to ascribe its origin to that pope. He saw clearly what was its importance to the Roman see; he not only let it take its course, but he furthered it in many respects. We may, however, unhesitatingly assert that his own personal feelings were never once enlisted in its favour.

Alexander Farnese (such was the former name of Paul III.) was a worldling as ever was any pope before him. His education was completed in the 15th century, for he was born in 1468. His studies were pursued under Pomponius Lætus at Rome, and in the garden of Lorenzo Medici at Florence. He became fully imbued with the elegant erudition and the feeling for art characteristic of that epoch; nor was he untinctured with its morals. His mother once found it necessary to have him imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo: he availed himself of an unguarded moment afforded him by the procession of Corpus Christi day, to let himself down from the castle by a rope, and escape. He acknowledged a natural son and daughter; but for all that he was advanced to the rank of cardinal in rather early life, for in those days little offence was taken at such matters. While still cardinal he laid the foundation of the most beautiful of all palaces, the Farnese; and at Bolsena, where his hereditary estates were situated, he built himself a villa, which pope Leo found so much to his taste, as now and then to visit him there. Amidst these sumptuous and brilliant habits of life, he cherished desires of another kind. From the very first he fixed his eye on the highest dignity. It is characteristic of him that he sought to attain it by means



of a strict neutrality. The French and the imperial factions divided Italy, Rome, and the college of cardinals: he conducted himself with such consummate caution, such happy prudence, that no one could have said to which of the two he was more inclined. Already upon the death of Leo, and again after that of Adrian, he had gone near to be chosen. He bore a grudge against the memory of Clement VII., who had wrested from him twelve years of the popedom that would otherwise have been his. At last, in October 1534, in the fortieth year of his cardinalate and the sixty-seventh of his age, he reached the object of his ambition, and was chosen\*.

He now came to feel, in a manner wholly new to him, the great conflict that agitated the world—the strife between those two parties between whom he had just assumed so important a station—the necessity of combating the protestants, and the secret connexion with them into which he was led by their political attitude—his natural inclination, arising out of the posture of his Italian principality, to weaken the ascendancy of the Spaniards, and the danger involved in every attempt to that end—the urgent necessity of a reform, and the undesirable circumscription with which it threatened the papal power.

The manner in which his nature displayed itself in the midst of so many contradictory demands is very worthy of observation.

Paul III. was a man of easy, magnificent, liberal habits. Seldom has a pope been so much beloved in Rome as he was. There was something noble in his naming the cardinals we have spoken of without their knowledge: how advantageously does such conduct contrast with the petty personal considerations it had almost become a rule to observe. But he did not appoint them merely, he left them also unusual liberty: he bore with contradiction in the consistory, and encouraged unrestricted freedom of discussion.

But if he left due liberty to others, if he accorded to each the advantage incident to his position, he was equally resolved not to forego one single prerogative of his own. The emperor once addressed remonstrances to him on the subject of his having

advanced two of his nephews to the cardinalate at much too early an age: his reply was, that he would do as his predecessors had done; there were instances of boys having been made cardinals in their cradles. He manifested a preference for his family unusual even in his station\*. He was fully as much bent as any other pope on advancing them to princely dignities.

Not that, like Alexander VI., he postponed every other consideration to this one; no one could allege that against him; he applied himself most earnestly to effecting a peace between France and Spain, to the suppression of the protestants, the resisting the Turks, and the reform of the church; but along with all this he had it strongly at heart to exalt his own house.

Combining together, as he did, all these discordant purposes, pursuing at one and the same time public and private aims, he was constrained to a policy in the utmost degree circumspect, watchful, lingering, and expectant: for if every thing depended on the favourable moment, the happy combination of circumstances, these were to be slowly and laboriously brought about, and then grasped with the utmost rapidity, and turned to account.

Ambassadors found it difficult to treat with him. They were surprised to see that he betrayed no deficiency in spirit, and yet could seldom be brought to a decisive resolution. He studied to fetter others, watched to lay hold of a binding word, to obtain an irrevocable assurance; but he never was willing to pledge himself. This disposition he displayed even in minor things; he was not inclined to refuse or promise any thing beforehand; liking to have his hands free to the last moment. But how much more was this evinced by him in difficult circumstances! Sometimes it would happen that he himself pointed out an escape from a difficulty, or a means of accommodation, and when others were disposed to adopt it, he would nevertheless draw back. He wished always to remain master of his own transactions†.

\* Sonano 1535. E Romano di sangue et è d'animo molto gagliardo: . . . stima assai l'ingurie che gli si fanno, et è inclinatissimo a far grandi i suoi. [He is a Roman in blood, and of a very lively temperament: . . . he is sensitive enough to injuries done him, and is most strongly inclined to aggrandize those belonging to him.] Varchi (Istorie Fiorentine, p. 636,) gives an account of Paul's first secretary, Messe Ambrogio, "who could have all he wished, and wished all he could have." Among many other presents he once had sixty silver wash-hand basins and ewers bestowed on him. "How comes it," it was said, "that with so many basins he yet has not clean hands?"

† In the *Lettres et Mémoires d'Etat*, par Guill. Ribier, Paris, 1666, we find numerous specimens of his negotiations and their character, from 1537 to 1540, and from 1547 to 1549, in the despatches of French ambassadors. Matteo Dandolo describes them directly in a MS. in my possession, *Relazione di Roma*, 1551, d. 20. Junii in Senatu. Il negoziare con P. Paolo fu giudicato ad ogn'un difficile, perché era tardissimo nel parlare, perché non voleva mai proferire parola che non fusse elegante et exquisita, così nella volgare come nella latina e greca, che di tutte tre ne faceva professione (I should not think he very often used Greek in his negotiations,) e mi aveva scoperto di quel poco che io ne intendeva. E perché era vecchissimo, parlava bassissimo e era longhissimo, nè voleva negar cosa che se gli addimandasse; ma nè anche (volea) che l'uomo che negoziava seco potesse esser sicuro di havere havuto da S. Sa. et sì più che il nò, perché lei voleva stare sempre in l'avantaggio di poter negare e con-

\* Onuphrius Panvinius, *Vita Pauli III.* In the year 1538, Marc Antonio Contarini made a report regarding the papal court to the Venetian Senate. This I was unfortunately unable to find in the Venetian archives or elsewhere. In a MS. relating to the Turkish war of that time, under the title, *Tre libri delli Commentari della Guerra*, 1537, 8, 9, in my possession, I find a short extract from the report from which I have derived the above notices. Disse del stato della corte che molti anni inanzi li prelati non erano stati in quella riforma di vita ch'eran allora, e che li cardinali havevano libertà maggiore di dire l'opinione loro in consistorio ch'avesser avuto già mai da gran tempo; e che di ciò il pontefice non solamente non si doleva, ma se n'era studiatisimo, onde per questa ragione se poteva sperare di giorno in giorno maggior riforma. Considerò che tra cardinali vi erano tali uomini celeberrimi, che per opinione commune il mondo non avria altrettanti. [He said of the state of the court, that for many years past the prelates had not led such reformed lives as then, and that the cardinals had more liberty in speaking their minds than ever they had enjoyed before, whereas the pope was not only not displeased, but was most desirous of seeing it so, for which reason a greater measure of reform might be looked for from day to day. He considered that there were among the cardinals men of such exceeding celebrity, that in the common opinion the world had not their equals.]



He too, as we have said, belonged to the classical school; he aimed at speaking both Latin and Italian with unvarying choice and elegance: he always selected and weighed his words with the twofold view to their import and form: he delivered himself in a low tone, and with the slowest deliberation.

People were often at a loss to know exactly how they stood with him. Sometimes they thought they should rather infer the very opposite to what his words ostensibly portended. But this would not have been correct in all cases. Those who knew him more intimately remarked, that he entertained the strongest hopes of accomplishing a project just at the very time when he abstained from all mention of it, neither alluding to the thing itself, nor to the persons whom it concerned\*. For thus much was manifest, that he never let go a purpose he had once embraced. He trusted to carry out every project, if not immediately, yet some other time, under altered circumstances, by another course.

It was not inconsistent with the habits of a mind so constituted, of such far-reaching forethought, such a tendency to look warily around in every direction, and to ponder its purposes in secret, that it should have taken into the scope of its reflections powers above as well as upon the earth. The influence of the constellations over the results of human actions was little questioned in those days. Paul III. held no important sitting of the consistory, nor made any journey, without having first consulted the stars on the choice of the fitting days†. An alliance with France was broken off merely because there was no conformity between the nativities of the king and the pope. This pope, it is plain, felt himself in the midst of a thousand conflicting agencies, not only of the powers of the earth below, but of the configuration of the stars above: his plan was, to give due attention alike to the one class and to the other, to mitigate their unpropitious influences, turn their favours to account, and dexterously to steer home his bark between the rocks that threatened him on every side.

Let us consider how he attempted this, whether

*cedere: per il che sempre si risolveva tardissimamente, quando volea negare.* [To negotiate with pope Paul was considered a difficult thing for every one, because he was very slow in speech, not wishing ever to utter a word that was not elegant and select, as well in the vulgar tongue as in Latin and Greek, for he professed them all three, and discovered in me what little I knew of them. And as he was very old, he spoke very low, and was extremely dilatory, nor would he refuse anything that was asked of him; nor, on the other hand, was he willing that the man who negotiated with him could be sure of having had "yes" more than "no" of his holiness, for he wished always to stand on the vantage ground of being able to refuse or concede: wherefore he was always most slow to resolve when he wished to deny.]

\* Observations of cardinal Carpi and Margareta: "Che son los," says Mendoza, "que mas platica tienen de su condicion." [Who are the persons possessing most practical knowledge of his disposition.]

† Mendoza. *Es venido la cosa á que ay muy pocos cardenales, que concierten negocios, aunque sea para comprar una carga de leña, sino es o por medio de algun astrologo o hechizero.* [It is come to such a pass, that there are very few cardinals who will transact any business, though it be only to buy a load of wood, except through the medium of some astrologer or wizard.] We meet with the most unquestionable particulars respecting the pope himself.

or not he was successful, whether he actually lifted himself above the warring forces of the world's great movements, or whether he too was involved in their vortex.

He succeeded in the very first year of his pontificate in effecting a league with Charles V. and the Venetians against the Turks. He urged the Venetians with great earnestness to the task, and the hope once more prevailed of seeing the boundaries of Christendom extended as far as to Constantinople.

The war, however, meanwhile renewed between Charles V. and Francis I. was a formidable obstacle to every undertaking. The pope spared no pains, to allay the hostility of the two sovereigns. The congress between them at Nice, where he too was present, was wholly his work. The Venetian ambassador, who was present, cannot find words sufficiently to extol the zeal and patience exhibited on that occasion by the pope. It was only by means of the utmost assiduity, and but at the last moment, when he was already threatening to depart, that he at last succeeded in bringing about a truce\*. He effected a good understanding between the two sovereigns, which very soon afterwards seemed to pass into something like friendship.

While the pope thus promoted public affairs, he did not neglect his own. It was noted that he always interwove the two together, and made them advance in concert. The Turkish war gave him an opportunity to seize Camerino. It was on the point of being incorporated with Urbino; the last Varana, heiress of Camerino, had married Guidobaldo II., who attained to the government of Urbino in the year 1538†. But the pope declared that Camerino could not be inherited by a woman. The Venetians ought in justice to have supported the duke, whose ancestors had been under their protection, and had served in their armies; and they did appeal urgently and warily in his behalf, but were deterred from doing more for fear of war. They feared that the pope would call in the aid of the emperor or the king of France; they prudently considered, that should he gain the emperor to his side, the latter would be the less capable of acting against the Turks; or should he obtain the assistance of France, the peace of Italy would be endangered, and their own position would become still more disadvantageous and isolated‡: accordingly they abandoned the duke to his fate, and he was compelled to cede Camerino, which the pope bestowed on his grandson Ottavio; for his house was already rising to splendour and power. How profitable to him was the congress of Nice! While it was yet pending, his son, Pier Luigi, obtained Novara and the district about it from the emperor, who also pledged himself irrevocably to give his natural daughter Margaret, after the death of Alessandro de Medici, in marriage to Ottavio Farnese. We may believe the pope when he affirms that he did not for this go over unconditionally to the imperial party. On the contrary, he wished to enter into a no less strict connexion with Francis I. The king too, on

\* *Relazione del Cmo. M. Niccolo Tiepolo del Convento di Nizza, Informatt. Politiche VI.* (Berlin Library.) There also exists an old Impression.

† *Adriani, Istories* 58, II.

‡ The deliberations are contained in the before-mentioned commentary on the Turkish war, which thus acquires a peculiar interest.

his part acquiesced in the proposal, and promised him at Nice a prince of the blood, the duke of Vendôme, for his granddaughter Vittoria \*. Great was the happiness of Paul III. in being thus connected with the two greatest houses of Europe; he was very sensible of the honour, and spoke of it in the consistory. The peace-making mediatorial position, too, which he occupied between the two powers, flattered his ecclesiastical ambition.

But the further course of these matters proved not altogether so favourable. The Ottomans were far from suffering any check; and Venice was compelled to accept an unfavourable peace. Francis I. afterwards recalled the personal promise he had given, and though the pope never abandoned the hope of actually effecting a family alliance with the house of Valois, still the negotiation languished. The good understanding which the pope had brought about between the king and the emperor appeared indeed to be continually on the increase. At one time the pope seemed well nigh jealous on the subject, complaining that it was he who had founded it, and now it proved the cause of his being neglected †. Nevertheless, it but too soon came to an end, and war broke out afresh. Thereupon the pope addressed himself to new designs.

Till now he had always openly declared among his friends, and had even given the emperor to understand as much, that Milan belonged to the French, and ought of right to be restored to them ‡. By degrees he gave up that opinion. Presently, we meet with a proposal to Charles from cardinal Carpi, who of all the cardinals was the most in the pope's confidence, which points to far different conclusions §.

"The emperor," he says, "must not think of being count, duke, or prince; he must be emperor and nothing else: he must possess not many provinces, but great vassals. His prosperity has ceased since he became possessed of Milan. He cannot be counselled to return it to Francis I. whose thirst for territorial acquisition it would but irritate, but neither on the other hand ought he to retain it ||. The emperor has enemies only because

\* Grignan, Ambassadeur du Roi de France à Rome, au Connétable. Ribier, l. p. 251. Monseigneur, sa dite Sainteté a un merveilleux desir du mariage de Vendôme; car il s'en est entièrement déclaré à moy, disant que pour estre sa niece unique et tant aimée de luy, il ne desiroit, après le bien de la Chrestienté, autre chose plus que voir sa dite niece mariée en France, dont le dit seigneur (le roy) luy avoit tenu propos à Nice, et après, Vous, Monseigneur, luy en aviez parlé. [Monseigneur, his said holiness, marvellously desires the Vendôme marriage: for so he declared fully to me, saying that his niece being his only one, and so much beloved by him, there was nothing he more desired, next to the welfare of Christendom, than to see his said niece married in France, whereof the king had made him proposals at Nice, and you, Monseigneur, spoke to him afterwards.]

† Grignan, 7 Mars, 1539. Ribier, l. 406. Le cardinal de Boulogne au Roi, 20 Avril, 1539. Ibid. p. 415. The pope said to him, "qu'il estoit fort estonné, veu la peine et travail qu'il avoit pour vous appointer, Vous et l'Empereur, que vous le laissiez ainsi arrière." [That he was much astonished, seeing the pains and labour he had taken to effect an accordance between you and the emperor, that you should both so turn your backs upon him.]

‡ M. A. Contarini likewise confirmed this in his report.

§ Discorso del Rmo. Cle. di Carpi del 1543 (perhaps however a year earlier) a Carlo V. Cesare del modo nel dominare. Bibl. Corsini n. 443.

|| Se la M. V. dello stato di Milano le usasse cortesia,

it is feared he seeks to appropriate to himself foreign dominions. Let him annihilate this suspicion, let him give Milan to a distinct duke, and Francis I. will no longer find an adherent: he, the emperor, on the contrary, will have Germany and Italy for him, he will carry his banners into the remotest nations, and he will associate his name" (such is the expression) "with immortality."

Now if the emperor was neither to surrender Milan to the French, nor to retain it himself, to whom then was he to transfer the duchy? The pope thought it would be no unapt solution of the dilemma if it were given to his grandson, the emperor's son-in-law. He had already hinted at this arrangement in former missions. At a new congress which he held with the emperor at Busseto in 1543, he brought it forward in form. Negotiations proceeded on the subject with great earnestness, and the pope entertained the liveliest hopes. The marquis of Vasto, governor of Milan, whom he gained over, being somewhat credulous and fond of show, appeared one day with a well prepared speech to escort Margaret as his future sovereign to Milan. I find that the negotiation was broken off in consequence of some exorbitant demands on the emperor's part \*. After all, it is hard to believe that the emperor could ever have been disposed, for any consideration whatever, to surrender to foreign influence so important and well situated a sovereignty.

For even without this the position assumed by the Farnesi was one full of danger to him. Of the Italian provinces over which Charles ruled or possessed influence, there was not one in which the existing government had not necessarily been founded, or at least confirmed by force. In every quarter, in Milan, Naples, Florence, Genoa, Siena, there were malcontents belonging to the vanquished party: Rome and Venice were full of emigrants. The Farnesi were not prevented by their close connection with the emperor from linking themselves with these men, who, worsted as they were, were yet powerful through the importance of their chiefs, their wealth, and their numbers. At the

non tanto si spegnerebbe quanto si ascenderebbe la sete sua: sì che è meglio di armarsi di quel ducato contra di lui. — V. M. ha da esse certa, che non per affettione che altri abbia a questo re, ma per interesse particolare, e la Germania e l'Italia, sinche da tal sospetto non saranno liberate, sono per sostenere ad ogni lor potere la potentia di Francia.

\* Pallavicini has flatly denied these negotiations. From what Muratori too (Annali d'Italia x. ii. 51.) adduces on the subject, further reasons for doubting them may perhaps be derived. He relies on the authority of the historians, who however, may, after all, have written from hearsay. But a letter from Girolamo Guicciardini to Cosmo Medici, Cremona, 26 Giugno 1543, in the Archivio Mediceo at Florence, is decisive on the subject. Gravella himself had spoken of it: S. M.<sup>a</sup> mostrava non esser aliena quando per la parte del papa fussino adempinte le larghe offerte eran state proferte dal duca di Castro sin a Genova. [The king showed that he was not ill disposed, if so: the pope's part had been fulfilled the ample offers made by the duke of Castro at Genoa.] I do not know what may have been these offers: at any rate they were too much for the pope. According to Gossellini, Ferrante Gonzaga's secretary, the emperor feared on his departure, "che in volgendo egli le spalle (i Farnesi) non pensassero ad occuparlo" (Vita di Don Fernando, p. iv.) [that as soon as his back was turned the Farnesi would attempt to take possession of it.] A Neapolitan biography of Vasto, not yet printed, in the Chigi library in Rome, contains very detailed and amusing particulars on this subject.

head of the victors stood the emperor ; the beaten party sought refuge with the pope. They were bound by innumerable secret ties together : they were in constant connexion, open or concealed, with France ; new plans and enterprises were constantly in hand, now relating to Siena, now to Genoa, and now to Lucca. How often did the pope seek to gain access and footing in Florence ? But he found in young duke Cosmo the very man who was fitted to withstand him. Cosmo expresses himself on this subject with straightforward self reliance. "The pope," he says, "who has been successful in so many undertakings, has no warmer wish ungratified, than to gain some ground in Florence too, and to alienate this city from the emperor ; but he shall carry this wish with him to the grave \*."

In a certain respect the pope and the emperor confronted each other as heads of opposing factions. If the emperor had married his daughter into the pope's family, he did it only to keep the latter in check ; "to maintain" as he said, "the existing state of things in Italy." The pope, on the other hand, wished to avail himself of his connexion with the emperor, to abstract something from the imperial power. He would gladly at one and the same time have placed his house under the protection of the emperor, and have exalted it with the help of the emperor's opponent. There was still in fact a Ghibelline and Guelphic party, the former adhering as usual to the emperor, the latter to the pope.

In the year 1545 we find the two heads of the factions, notwithstanding all this, again on friendly terms. Margaret's hopes of soon giving to her family a descendant of the emperor, turned the feelings of the Farnesi again in favour of Charles V. Cardinal Alessandro Farnese repaired to Worms to meet him. This embassy was one of the most important emanating from Paul III. The Cardinal succeeded in once more allaying the emperor's displeasure. He endeavoured to justify his brothers on the score of some charges alleged against them ; on other subjects he begged for forgiveness, and promised they would all in future be his majesty's obedient servants and sons. The emperor replied, that in that case he would treat them as his own children. Upon this they proceeded to discuss important matters, such as the war against the Protestants, and the council ; and both agreed that the latter should take place without delay. Should the emperor resolve again to employ his arms against the Protestants, the pope pledged himself to aid him therein with all his might, with all his wealth, "ay, though it were necessary to sell his crown †."

\* A letter of Cosmo found in the Medicean archives ; likewise of the year 1537. *Al papa non è restato altra voglia in questo mondo se non disporre di questo stato e levarlo dalla divotione dell' imperatore, etc.*

† We have authentic information respecting the mission from Granvella himself. *Dispaccio di Monsignor di Cortona al Duca di Fiorenza. Vornatia, 29 Maggio, 1545.* (Granvella) mi conchuse in somma ch'el cardinale era venuto per giustificarsi d'alcune calunnie, e supplica S.M. che quando non potesse interamente discolpare l'attioni passate di Nro-Signore sue e di sua casa, ella si degnasse rinuocerle e non ne tenet conto. *Expose di piu, in caso che S. M. si resolvesse sbattere per via d'arma, perche per giustitia non si vedeva quasi modo alcuno, li Luterani, S. Beatitudine concorrerà con ogni somma di denari.*

The council was actually opened the same year : we are now for the first time in a condition to see how this was finally brought about ; the war too was begun in the year 1546. The pope and the emperor united in annulling the Smalcaldic league, which was not much less hostile to the temporal power of the one, than to the spiritual power of the other. The pope contributed money and troops.

The emperor's purpose was to carry on warlike operations simultaneously with peaceful negotiations. Whilst he curbed the disobedience of the Protestants by war, the council was to settle religious controversies, and above all to proceed to measures of reform, which would in some degree render submission possible on the part of the Protestants.

The success of the war surpassed all expectation. At first the fortunes of Charles seemed utterly desperate, but he stood firm in the most perilous circumstances. In the fall of the year 1546, he saw all Upper Germany in his hands ; cities and princes vied in submitting to him : the moment seemed come when the Protestant party might be wholly put down in Germany, and the whole north again made catholic.

What did the pope in that moment ?

He recalled his troops from the imperial army : he transferred the council, that was just now on the point of fulfilling its purpose, and putting its pacificatory powers in operation, from Trent, where it had been assembled at the suggestion of the Germans, to Bologna his second capital, on the pretext that a contagious disease had broken out in the former place.

His motives to this step do not admit of doubt. The political tendencies of the papacy and the ecclesiastical were once more in collision. That all Germany should be vanquished and really submissive to the emperor, was a thing the pope could never have desired : his expectations had pointed to a far different result. He might have thought it probable that the emperor would obtain some success which would redound to the advantage of the catholic Church ; at the same time he doubted not, as he himself confesses \*, that he should see him involved in many difficulties and perplexities, which would enable himself, the pope, more freely to pursue his private ends. But fortune mocked his calculations. He had now to fear, and France drew his attention to this, that this paramount power attained by the emperor would react on Italy, and be felt by himself but too soon in spiritual as well as temporal affairs. In addition to all this, he felt a growing uneasiness with regard to the council. It had long been a burthen to him †, and he had already bethought him of dis-

\* Charles Cl. de Guise au Roy, 31 Oct. 1547. (Ribier, li. p. 73.) written after an audience of the pope : Paul states the reasons that induced him to take part in the German war. *Aussi à dire franchement, qu'il estoit bien mieux de l'empescher (l'empercur) en un lieu, dont il pensoit qu' aisement il ne viendroit à bout.* [Also to speak frankly, that it was much better to surround the emperor with impediments in a position from which he thought he would not easily come off with success.]

† Du Mortier au Roy, 26 Avril, 1547. *Je vous assure, Sire, que pendant il estoit à Trrente, c'estoit une charge qui le pressoit fort.* [I assure you, Sire, that when it was at Trent, it was a burthen that lay very heavily upon him.]

solving it; but now the imperialists among the bishops, made more and more presumptuous by victory, were taking some singularly bold steps. The Spanish bishops brought forward certain proposals under the name of *censure*, that tended generally to a circumscription of the papal dignity. The Reformation, always so much dreaded by Rome, seemed no longer capable of being postponed.

It sounds strangely, but nothing is truer, than that in the very moment when all North Germany was tremblingly apprehensive of the reinstatement of the papal authority, the pope felt himself an ally of the Protestants. He manifested his joy at the success of the elector John Frederick over duke Maurice, and wished for nothing more ardently than that he might be equally prosperous against the emperor. He specially admonished Francis I. who was now endeavouring to form an universal league against the emperor, "to succour those who were not yet beaten \*." It again seemed probable to him that the emperor encountering extreme obstacles, would for a long time yet have his hands occupied: "he believes this," said the French envoy, "because he wishes it." But he deceived himself as he had done before. The emperor's good fortune baffled all his calculations, Charles was victorious at Mühlberg, and carried off the two leaders of the Protestants as prisoners. He could now direct his attention more closely than ever to his Italian schemes.

The pope's conduct, as may be supposed, had most deeply irritated him. He saw very clearly through his policy. "His holiness's intention," he writes to his ambassadors, "has been from the first to entangle us in these undertakings, and then to leave us in our embarrassment †." The withdrawal of the papal troops was not a matter of much moment. Badly paid, and for that reason disorderly and undisciplined, they had never been good for much. But the transference of the council was a matter of the greatest importance. It is

\* Le même au même. Ribier, i. 637. S.S. . . . entendu que le duc de Saxe se trouve fort, dont elle a tel contentement, comme celui qui estime le commun ennemy estre par ces moyens retenu d'exécuter ses entreprises, et connoist-on bien qu'il seroit utile sous-main d'entretenir ceux qui luy resistant, disant que vous ne sçauriez faire dépense plus utile. [His holiness—has heard that the duke of Saxony is in strength, whereto he rejoices, as thinking that the common enemy will thereby be restricted from accomplishing his designs, and is decidedly of opinion that it would be useful secretly to aid those who resist him, saying that you could not incur any expense that would yield more advantage.]

† Copia de la carta que S.M. scribio a Don Diego de Mendoza a XI de Hebrero, 1547 aos. Quanto mas yva el dicho (prospero sucesso) adelante, mas nos confirmavamos en creer que fuesse verdad lo que antes se havia sabido de la intencion y inclinacion de S.S., y lo que se decia (es) que su fin havia sido por embarcar nos en lo que estavamos, y dexarnos en ello con sus finos deseyos y platicas, pero que, aunque pesasse a S.S. y a otros, esperavamos con la ayuda de N.S., aunque sin la de S.S., guiar esta impresa a buen camino. [The more our success advanced, the more confirmed were we in the truth of our former opinion as to the intention and inclination of his Holiness; the sum of the matter is, that his aim had been to embarrass us in the position in which we stood, and leave us there with his crafty designs and practices, but that however unwelcome it might be to his Holiness and others, we hoped with the help of our Lord, even though without that of his Holiness, to bring this enterprise to a favourable issue.]

wonderful how much on this occasion too the dissensions of the pope and the emperor, produced by the political position of the former, aided the cause of the Protestants. The means of compelling them to submit to the voice of the council now obviously presented themselves. But as the council itself had divided (for the imperial bishops remained in Trent), since there was no longer a possibility of its arriving at any valid resolution, neither could any one be forced to give his adhesion to the acts of that body. The emperor was compelled to see the most essential part of his plans frustrated by the defection of his ally. He not only insisted continually on the re-transfer of the council to Trent, but even went so far as to say, "that he would go to Rome, and hold the council there himself."

Paul III. bestirred himself: "the emperor," he said, "is mighty; but we too can show some strength and possess some friends." The long promised connexion with France was now effected: Oratio Farnese, and the natural daughter of Henry II. were betrothed; no means were left untried to engage the Venetians next in a general league. All the emigrants were on the alert. Disturbances broke out in Naples just at the critical moment: a Neapolitan delegate presented himself to implore the pope's aid on behalf of his vassals in that quarter, and there were cardinals who counselled him to accede to the request.

The Italian factions now stood once more face to face, and with the more decided hostility as their two leaders were mutually at variance. On the one side were the governors of Milan and Naples, the Medici in Florence, and the Dorias in Genoa; Don Diego Mendoza, imperial ambassador at Rome, may be looked on as the centre of their party: they had still a great force of Ghibelline adherents in every direction. On the other side were the pope and the Farnesi, the emigrants and malecontents, and a newly formed Orsini party, adherents of the French. The former party were favoured by the portion of the council that had remained in Trent, the latter by the portion that had gone to Bologna.

The hatred mutually cherished by these parties was suddenly exemplified in a deed of violence.

The pope had already availed himself of his former close intimacy with the emperor, to transfer Parma and Piacenza to his son Pier Luigi, as a fief under the papal see. The times were not such as to allow of his proceeding to such a step with the recklessness of an Alexander or a Leo. By way of compensation, he re-attached Camerino and Nepi to the church, and sought to prove that the Camera would suffer no loss in the transaction, by calculations of the cost attending the maintenance of those frontier places in a state of defence, the tribute that his son would have to pay on account of them, and the revenue to be derived from the newly annexed localities. But it was only in private conferences with the cardinals he could succeed in bringing them over to his views, and this not even with all them. Some openly resisted: others sedulously abstained from attending the consistory, in which the matter was brought forward; and Caraffa was seen on the day appointed for that business, proceeding on a solemn visit to the seven churches\*. The emperor, too, was

\* Bromato, Vita di Paolo IV. ii. 222.

averse to the affair; at least, he would have wished the dukedom given to his son-in-law Ottavio, to whom, however, Camerino also belonged\*. He let the matter pass, because he was just then in need of the pope's friendship, but he never gave it his sanction: he knew Pier Luigi too well. That very son of the pope held in his hand all the cords of the secret associations among the Italian opposition. It was not doubted that he had been privy to the conspiracy of Fiesco, in Genoa, that he had assisted Pietro Strozzi, the powerful head of the Florentine emigrants, in a moment of the utmost difficulty, after an unsuccessful attempt on Milan, to make his escape over the Po, and had been the sole instrument of securing his safety. It was suspected that he himself entertained fixed designs on Milan†.

One day the pope, who thought himself still under the influence of favourable stars, and able to conjure all the storms that threatened him, was particularly cheerful at the audience. He enumerated all the felicities of his life, and compared himself in that respect with the emperor Tiberius. On that very day his son, the possessor of all his acquisitions, the heir of his good fortune, was assailed and murdered by conspirators in Piacenza‡.

The Ghibellines of Piacenza, aggrieved and irritated by the violent acts of the duke, who belonged to the despotic rulers of those times, and sought especially to keep the nobility in subjection, were the perpetrators of the deed: but we cannot entertain a doubt of what every one in that day believed, that Ferrante Gonzaga, governor of Milan, had a hand in the affair§. Gonzaga's biographer, who had been in the times we are speaking of his confidential secretary, and who seeks to exculpate him, assures us that his intention had only extended to the imprisonment and not to the assassination of Farnese||. I find in some MSS. still clearer hints that the emperor had received previous information of this design; but I hesitate to credit this without further substantiation. Be this as it may, the imperial troops hastened to the spot, took possession of Piacenza, and asserted the claims of the empire upon that city. This was in some measure a retaliation for the pope's desertion of the emperor in the war of Smalcald.

\* The negotiations on this subject are manifest from Mendoza's letter of the 29th Nov. 1547. The pope says he bestowed the fief on Pier Luigi because the cardinals preferred this, and "haviendo de vivir tampoco, como mostrava su indisposicion," [having so short a time to live, as appeared from his ill-health.]

† Gossellini, Vita di Ferr. Gonzaga, p. 20. Segni, Storie Fiorentine, p. 292.

‡ Mendoza al Emperador, 18 Sep. 1547. Gastó la mayor parte del tempo (on that day) en contar sus felicidades y compararse a Tiberio imperador.

§ Comptum habemus Ferdinandum esse autorem, [We have ascertained that Ferrante was the instigator of the deed] said the pope in the consistory. Extrait du Consistoire tenu par N. S. Père, in a dispatch from Morvillier, Venise, 7 Sept. 1547. Ribier, ii. 61.

|| Gossellini, p. 45. Nè l'imperatore, nè D. Fernando, come di natura magnanimi, consentirono mai alla morte del duca Pier Luigi Farnese; anzi fecero ogni opera di salvarlo, comandando in specialità a congiurati che vivo il tenessero. [Neither the emperor nor Don Fernando, men of noble nature, ever would consent to the death of the duke Pier Luigi Farnese, but did all in their power to save him, giving special orders to the conspirators, that they should keep him alive as a prisoner.]

The state of things that now arose is without a parallel.

Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, some pretended to know, had said he could only help himself out of his difficulties by the death of some imperial ministers: he could not take them off by violence, and must, therefore, have recourse to art. While, therefore, the persons aimed at sought to secure themselves against poison, two or three Corsican braves were arrested in Milan, and brought to confess, whether truly or falsely I will not pretend to say, they had been hired by those belonging to the pope to assassinate Ferrante Gonzaga. At all events, Gonzaga was exasperated afresh. He must, he said, secure his life as well as he could: nothing remained for him but to put out of the way two or three of these his enemies, either by his own hand or by another's\*. Mendoza is of opinion there was a design to kill all the Spaniards in Rome; the people were to be secretly instigated to the act, which when done was to be excused on the plea of their ungovernable fury.

No reconciliation was to be thought of. There had been a wish to employ the mediation of the emperor's daughter to that end. But she had never liked the Farnese family, she despised her husband, who was much her junior, and exposed his bad qualities to the ambassadors without reserve; she said she would rather cut off her child's head than make any request to her father that might be displeasing to him.

Mendoza's correspondence with his court lies before me. It would not be easy to match these letters, for the tone imparted to them by that deep rooted hate, which both parties strove to conceal, and each perceived in the other. There is in them a feeling of superiority filled with bitterness, of contempt that is yet on its guard, of distrust, such as men entertain towards an inveterate malefactor.

In this posture of things, France was the only country to which the pope could look for support or help.

Accordingly we find him sometimes discussing for hours the relation of the Roman see to France, in the presence of the French ambassadors and cardinals Guise and Farnese. "He had read in old books," he said, "and heard it from others during his cardinalate, and personally experienced it since he became pope, that the holy see was always then in power and prosperity when it was allied with France, while on the contrary it sustained losses so soon as this ceased to be the case. He could not forgive Leo X. and his predecessor Clement, he could not forgive himself for having even favoured the emperor: now, however, he was determined for ever to unite himself with France. He hoped to live yet long enough to leave the papal see devotedly attached to the French king; he would endeavour to make the latter the greatest sovereign in the world; his own house should be connected with him by the most indissoluble ties†."

His purpose was to form with France, Switzerland, and Venice, a league at first defensive, but of which he himself says, that it was "the door to an offensive league‡." The French calculated that

\* Mendoza al Emp. Don Hernando procurara de asegurar su vida como mejor pudiere, hechando a parte dos o tres di estos, o por su mano o por mano de otros.

† Guise au Roy, 31 Oct. 1547. Ribier, ii. 75.

‡ Guise au Roy, 11 Nov. 1547. Ribier, ii. 81. Sire, il

their friends, once united, would secure to them as large a territory in Italy as that which the emperor possessed : the whole Orsini party were again ready to devote themselves to the king with life and substance. The Farnesi thought that in the district of Milan they could count at least on Cremona and Pavia : the Neapolitan emigrants promised to bring fifteen thousand men into the field, and forthwith to deliver up Aversa and Naples. The pope entered with great eagerness into all these schemes. He gave the French ambassador the first intelligence of a design on Genoa. He was not at all averse to the conclusion of a league with the Sultan or with Algiers, for the sake of getting hold of Naples. Edward VI. had just ascended the throne of England, and a decidedly protestant administration had assumed the helm of state : the pope for all that advised Henry II. to make peace with England, "that he might be free to accomplish other designs for the best interests of Christendom \*."

Thus vehement was the pope's hostility to the emperor, thus close his connexion with the French, thus vast were the views he proposed to himself : and yet he never completed his projected league, he never took the final step.

The Venetians were astounded. "The pope," they said, "has been assailed in his dignity, injured in his own blood, robbed of the best possessions of his house : he should grasp at every alliance, on any terms ; yet after so many injuries and insults he still hesitates and wavers."

Most commonly personal injuries prompt to extreme resolves. There are natures, however, in which that is not the case, which even then deliberate when they are most deeply wounded ; not that the sentiment of revenge is less strong in them, but because they are more forcibly possessed with the consciousness of their adversary's superiority.

The prudence that anticipates the aspect of the future predominates in them : great mischances do not rouse them, but make them spiritless, vacillating, and weak.

The emperor was too powerful to entertain any serious fear of the Farnesi. He kept on his way without bestowing a thought upon them. He protested solemnly against the sittings of the council in Bologna, and declared beforehand all acts that should issue from it to be null and void. In the

semble au pape, à ce qu'il m'a dit, qu'il doit commencer à vous faire declaration de son amitié par vous presenter luy et toute sa maison : et pour ce qu'ils n'auraient puissance de vous faire service, ny vous aider à offenser, si vous premierement vous ne les aidez à defendre, il luy a semblé devoir commencer par la ligue defensive, la quelle il dit estre la vraye porte de l'offensive. [Sire, the pope is minded, as he has told me, that he ought to begin his declaration of friendship by presenting to you himself, and his whole house : and for that they could have no power to do you service, or to aid you to offend, unless you in the first place aid them to defend, it seems fit to him to begin with the defensive league, which he says is the real door to the offensive.] The whole correspondence relates to this topic.

• François de Rohan au Roy, 24 Fevrier, 1548. Ribier, ii. 117. S. S. m'a commandé de vous faire entendre et conseiller de sa part, de regarder les moyens que vous pouvez enir pour vous mettre en paix pour quelque temps avec les Anglois, afin que n'estant en tant d'endroits empêché vous puissiez plus facilement executer vos desseins et entreprendre pour le bien public de la Chrestienté.

year 1548 he published the Interim in Germany. However intolerable the pope thought it that the emperor should venture to prescribe a rule of faith, however vehemently he complained that the property of the church should be left in the hands of its present possessors (in addition to all this, cardinal Farnese said he could point out seven or eight heresies in the Interim \*), the emperor did not suffer himself to be moved from his purpose. In the affair of Piacenza too, he did not yield a hair's breadth. The pope demanded the immediate restitution of that city : the emperor maintained his claim to it in right of the empire. The pope appealed to the treaty of 1521, in which Piacenza had been guaranteed to the Roman see ; the emperor pointed to the word "investiture," by which the empire had asserted its own right of sovereignty. The pope rejoined that the word was here employed otherwise than in the feudal sense : the emperor carried the discussion no further, but declared that his conscience forbade him to give back Piacenza †.

Gladly would the pope now have taken up arms, attached himself to France, and set his friends and partisans in motion (his adherents were observed to be busy in Naples, Genoa, Siena, Piacenza, and even in Orbitello), gladly would he have revenged himself by some unexpected blow ; but on the other hand, he felt extreme dread of the emperor's superior power, above all of his influence in ecclesiastical matters ; he was apprehensive that a council would be called that would declare itself decidedly against him, and even proceed to his deposition. Mendoza affirms, that the attempt of the Corsicans upon the life of Ferrante Gonzaga had especially alarmed him.

However this may be, certain it is he kept still and smothered his rage. The Farnesi were even not displeased to see the emperor take Siena, hoping he would bestow it on them in compensation for their losses. The most singular proposals were made in connection with this subject. "If the emperor agrees to this," it was said to Mendoza, "the pope on his part must then send back the council to Trent, and not only proceed in other respects according to the emperor's wishes (for example, in solemnly recognizing his right to Burgundy), but also declare Charles his successor in the papal see. For, said they, the climate of Germany is cold, that of Italy warm ; warm countries are more wholesome for the gout, with which the emperor is afflicted ‡." I will not maintain that

\* "Hazer intender a V. M. como en el Interim ay 7 o 8 heresias." Mendoza, 10 Juni, 1548. In the "Lettere del Commendatore Annibal Caro, scritte al nome del Cl. Farnese," which in other respects are composed with great reserve, there is a letter (l. 65) to the Cardinal Sfondrato with respect to the Interim, in which it is said, "the emperor has caused a scandal in Christendom ; he might have taken something better in hand."

† "Lettere del Cardinal Farnese, scritte al Vescovo di Fano, nuntio al imperatore Carlo." Informazioni Politiche, xix. and some instructions of the pope's and Farnese's, ib. xii. throw light on these transactions, of which I can only touch on the main points.

‡ Cardinal Gambana made the proposition to Mendoza in a private meeting in a church. He said at least, "que avia scripto al papa algo desto, y no lo havia tomado mal." What he had written somewhat thereabout to the pope, and that he had not taken it amiss.] Le Comestable au Roy, 1 Sept. 1548 (Ribier, ii. 155, p. 69) Le pape et ses ministres vous ont

they were serious in making these proposals, for the old pope lived in the belief that he should survive the emperor; we see, however, on what dubious and strangely unaccustomed paths their policy had adventured. Their movements and their negotiations with the emperor did not escape the observation of the French. We have a very indignant letter from the constable de Montmorency, in which he speaks without qualification of "dissimulations, lies, and downright villainies," practised in Rome against the king of France\*.

At last, that he might after all do something, and gain at least one fixed point in these contentions, the pope resolved, since not only his house's title to Piacenza but even that of the church was disputed, to give back that dukedom to the immediate possession of the latter. This was the first time he had ever done anything contrary to the interests of his grandchildren. He thought he possessed unlimited authority over them; he had always landed them, and deemed himself fortunate in their faultless obedience. But the difference was, that till now he had always striven for their manifest advantage; now, on the contrary, he proposed a measure at variance therewith. They attempted at first to divert him from his purpose by indirect means. They had it represented to him that the day proposed for the consistory was inauspicious, being St. Roque's day; that the exchange he contemplated in giving them back Cambrino instead of Piacenza, would be rather prejudicial to the church than otherwise. They turned against him the very arguments he had himself used on a former occasion. But all their efforts could but delay, not prevent the measure. Paul III. finally gave orders to Camillo Orsino, governor of Parma, to keep possession of that city in the name of the church, and to give it up to no one whatever. After this declaration, which left not a doubt behind, the Farnese no longer contained themselves. On no consideration would they consent to be despoiled of a dukedom, that put them on a footing with the independent princes of Italy. Ottavio made an attempt to get Parma into his hands in defiance of the pope, by force or stratagem; but Camillo's prudence and determination frustrated his schemes. What must have been Paul's feelings when he learned this! It was reserved for the old man at the close of his days to see his grandsons, to whom he had manifested so much affectionate partiality; for whose advantage he had heaped on himself the reproaches of the world, now rebelling against him! Even the failure of his attempt did not deter Ottavio from his purpose. He wrote to the pope, telling him flatly, that if Parma was not restored to him by fair means, he would make peace with Ferrante Gonzaga, and endeavour to possess himself of it with the help of the imperial arms. And in fact his negotiations with that mortal enemy of his house were already far advanced: a courier had been despatched to the emperor with the definitive proposal †. The pope complained loudly

jusques-icy usé de toutes dissimulations, les-quelles ils ont depuis quelque temps voulu couvrir de pur mensonge, pour en former une vraye meschaneté, puis qu'il faut que je l'appelle ainsi.

\* And also asserts his positive determination: S. S. era a tutto volta a restituire Parma alla chiesa. [His holiness was fully minded to restore Parma to the church.]

† Gosselin, Vita di Ferr. Gonzaga, p. 65.

that he was betrayed by his own kindred; their conduct was such as must bring him to the grave. What wounded him most deeply was, that the rumour arose he had himself been privy to Ottavio's proceedings, and had taken a part in them belying his open professions. He told cardinal Este that never in his life had anything caused him such anguish, not even Pier Luigi's death, nor the seizure of Piacenza. But he would not leave the world in any doubt as to his real sentiments\*. His only consolation was, that at least Alessandro Farnese, the cardinal, was innocent, and devoted to him. He gradually became convinced that the latter too, in whom he trusted wholly, to whose hands were committed the entire management of public affairs, was but too well aware of the matter, and had been a consenting party to it. This discovery broke his heart. On the day of All Souls (Nov. 2, 1549), he communicated it to the Venetian ambassador in bitter anguish of heart. The day following he went, to seek if possible some relief of mind, to his vigna on Monte Cavallo. But he found no repose. He sent for Cardinal Alessandro: one word brought on another; the pope burst into the most violent paroxysm of anger, snatched his nephew's cap out of his hand, and dashed it on the ground †. The court already anticipated a change; it was generally supposed the pope would remove the cardinal from the administration. But it did not come to that. This violent agitation of mind at the advanced age of eighty-three, was fatal to the old man. He was immediately taken sick, and died a few days afterwards, on the 10th Nov. 1549. All ranks flocked to kiss his foot. He was as much beloved as his grandsons were hated; that he had met with his death through their means, on whom he had bestowed most kindness, moved every one to pity.

Paul III. was a man full of talent and intellect, of penetrating sagacity, exalted to the highest station. But how insignificant appears even a mighty mortal in comparison with the world's history! In all his thoughts and efforts he is circumscribed and commanded by the span of time he looks upon, by momentary struggles that press upon him as though they were those of eternity: he is fettered too beyond the lot of other men, by the personal considerations incident to his station; they tax his powers to the utmost, fill up his days, sometimes it may be with satisfaction, but oftener with vexation and sorrow, and waste and wear him

\* Hippolyte, Cardinal de Ferrare, au Roy, 22 Oct. 1549. Ribier i. 218. S. S. m'a assuré n'avoir en sa vie eu chose dont elle ait tant receu d'ennuy, pour l'opinion qu'elle craint qu'on veuille prendre que ceuy ait esté de son consentement.

† Dandolo. Il Reymo. Farnese si risolse di non voler che casa sua restasse priva di Roma, e se ne messe alla forte. . . S. S. accortasi di questa contraoperatione del Reymo. Farnese me la comunicò il dì de' morti, in gran parte con grandissima amaritudine, et il dì dietro la mattina per tempo se ne andò alla sua vigna di Monte Cavallo per cercar transtullo, dove si incolorò per tal causa con esso Reymo. Farnese. . . Gli fu trovato tutto l'intiere nettissimo, d'haver a viver ancor qualche anno, se non che nel core tre goccie di sangue agghiaccio (this is well known to be an erroneous notion), guidicati dal moto della colera. [—All his inside was found in a very sound state, so that he might have lived some years longer, with the exception of three clots of coagulated blood in the heart, supposed to have been caused by the vehemence of his choler.]



away. Even while he perishes, the eternal destinies of the world roll on to their accomplishment.

### JULIUS III.

During the conclave, five or six cardinals happened to be standing round the altar of the chapel, talking of the difficulty there was to choose a pope. "Elect me," said cardinal Monte, one of their number, "and the day following I will make you my intimates and favourites of the whole college of cardinals." "Shall we indeed elect him?" said Sfondrato, another of them, when they had separated. Da Monte had the character of being impetuous and irascible, and in other respects too had small grounds for hope: the lowest bets were staked upon his name\*. In spite of all this, so it was that he was elected (Feb. 7, 1550). In memory of Julius II., whose chamberlain he had been, he styled himself Julius III.

Every face in the imperial court was lighted up with joy, when this choice became known. Duke Cosmo had chiefly contributed to bring it about. It was part and parcel of the pre-eminence of fortune and power, at which the emperor then found himself arrived, that at last a pope, on whose devotedness he could reckon, ascended the papal chair. Public affairs seemed destined now to take a different course.

The emperor still regarded it as of extreme importance, that the council should again be established in Trent; he still hoped to compel the Protestants to attend it, and to submit to its authority. The new pope received the proposition with cordiality. If he did set forth the difficulties inherent in the matter, his only anxiety was, lest he should be thought to put them forward as excuses: he was never tired of protesting that this was not so; he had acted all his days without subterfuge or pretence, and would ever maintain the same conduct. He did actually appoint the renewal of the council for the spring of 1551, declaring that he did so without pact or condition†.

But all was far from being achieved when the goodwill of the pope was secure.

Ottavio Farnese had, by a resolution passed by the cardinals in conclave at the instance of Julius, become again possessed of Parma. This had not occurred contrary to the emperor's will; they had long been negotiating together, and some hopes were entertained of a renewed good understanding between them. But the emperor's mind was made up not to give Ottavio back Piacenza too; and he even retained the places in the territory of Parma, which Gonzaga had seized; Ottavio, in consequence, continued to maintain a warlike attitude‡. There was no possibility of any real confidence between the two, after so many reciprocal offences. It is true, the death of Paul III. had deprived his grandsons of a great support, but it had also set

their hands free. They had now no need to give any further consideration to the general interests or to those of the Church, but could adopt measures with an exclusive view to their own. We still find Ottavio possessed with feelings of bitter hatred. His enemies, he said, were endeavouring to wrest Parma from him, and even to put himself out of the way; but they should succeed in neither the one nor the other\*.

In this temper he turned to Henry II., and that king joyfully accepted his proposals.

Italy and Germany were filled with malcontents. What the emperor had already effected, and that which was yet looked for from him, his religious and his political attitude, had all stirred up numberless enemies against him. Henry II. resolved to revive his father's anti-Austrian plans. He abandoned the war with England, concluded an alliance with Ottavio, and took the garrison of Parma into his pay. French troops too soon appeared in Mirandola. The banners of France were seen waving in the heart of Italy.

In this new complication of things Julius adhered stedfastly to the emperor. He thought it intolerable that a miserable worm, Ottavio Farnese, should rebel at once against an emperor and a pope. "It is our will," he declares to his nuncio, "to embark in the same vessel with his imperial majesty, and to share the same fortune. To Him who has the wisdom and the power we leave the determination of the course†." The emperor declared himself for the immediate forcible ejection of the French and their adherents. The imperial and papal troops were very soon in the field. An important fortress in the Parmeggiana fell into their hands, they laid waste the whole region, and completely surrounded Mirandola.

But these petty hostilities were not enough to quell the movements that had indeed originated here, but had since laid hold on all Europe. War broke out by land and sea, and on every frontier where met the territories of the emperor and of the king of France. When the Protestants at last allied themselves to the French, they cast into the scale a weight very different from that of the Italians. The most determined attack Charles had ever sustained ensued. The French appeared on the Rhine, the elector Maurice in the Tyrol. The veteran conqueror, after taking up his position on the mountain land between Italy and Germany, to keep them both in obedience, saw himself suddenly perilled, vanquished, and almost a prisoner.

This produced an immediate effect on the affairs of Italy. "Never could we have believed," said the pope, "that God would so visit us†." He was constrained, in April 1552, to agree to a truce with his enemies.

Some mischances there are that come not wholly

\* Lettere delli Signori Farnesiani per lo negotio di Parma, Informatt. Pol. xix. The above is from a letter of Ottavio to cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Parma, 24th March, 1551.

† Julius Papa III. Manu propria: Instructione per voi Monsignor d'Imola con l'imperatore. L'ultimo di Marzo. Informatt. Pol. xii. He assigns the reason for this close union: Non per affetto alcuno humano, ma perche vedemo la causa nostra esse con S. M<sup>a</sup> Cesarea in tutti li affari e massimamente in quello della religione. [Not for any human affection, but because we see that our cause is identified with the emperor's in all matters, especially those of religion.]

‡ Al Cl. Crescentio, 13 April, 1552.

\* Dandolo, Relatione, 1551; Questo revmo. di Monte se ben subito in consideratione di ogo' uno, ma all' incontro ogn' uno parlava tanto della sua colera e subitezza, che ne passò ma che di pochissima scommessa.

† Lettere del Nunzio Pighino, 12 e 15 Ag. 1550: Inf. Polit. xix.

‡ Gossellini, Vita di Ferr. Gonzaga, and the justification of Gonzaga, in the third book, from the accusation of his having caused the war, afford an authentic explanation of this turn of things.



unwelcome. They put an end to a course of action that begins to be irksome, they give a legitimate reason or a manifest excuse for abandoning it.

The ill luck that befel the pope seems almost to have been of this kind. It was with dissatisfaction he had seen his capital filled with troops, his coffers emptied, and he thought he sometimes had cause to complain of the imperial ministers\*. The council, too, had become a source of real uneasiness to him. Since the appearance of the German delegates, to whom promises of reformation had been made, the proceedings took a bolder course. Already in 1522, the pope complained that attempts were made to despoil him of his authority; that the intention of the Spanish bishops, was on the one hand servilely to submit to the chapters, on the other to withdraw from the holy see the patronage of all benefices: he would not however suffer that, under the title of abuses, he should be robbed of that which was no abuse, but an essential attribute of his power†. It could not, therefore, have been wholly displeasing to him, that the attack of the Protestants broke up the council: he hastened to decree its suspension. He was thereby rid of innumerable pretensions and disputes.

From that time forth, Julius III. never again seriously applied his energies to politics. The inhabitants of Siena indeed complained, that although their half-townsmen by the mother's side, he had seconded duke Cosmo's project of subduing them; but a subsequent judicial investigation proved the falsehood of the charge. It was rather Cosmo who had reason to complain. The pope did not hinder the Florentine emigrants, the bitterest foes of his ally, from assembling and arming in the states of the Church.

The villa of pope Giulio, at the entrance of the Porta del Popolo, is still visited by the stranger. Those times come bodily before him, as he ascends the ample steps to the gallery, whence he overlooks the whole extent of Rome from Monte Mario, and all the windings of the Tiber. The building of this palace, the laying out of its gardens, were the daily and hourly occupation of Julius III. He himself designed the plan, but the work was never ended; every day new suggestions and caprices presented themselves, which were forthwith to be put in execution by the architects‡. Here the

pope passed his days, forgetting all the world beyond. He had done a good deal for the advancement of his relations. Duke Cosmo gave them Sansovino, their ancestral place, and the emperor gave them Novara: Julius himself bestowed on them the dignities of the ecclesiastical states, and Camerino. He kept his word with his favourite, a youth whom he had taken a liking to in Parma, and made him a cardinal. He had happened once to see him seized by an ape, and had been pleased by his spirit and courage: from that moment he brought him up, and bestowed on him a regard which unhappily constituted his only merit. Julius wished to see him, and the rest of those belonging to him, well provided for, but he had no inclination to involve himself in dangerous perplexities on their account. The easy pleasant life of his villa, as we have said, suited best for him. He gave entertainments, which he seasoned with sprinklings of proverbial wit, that at times indeed called up the blushes of his guests. In the important business of Church and state, he took no more part than was barely unavoidable.

#### MARCELLUS II.

It was impossible that Church or state could thrive much under such treatment. The rupture between the two great catholic powers was constantly becoming wider and more perilous; the German Protestants had mightily recovered from their defeat of 1547, and stood firmer than ever. No thought could be entertained of the often proposed catholic reform. The fact could not be concealed, that the prospects of the Romish church were in every direction gloomy and ambiguous.

Now if, as we have seen, there had risen in the bosom of that church, a stricter spirit, that heartily condemned the whole life and conduct of so many pontiffs, must not that feeling at last display itself in the election of a pope? Much indeed depended on the personal qualities of the pontiffs; for this very reason had the highest dignity been made elective, in order that a man representing the prevailing spirit of the Church should be set at the head of affairs.

The first time the more austere party possessed influence in the choice of a pope, was after the death of Julius III. The latter had often felt himself checked in his undignified behaviour by the presence of cardinal Marcello Cervini. This determined the choice. April 11, 1555, Marcellus II. was elected.

His whole life had been earnest and irreproachable: that reformation of the Church, of which others but talked, he exhibited in his own person. His election gave rise to the greatest hopes. "I had prayed," says a contemporary, "that there might come a pope, who should know how to redeem the fair words, church, council, and reform, from the contempt into which they had fallen; through this election, I deemed my hope fulfilled; my wish appeared to have become a fact\*." "The opinion," says another, "entertained of this pope's worth and incomparable wisdom, filled the world with hope: now, if ever, it was thought, will it be possible for the Church to extinguish heresy, to

\* Lettera del papa a Mendoza, 26 Dec., 1551. (Inff. Pol. xix.) "Without pride be it said: Of counsel we have no need; we could even help others in that respect; help indeed we might require."

† Al Crescentino 16 Gen., 1552. He exclaims: Non sarà vero, non comportaremo mai, prima lassaremo ruinare il mondo. [It shall not be, we will never endure it, we would sooner see the downfall of the world.]

‡ Vasari. Boissard describes their extent at that time: "Occupat fere omnes colles qui ab urbe ad pontem Milvium protenduntur." [occupying almost the whole range of hills from the city to the Milvian bridge,] he relates their magnificence, and gives some of the inscriptions: e.g. *Honeste voluptuarius cunctis fas honestis esto.* [Be virtuous delights allowed the virtuous,] and particularly: *Deline proximo in templo Deo ac divo Andrea gratias agunto (the visitors I presume are under-tood), vitamque et salutem Julio III., Pontifici Maximo, Balduino ejus fratri, et eorum familie universae, plurimam et eternam preceant.* [Let them give thanks to God and St. Andrew in the adjoining temple, and implore life and health, abundant and eternal, for pope Paul III., Baldwin his brother, and their whole family.] Julius died on the 23rd March, 1555.

\* Seripando al vescovo di Fiesole. Lettere di Principi, iii 162.

reform abuses and corruption of manners, to become whole and sound again, and once more united \*." Marcellus began entirely in this spirit. He did not suffer his relations to come to Rome: he made a multitude of retrenchments in the expenditure of the court, he is said to have drawn up a catalogue of the principal reforms requisite in the ecclesiastical institutions; he immediately endeavoured to restore its genuine solemnity to divine worship; all his thoughts turned on a council, and on reform †. In politics he assumed a neutral position, with which the emperor was contented. "The world however," say those contemporaries of his, "was not worthy of him;" and they apply to this Marcellus Virgil's words respecting another:

"Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata."

He died on the twenty-second day of his pontificate.

We cannot speak of effects operated during so brief an administration; but even this beginning, this election, are in themselves indications of the spirit that was beginning to prevail. It predominated in the next conclave likewise, whence the most austere of all the cardinals, Giovanni Pietro Caraffa, issued as pope, May 23, 1555.

#### PAUL IV.

We have often spoken of him already: he is the same who founded the Theatines, re-established the inquisition, and so essentially contributed to the confirmation of the old doctrine at Trent. If there was a party which purposed the renovation of catholicism in all its strictness, that party possessed in him who now ascended the papal chair, not a member merely, but a founder and a leader. Paul IV. already numbered nine-and-seventy years, but his deep sunk eyes retained all the fire of youth. He was very tall and thin, his step was rapid, and he seemed all sinew. In his personal habits, he bound himself by no rule, often slept by day and studied by night, and woe to the servant who should have entered his room before he had rung his bell. In like manner in all other matters he followed the impulse of the moment †, but this was always governed by a habit of mind formed by the practice of a long life into a second nature. He seemed to know no other duty, no other occupation, than the restoration of the old faith to its former domination. Such natures arise from time to time, and we occasionally meet with specimens of them in our own day. They form their conceptions of the world and all its purposes from a single point of sight; their individual instincts are so powerful, as to tincture all their views; they are indefatigable speakers, and always possess a certain freshness of manner,

pouring forth in inexhaustible streams the system of thought that has grown up in them by a sort of fatality. How vastly important do they become at times, when all their actions are purely and absolutely dependent on their opinions, and their will becomes united with power! What might there not have been expected of Paul IV., who had never known what it was to pause from any motives of discretion, who had always carried out his opinions with the utmost impetuosity, now that he was exalted to the topmost station \*! It was matter of wonder to himself how he had arrived there, since he had never bestowed the least favour on a single cardinal, and had never shown a trace in his conduct, of anything but the utmost austerity. He believed it was not the cardinals, but God himself who had chosen him, and called him to the accomplishment of his purposes †.

"We promise and vow," he says, in the bull published on the commencement of his pontificate, "to make it in truth our care, that the reform of the universal church, and the Roman court, shall be set on foot." He marked the day of his coronation by the issuing of commands respecting convents and orders. He sent without delay two monks from Monte Cassino into Spain, to restore the decayed discipline of the convents in that country. He appointed a congregation for general reform, consisting of three classes, each constituted by eight cardinals, fifteen prelates, and fifty learned divines. The articles which were to be discussed by them, and which related to the collation to benefices, were communicated to the universities. He set to work, as we see, with great earnestness ‡. It seemed as if that ecclesiastical spirit, which had for a considerable time made good its influence among the inferior classes of the clergy, had now taken possession of the papacy likewise, and would forthwith assume the sole direction of Paul IV's pontifical career.

The only remaining question was, what position he would assume with respect to the general movements of the political world.

It is no easy task to change the main directions a power has once taken, and which have gradually identified themselves with its very being.

\* It may be guessed that his character did not meet with unanimous approbation. Aretino's *Capitolo al Re di Francia* thus describes him:

Caraffa, ipocrita infingardo,  
Che tien per coscienza spirituale  
Quando si mette del pope in sul cardo.

[Caraffa, loitering hypocrite, who makes matter of religious conscience of peppering a thistle.]

† *Relazione del Cmo. M. Aluise Mocenigo K. ritornato dalla corte di Roma, 1560.* (Arch. Venez.) Fu eletto pontefice contra il parer e credere di ogn' uno, e forse anche di se stesso, come S. S. propria mi disse poco inanzi morire, che non aveva mai compiaciuto ad alcuno e che se un cardinale gli aveva domandato qualche gratia, gli aveva sempre risposto alla riversa, ne mai compiaciuto; onde disse: Io non so come mi habbiano eletto papa, e concludo che Iddio faccia li pontefici. [He was elected pope, contrary to probability and to the belief of every body, himself perhaps included, as his holiness himself told me shortly before he died, that he had never been complaisant to any one, and that if a cardinal asked him any favour, he had always given a contrary answer, and never had complied with the request; for which reason, he said, I know not how they elected me pope, and conclude that God appoints the pontiffs.]

‡ Bromato, *Vita di Paolo IV.* lib. ix. § 2. § 17. (ii. 221. 289.)

\* *Lettere di Principi*, iii. 141. The editor speaks here in his own person.

† Petri Polidori, de Vita Marcelli II. *Commentarius*, 1711, p. 119.

‡ *Relazione di M. Bernardo Navagero* (che fu poi cardinale) alla Serma. Rep. di Venetia, tornando di Roma, Ambasciatore appresso del Pontefice Paolo IV., 1558, in many Italian libraries, also in the *Informazioni Politiche* in Berlin. La complessione di questo pontefice è colerica adusto; ha una incredibile gravità e grandezza in tutte le sue azioni, et veramente pare nato al signoraggiare. [The complexion of this pontiff is swarthy choleric; he displays incredible gravity and grandeur in all his actions, and seems truly born to command.]

This was a moment in which it seemed for once possible to indulge the wish which must have ever been natural to the popes, to deliver themselves from the yoke of the Spaniards. That war which we have seen arising out of the concerns of the Farnesi, was the most unfortunate in which Charles V. ever embarked. He was pressed hard in the Netherlands; Germany revolted from him; Italy had ceased to be faithful; he could no longer rely on the Estes and the Gonzagas; he himself was sick and weary of life. I know not whether any other pope, had he not belonged directly to the imperial party, could have resisted the allurements presented by these circumstances.

For Paul IV. they were specially attractive. • He had beheld Italy still in the freedom of the fifteenth century (he was born in 1476), and his soul clung to the remembrance. He compared the Italy of those times to a well-tuned instrument of four strings, namely, Naples, Milan, the Church, and Venice. He execrated the memory of Alfonso and Louis the Moor, "unhallowed and lost souls," as he said, "whose discord destroyed that harmony\*." The mastery since acquired by the Spaniards he had never brought himself to endure. The house of Caraffa from which he sprang, belonged to the French party: it had borne arms unnumbered times against Castilians and Catalonians; in 1528 it had again joined the French; during the troubles of 1547 it was Giovanni Pietro Caraffa, who advised Paul III. to seize Naples. But this party-hatred was augmented by other causes. Caraffa had always maintained that Charles V. favoured the Protestants out of jealousy towards the pope, and he ascribed the progress of that party directly to the emperor †. Charles knew him well. He once excluded him from the council appointed for the administration of Naples; he never allowed him to obtain quiet possession of his Neapolitan ecclesiastical offices; furthermore, he had occasionally remonstrated severely against his declamations in the consistory. All this, as may be supposed, added to the virulence of Caraffa's dislike. As a Neapolitan and Italian, as a Catholic and as pope, he hated the emperor, and, save his reforming zeal, he cherished no other passion than that hate.

Hardly had he taken possession of the pontificate—not without a certain self-complacence, when he remitted taxes to the Romans, imported corn, for which he saw a statue erected to him, and received amidst the pageantry of a sumptuous court, administered by Neapolitan nobles, the homage of embassies flocking in from all quarters—hardly had he been installed, when he was already involved in a thousand disputes with the emperor. Thereupon the latter was said to have remonstrated with the cardinals of his party; his adherents held suspicious meetings, and some of them carried off from the harbour of Civita Vecchia some ships that had previously been taken from them by the French ‡.

• Infelici quelle anime di Alfonso d'Aragona et Ludovico di Milano, che furno li primi che guastarono così nobil instrumento d'Italia. In Navagero.

† Memoriale dato a Annibale Rucellai, Sett. 1555, (Informatt. Pol. tom. xxiv.) Chiamava liberamente la Ma. S. Cesarea fautore di heretici e di scismatici.

‡ Illustrazioni e Lettere di Monsignor della Casa a nome del C<sup>o</sup> Caraffa, dove si contiene il principio della rottura della guerra fra papa Paolo IV. e l'imperatore Carlo V., 1555. Also in the Inf. Pol. 24.

The pope's fury instantly blazed up. He arrested such of his vassals and cardinals as were inclined to the emperor's cause, or they fled and he confiscated their possessions. Nor was that enough for him. He entered, without long deliberation, on the alliance with the French, which Paul III. could never make up his mind to conclude. "The emperor," he said, "only thought to put an end to him by a kind of mental fever; but he would come to open conflict; and with the help of the king of France, he would seek to free poor Italy from the tyranny of the Spaniards: he hoped yet to see two French sovereigns in Milan and Naples." He would sit for hours at table over the black thick volcanic wine of Naples, that was his favourite beverage \* (it was of the kind called *Mangiaguerra*), and pour forth torrents of invectives against the Spaniards, those schismatic and heretics, accursed of God, seed of Jews and Moors, dregs of the world, and so forth †. But he consoled himself with the text, "Thou shalt walk upon serpents, thou shalt tread upon lions and dragons." Now was the time arrived when Charles and his son should suffer chastisement for their sins. He, the pope, would inflict it; he would free Italy from him. If men would not hearken to him, if they would not stand by him, then must it be told in future times that an aged Italian, so near his death, and who ought rather to have sought repose, and to have prepared for his last hour, had yet conceived such exalted plans. It is not necessary to go into the details of the negotiations he plied in the earnest pursuit of this idea. When the French, in spite of an understanding already entered into with him, yet concluded a truce with Spain ‡, he sent his nephew

• Navagero. L'ordine suo è sempre di mangiare due volte il giorno: vuol esser servito molto delicatamente, e nel principio del pontificato 25 piatti non bastavano. beve molto più di quello che mangia: il vino è potente e gagliardo, negro e tanto spesso che si poteva quasi tagliare, dimandasi mangiaguerra, che si conduce del regno di Napoli: dopo pasto sempre beve malvagia, che i suoi chiamano lavarsi i denti. Stava a mangiare in publico, come gli altri pontefici, sino all'ultima indisposizione che fu reputata mortale, quando perdetto l'appetito: consumava qualche volta tre ore di tempo dal sedere al levarsi da mensa, entrando in varii ragionamenti secondo l'occasione et usando molte volte in quel impeto a dir molte cose secrete e d'importanza. His custom is, always to eat twice a day; he insists on being served delicately, and in the beginning of his pontificate twenty-five dishes were not enough for his table. He drinks much more than he eats. His wine is strong and brisk, black, and so thick that it might almost be cut. It is called *mangiaguerra*, and comes from the kingdom of Naples. He used to eat in public like other popes, till his last illness, which was reputed mortal, when he lost his appetite. After meals he always drinks malmsey, which those about him called rinsing his mouth. He would sometimes spend three hours from the time he sat down till he rose from table, entering into numerous discussions, as the occasion suggested, and often in his loquacity giving utterance to many matters of secrecy and importance.]

† Navagero. Mai parlava di S. Ma. e della nazione Spagnola, che non gli chiamasse eretici, scismatici, e maladetti da Dio, seme di Giudei e di Mori, feccia del mondo, deplorando la miseria d'Italia, che fosse astretta a servire gente così abietta e così vile. The dispatches of the French ambassadors are full of these outbreaks. See, for instance, those of Lansac and Avançon, in Ribier, ii. 610—618.

‡ The account of Caraffa's incredulity in the first instance, given by Navagero, is very characteristic: Domandando lo al pontefice et al C<sup>o</sup> Caraffa se havevano avviso alcuno delle

Charles Caraffa to France; where the latter succeeded in engaging in his interests the several parties that were there contending for power, the Montmorencies and the Guises, the king's wife and his mistress, and in causing a new outbreak of hostilities\*. In Italy, he procured a vigorous ally in the duke of Ferrara. They contemplated completely revolutionizing Italy. Florentine and Neapolitan emigrants filled the curia; the time of their restoration seemed arrived. The papal fiscal commenced a legal process against the emperor Charles and king Philip, in which he proposed an excommunication against those sovereigns, and a release of their subjects from their allegiance. In Florence, evidence, it was constantly asserted, existed to show, that the house of Medici was also doomed to suffer downfall†. Every preparation was made for war, and the result of all the previous struggles and tendencies of the century was once more rendered problematical.

How wholly different was the turn now taken by the papacy from that anticipated! All designs of reform were forced to give way to those of war, which brought in their train results of a totally opposite character.

He who as cardinal had most zealously, and even at his own personal risk, condemned the system of nepotism, was now seen to abandon himself to that very abuse. He raised to the rank of cardinal his nephew, Carlo Caraffa, who had revelled in the wild excesses of the soldier's life‡, and of whom Paul IV. said himself, that his arm was dyed in gore to the elbow. Carlo had found means to propitiate the weak old man, causing himself to be discovered occasionally praying in seeming remorse before the crucifix§. But the main thing was, that they both agreed in hating the same object. Carlo Caraffa, who had rendered the emperor military service in Germany, complained that the latter had made him nothing but the most ungracious return. The depriving him of a prisoner, from whom he had expected a large ransom, and the refusal to ratify his nomination, which had been actually made, to a priory of the order of Malta, filled up the measure of his hatred and thirst for vengeance. These passions stood in the pope's eye in lieu of every virtue. He could never make an end of praising him, affirming that the Roman see had never possessed a more able servant. He com-

mitted to him the entire weight, not only of secular but even of ecclesiastical affairs, and was pleased when he was regarded as the author of whatever favours individuals received at the hands of the government.

For a long time the pope did not deign to cast one glance of favour on his two other nephews. It was not till they conformed to their uncle's anti-Spanish sentiments that he bestowed his good-will upon them\*. Never could any one have anticipated what he then did. He declared that frequently as the Colonnas, those inveterate rebels against God and man, had been deprived of their castles, they had never been permanently detained; but now he would commit them to the keeping of vassals who should know how to defend them. He bestowed them on his nephews, naming the elder duke of Palliano, and the younger marquis of Montebello. The cardinals, when he made known his will to them, were silent, and looked down to the ground. The Caraffas now indulged in the most aspiring projects. The daughters should marry, if not into the family of the king of France, at least into that of the duke of Ferrara; the sons hoped at least to compass the possession of Siena. Some one spoke jestingly of the jewelled cap of a child of that family: "This is no time to talk of caps, but of crowns," replied the mother of the *nepotes*†.

In truth, every thing depended on the issue of the war which now broke out, but from the very first, indeed, with no promising aspect.

After the above-mentioned act of the fiscal, the duke of Alva had advanced from the Neapolitan into the Roman territory. The papal vassals accompanied him, and all their confederates were on the alert. Nettuno drove out the papal garrison, and recalled the Colonnas. Alva seized Frosinone, Anagni, Tivoli in the mountains, Ostia on the sea, and hemmed in Rome on both sides.

The pope relied at first on his Romans: he had reviewed them in person. They marched from Campofiore past the castle of St. Angelo, which saluted them with its artillery, to the piazza San Pietro, where the pope stood with his nephew at a window. There were three hundred and forty ranks armed with harquebuses, and two hundred and fifty with pikes, in each rank nine men, presenting an imposing appearance, and led by officers all of noble blood. When the caporioni and the standard-bearers came before his holiness, he gave them his blessing‡. All this made a brave show; but these were not the fit men for the defence of the city. After the Spaniards had approached somewhat nearer, a false rumour, a small body of horse, was enough to throw them all into such confusion, that not a man was to be found by the colours. The pope was constrained to look round for other help. Pietro Strozzi at last brought the troops to his assistance who were serving before

tregue (of Vancelles) si guardarono l'un l'altro ridendo, quasi vole-scro dire, si come mi disse anche apertamente il pontefice, che questa speranza di tregue era assai debole in lui; e non di meno venne l'avviso il giorno seguente, il quale si come consolo tutta Roma, così diede tanto travaglio e tanto molestia al papa et al cardinale, che non lo poterono dissimulare. Diceva il papa che queste tregue sarebbero la ruina del mondo. [When I asked the pope and cardinal Caraffa if they had any advices of the truce, they looked at each other with a smile, as if they would say, as the pope indeed even told me openly, that their anticipations of such a truce were faint enough: nevertheless, the news arrived the next day, and proved as consolatory to all Rome, as it caused trouble and vexation to the pope and the cardinal, which they could not conceal. The pope said that this truce would be the ruin of the world.]

\* Rabutin, Mémoires, Collect. Univers. tom. 38. 338. Particularly Villars, Mémoires. Ib. tom. 35. 277.

† Gussoul, Rel. di Toscana.

‡ Babon in Ribier, ii. 745. Villars, p. 255.

§ Bromato.

\* Extractus processus Cardinalis Caraffe. Similiter dux Palliani deponit, quod donec se declaraverit contra imperiales, papa eum nunquam vidit grato vultu et bono oculo. [The duke of Palliano likewise deposes, that until he declared against the imperialists, the pope never looked on him with a favourable eye.]

† Bromato ix. 16; ii. 286. Literally, Non esser quel tempo da parlar di berrette ma di corone.

‡ Diario di Cola Calleine Romano del rione di Trastevere dall' anno 1521 sino all' anno 1562, MS.

Siena: he reconquered Tivoli and Ostia, and removed the most pressing danger.

But what a war was that! There are times when the motives that prompt men's present actions, and the secret principles of their lives, seem as though they stood in direct and visible opposition to each other.

Alva might, at the beginning, have taken Rome without much difficulty; but his uncle, cardinal Giacomo, reminded him of the unfortunate end to which all had come who had taken part in Bourbon's conquest. As a good catholic, Alva carried on the war with extreme reserve: he combated the pope, but without ceasing to reverence him; he sought only to wrest the sword from his hand, but he had no desire for the fame of being numbered among the conquerors of Rome. His soldiers complained it was a mist, a cloud, against which he led them; it annoyed them, and they could not lay hold on it, nor stifle it in its source.

And who, on the other hand, were they who defended the pope against such good catholics? The best among them were Germans, all protestants. They jeered at the images of the saints on the roads and in the churches, laughed at the mass, broke the fasts, and did a multitude of things every one of which the pope at any other time would have punished with death\*. I find even that Carlo Caraffa entered into an intimate understanding with the great protestant leader, Margrave Albert of Brandenburg.

More glaring the contradiction on both sides could not be. On the one was the rigid spirit of catholicism, with which the leader, at least, was penetrated:—how far had he left the old Bourbon times behind him! On the other was the secular tendency of the popedom, which had seized hold even on Paul IV., however disposed he was to condemn it in the abstract. Thus it was that the followers of his faith were his assailants, the seceders from it his defenders; but the former, even in the attack, retained their submissiveness; the latter, while they protected him, treated himself and everything belonging to him with hatred and scorn.

It was not till the French forces, ten thousand foot and a less numerous but very brilliant cavalry, had crossed the Alps, that the war began in earnest. The French would rather have turned their strength at once against Milan, which they thought less strongly defended; but they were obliged to follow the impulse the Caraffas gave them towards Naples. The latter had no doubt of finding numberless adherents in their native country. They counted on the power of the emigrants, on a rising of their party, if not through the whole kingdom, yet by all means in the Abruzzi, round about Aquila and Montorio, where their paternal and maternal ancestors had always possessed great influence.

In some way or another the natural forces of

things would find vent; for the papal power had too often been excited to opposition against the domination of Spain, not to break out at last.

The pope and his nephews were resolved on the most extreme measures. Caraffa not only sought the aid of the Protestants, but even made the proposal to Solymán I. that he should desist from his Hungarian campaign, to throw himself with his whole force upon both Sicilies\*. He solicited the help of the infidels against the catholic king.

In April 1557, the papal troops crossed the Neapolitan frontiers. They distinguished Holy Thursday by the conquest and atrocious pillage of Compli, which was full of treasure, as well belonging to the place as carried thither for safety. Thereupon Guise too crossed the Tronto, and laid siege to Civitella.

But he found the kingdom in a good state of preparation. Alva well knew there would be no insurrections against him, so long as he was the strongest party in the country. He had obtained an important grant of money in the parliament of the barons. Queen Bona of Poland, of the old Arragon race, who had shortly before arrived in her duchy of Bari, and who was with all her heart an enemy to the French, furnished him with a subsidy of half a million of scudi. He confiscated the ecclesiastical revenues destined for Rome, and even laid claim to the gold and silver in the churches, and to the bells of Benevento†. He had contrived to fortify, the best way he could, all the Neapolitan frontier places, and as many of the Roman as were still in his hands, and to collect a formidable army, constituted in the old way of Germans, Spaniards, and Italians, and had also formed Neapolitan centuries under the conduct of nobles. Civitella was stoutly defended by count Santafiore, who had animated the inhabitants to active co-operation: they even repulsed a storm.

Whilst the kingdom remained thus combined, and displayed nothing but devotedness to Philip II. sharp dissensions, on the other hand, broke out between the assailants, between French and Italians, Guise and Montebello. Guise complained that the pope did not adhere to his agreement with him, and failed to supply the promised aid. When the duke of Alva appeared with his army in the Abruzzi, in the middle of May, Guise thought it best to raise the siege, and retire with his army over the Tronto. The war was again transferred to the Roman territory; a war in which the belligerents advanced and fell back, besieged towns and abandoned them, but only once came to a serious engagement.

Marc Antonio Colonna threatened Palliano, which the pope, had wrested from him: Giulio Orsino hastened to its support with provisions and troops. Three thousand Swiss had just arrived in Rome under a colonel from Unterwalden. The pope welcomed them with delight, decked their

\* Navigero. Fu riputata la più esercitata gente la Tedesca (3500 tant) [other MSS., however, give different numbers] e più atta alla guerra, ma era in tutto Luterala. La Guascona . . . era tanto insolente, tanto contro l'onore delle donne et in torre la robba, . . . gli offesi maledicevano pubblicamente chi era causa di questi disordini. [The German infantry, 3500 strong, were reckoned the best-drilled men, and the most serviceable soldiers. The Gascons were so insolent, such violators of female honour, and such plunderers:—the injured publicly cursed him who was the cause of these disorders.]

\* His confessions in Bromato, Vita di Paola IV. tom. ii. p. 369. Bromato also conveys good information respecting the war. He frequently borrowed it, a fact he does not conceal, from a voluminous MS. by Nore, which treats of this war, and which is often found in Italian libraries.

† Giannone, Istoria di Napoli, lib. xxxiii. c. 1. Not only Gossellini, but Mambrino Rosco likewise, Delle Historie del Mondo, lib. vii. gives a detailed account of this war from authentic sources; others also ascribe to Ferrante Gonzaga a considerable share in the measures adopted by Alva.

officers out with gold chains and knightly titles, and declared them the legion of angels whom God had sent him. Giulio Orsino commanded these troops, and some Italian companies of infantry and cavalry. Marc Antonio Colonna opposed his course, and once more a battle was fought in the style of the old Italian war of 1494—1531; on either side papal and imperial troops, a Colonna and an Orsino. The German lansquenets under their last distinguished leaders, Caspar von Feltz and Hans Walther, were opposed, as they had so often been before, to the Swiss. Once more these old antagonists fought for a cause that little concerned themselves; but their bravery was not the less extraordinary\*. At last Hans Walther, huge and strong as a giant, say the Spaniards, flung himself into the midst of a Swiss company, and with a pistol in one hand, and his naked sword in the other, forced his way up to the standard-bearer, whom he brought down, dealing him a violent cut over the head, and shooting him at the same time in the side. The whole company rushed upon him, but his lansquenets had already pressed up to his support. The Swiss were completely broken and routed. Their banners, on which were inscribed in large letters, "Defenders of the faith, and of the holy see," sank in the dust. Of his eleven captains, their colonel led back only two to Rome.

Whilst this petty war was in progress here, the main armies confronted each other on the confines of the Netherlands. The battle of St. Quintin ensued, in which the Spaniards gained the most complete victory. The only wonder felt in France was, that they did not push straight on to Paris, which they might have taken †.

"I hope," hereupon wrote Henry II. to Guise, "that the pope will do as much for me in my need as I did for him in his‡." So far was Paul IV. now from being justified in counting on French aid, that the French rather expected succour from him. Guise declared "that no chains could hold him any longer in Italy §;" and he hastened back with his forces to his embarrassed sovereign.

Upon this the Spaniards and the Colonnas advanced again upon Rome, safe from all possibility of hindrance. The Romans saw themselves once more threatened with conquest and plunder; and to make their condition the more desperate, they had not much less reason to fear their defenders than their foes. For many nights, lights were burned in every window, all the streets were illuminated, and it is said that a skirmishing party of Spaniards, that had advanced almost up to the gates, was frightened back by that means. But the chief purpose of this precaution was to enable the citizens to be on their watch against the violence of the papal troops. Every one murmured: they wished the pope dead a thousand times, and demanded that the Spanish army should be admitted by a formal capitulation.

To such a pass did Paul IV. suffer things to arrive. Not till his undertakings had completely broken down, his allies been beaten, his territory for the most part occupied by the enemy, and his

capital a second time threatened, did he consent to peace.

This was concluded by the Spaniards in the same spirit as they had carried on the war. They gave him back all the castles and cities belonging to the church; and they even promised the Caraffas a compensation for Palliano, which they had lost\*. Alva went to Rome and kissed with profound reverence the foot of him he had vanquished, of the sworn foe to his nation and his king. He has been known to say, that he never feared the face of man as he did the pope's.

Favourable, however, as this peace seemed to the papal power, it was yet decisive against the aims it had hitherto cherished. There was an end to all attempts at throwing off the Spanish yoke: they were never again renewed in the old way. The dominion of the Spaniards had proved unsailable in Milan and Naples: their allies were stronger than ever. Duke Cosmo, whom it had been proposed to expel from Florence, had won Siena in addition thereto, and was now in possession of a considerable independent power. The Farnesi were secured to Philip II. by the restoration of Piacenza. Marc Antonio Colonna had made himself a great name, and regained the position held of old by his family. Nothing remained for the pope but to accommodate himself to this state of things. Even Paul IV. was constrained to this; with what mortification may easily be supposed. Some one once called Philip II. his friend: "Yes, my friend," he retorted, "who kept me besieged, who sought my very soul." In public he compared him to the prodigal son in the gospel, but among his intimates he spoke in praise only of such popes as had designed to raise French kings to the imperial dignity †. His sentiments remained unchanged, but he was controlled by circumstances. He could no longer hope, much less undertake anything; even his complaints he durst only vent in secret.

But it is always a vain attempt to resist the consequences of an event accomplished. Even Paul IV. experienced after some time the influence of a reaction, of the utmost moment as regarded both his administration, and the general transformation of the papal system.

His nepotism was not based on the selfishness or the family partialities that had actuated other popes; he favoured his nephews because they seconded his designs against Spain; he regarded them as his natural helpers in that struggle. The contest was now over, and with it ceased the utility of the nephews. Success is requisite to the stability of every distinguished station, particularly of such as are not altogether legitimate. Cardinal Caraffa now undertook an embassy to King Philip,

\* A secret convention touching Palliano was made between Alva and Cardinal Caraffa; secret not only as regarded the public, but even the pope himself. Bromato, ii. 385.

† L'évesque d'Angoulême au Roy, 11 Juin, 1558. Ribier, ii. 745. The pope said, "Que vous, sire, n'estiez pas pour degenerer de vos predecesseurs, qui avoient toujours esté conservateurs et défenseurs de ce saint siege, comme au contraire le roy Philippe tenoit de race de le vouloir ruiner et confondre entierement." [That you, sire, were not disposed to degenerate from your predecessors, who had always been conservators and defenders of the holy see, while, on the contrary, it was hereditary with king Philip to wish utterly to ruin and confound it.]

\* I borrow the details of this little encounter from Cabrera, Don Felipe Segundo, lib. iii. p. 189.

† Monluc, Mémoires, p. 116.

‡ Le Roy à Mons. de Guise, in Ribier, ii. p. 750.

§ Lettera del duca di Palliano al Cl. Caraffa. Informatt. Politt. xxii.

especially in the interest of his own house, in order to secure the promised compensation for Palliano. Since his return from this, without accomplishing much, the pope was observed to treat him with more and more coldness. Ere long the cardinal found it no longer possible to command all the approaches to his uncle, and to exclude all but his own creatures from access to him. At times, too, unfavourable rumours reached the pope's ears, calculated perhaps to revive the repugnance he had felt in former years for his nephew. The latter was once taken ill, and the pope visiting him unexpectedly, found with him two persons of the worst reputation. "The aged," he said, "are mistrustful. I saw things there that opened my eyes widely." It needed but a provocation, we see, to rouse a storm within him, and this was afforded by an otherwise insignificant occurrence. On new year's night, 1559, there was a riot in the streets, in which a young cardinal, that same favourite of Julius II., cardinal Monte, drew his sword. The pope heard of this the very next morning, and was deeply offended that his nephew made no mention to him of the circumstance. He waited a few days, and at last gave vent to his displeasure. The court, in its natural appetite for change, caught eagerly at that token of the cardinal's disgrace. The Florentine ambassador, who had endured a thousand mortifications at the hands of the Caraffas, now made his way to the pope, and laid the bitterest complaints before him. The Marchesa della Valle, a relation of the pontiff's, who had never been allowed free access to him, found opportunity to slip a paper into the pope's breviary, on which were noted down some of his nephew's mis-deeds. "If your holiness desire further information, you need but sign your name." Paul affixed his signature, and the promised information failed not to be forthcoming. Thus ready charged with discontent and acerbity, the pope went on the 9th of Jan. to the assembly of the inquisition. He proceeded to speak of the night riot, vehemently upbraided cardinal Monte, threatened to punish him, and thundered out incessantly, reform, reform. The cardinals, usually so taciturn, had now plucked up courage. "Holy father," said cardinal Pacheco, interrupting him, "we must begin reform with ourselves." The pope was silenced. The phrase struck home to his heart: it brought palpably before him the half-formed convictions that stirred within him. He said no more about Monte's business, went and shut himself up in his chamber in a burning rage, and thought of nothing but his nephews. After giving immediate orders that nothing for the future should be done in obedience to the commands of cardinal Caraffa, he sent to demand his papers of the latter. Cardinal Vitellozzo Vitelli, who was reputed to be privy to the secrets of the Caraffas, was compelled to swear that he would disclose whatever he knew of them. Camillo Orsini was summoned to the same end from his country house. The rigorist party, that had long looked on with displeasure at the doings of the pope's nephew, now raised their heads. The old Theatine, don Geromia, who was regarded as a saint, was closeted for hours with the pope; the latter learned things he never could have guessed at, that bewildered him with rage. He fell into the most violent agitation; he could neither eat nor sleep, and for ten days laboured under a fever.

Memorable for ever is that pope, who with self-inflicted violence rent asunder the partial ties that bound him to his kindred. At length he was resolved. On the 27th Jan. he summoned a consistory, set forth with passionate emotion the evil lives of his nephews, and called God and the world and men to witness, that he had never known of this, and that he had been betrayed. He divested them of their offices, and banished them with their families to various remote places. His nephews' mother, seventy years of age, bent with sickness, and personally blameless, cast herself at his feet as he went back to the Palace: he passed her with harsh words. The young Marchesa Montebello arrived just now from Naples. She found her palace fast closed: no one would receive her in any of the inns; she drove from one to another on a rainy night, till at last an inn-keeper in a remote corner, who had not received any orders in the matter, afforded her a shelter. Cardinal Caraffa in vain solicited that he should be imprisoned, and his conduct investigated. The Swiss guards had orders to repulse not only himself, but also any one who should ever have been in his service. The pope made but a single exception. He kept with him the son of Montorio, whom he loved, and whom he had made cardinal in his eighteenth year, and read his hours with him. But never durst the young man allude to the discarded favourites, much less venture an entreaty for them: he was not allowed even to hold any communion with his father. The misfortune of his house preyed on him so much the more deeply: what he durst not utter in words was legible in his face, and in his whole person\*.

Would it not be supposed that these occurrences had their effect on the mind of the pope likewise?

He seemed as though nothing had happened. No sooner had he with tempestuous eloquence pronounced sentence in the consistory, while most of the cardinals sat spell-bound with amazement and terror, than he seemed on his part wholly impassive, and proceeded at once to other business. The foreign ambassadors were astounded when they observed his demeanour. "In the midst of such sudden and sweeping changes," they said of him, "surrounded by entirely new ministers and servants, he stands up resolute, unbending, and indifferent. He feels no pity, and seems to have retained not the least remembrance of his kindred." Henceforth he surrendered himself to a wholly different passion.

Assuredly this was an ever memorable revolution of feeling. Hatred against the Spaniards, the idea of becoming the liberator of Italy, had hurried even Paul IV. into worldly designs and practices, to the bestowal of ecclesiastical territories on his nephews, to the elevation of a soldier to the ministry even of spiritual affairs, to deeds of hostility and bloodshed. Events compelled him to abandon that idea and suppress that hatred, and then were his eyes gradually opened to the censurable conduct of those about him. After a violent struggle, his stern

\* Satisfactory information on this head is furnished by Pallavicini, and still more so by Bionato. In the Berlin Information is also to be found a *Diario d'alcune azioni più notabili nel pontificato di Paolo IV. l'anno 1558, sino alla sua morte* (beginning from the 10th of Sep. 1558), that was not known to either of them, was composed from personal observation, and has afforded me quite new information.



justice prevailed, and he shook them off, and from that hour returned to his old plans of reform. He began to reign as had been expected of him at first, and now urged on the reform of the state, and above all of the church, with the same passionate energy he had formerly manifested in civility and war.

Secular affairs from the highest to the lowest grade were transferred to other hands. The existing podestas and governors lost their places, and the manner in which this was effected was sometimes singular. The newly appointed governor of Perugia appeared there by night: without waiting for day, he had the Anziani summoned, produced his credentials, and commanded them forthwith to arrest the late governor, who was present in the assembly. Paul IV. was now the first pope since time immemorial, who governed without nepotes. Their place was supplied by cardinal Carpi and Camillo Orsini, who had already been so influential under Paul III. The system of the government was also changed with the persons. Sums of no inconsiderable amount were economised, and a proportional diminution made in taxation. A box was put up into which every one could deposit a statement of his grievances, and of which the pope alone retained the key. The governor made his report daily. Everything was conducted with the greatest care and circumspection, without any remains of the old abuses.

If the pope, amidst all the commotions that had hitherto prevailed, had never lost sight of church reform, he now devoted himself to it more zealously and more with his whole heart. He introduced a stricter discipline into the churches; he forbade all begging, even the collections of the clergy for masses. He removed all offensive pictures. A medal was struck representing him under the type of Christ clearing the temple. He banished from his city and territories the fugitive monks. He compelled the court regularly to observe the fasts, and to solemnize Easter by receiving the Lord's Supper. Nay, the cardinals were obliged to preach occasionally! The pope himself set the example. He endeavoured to suppress many profitable abuses. He would hear no more of marriage dispensations or their produce. A host of places that had hitherto been sold, including those of the *chierici di camera*\*, he determined should be disposed of according to merit. He insisted still more strongly on the worth and clerical habits of those on whom ecclesiastical offices were bestowed. He no longer tolerated the compacts so long and so generally in vogue, in consequence of which one man performed the duties of an office, and another enjoyed the best part of its revenues. He also entertained the design of restoring to the bishops many of the rights of which they had been supplanted, and highly disapproved of the rapacity with which everything had been absorbed into Rome †.

His reforms were not merely negative, they were

not confined to undoing. He sought too to surround public worship with a greater pomp. The decoration of the Sistine chapel, and the representation of the holy sepulchre, are to be ascribed to him\*. There is an ideal of the modern Catholic worship, full of dignity, devotion and splendour, and this conception it was that floated before his mind too.

It was his boast that he let no day pass without promulgating some order towards the restoration of the church to its original purity. In many of his decrees we trace the outlines of those ordinances, to which the council of Trent shortly afterwards gave its sanction †.

In this career too, as might be expected, he evinced all the inflexibility peculiar to his nature.

Above all other institutions, he favoured the inquisition which he had himself re-established. He often let pass the days appointed for the sittings of the *segatura* and the consistory, but never the Thursday on which the congregation of the inquisition assembled in his presence. He insisted on the utmost rigour in the proceedings of that body. He subjected new classes of offences to its jurisdiction, and endowed it with the barbarous prerogative of employing torture for the detection of accomplices. No respect of persons availed with him; he brought the highest barons before that tribunal, and he now had cardinals, like Morone and Foscherari, arrested and thrown into prison, doubts having occurred to him of their orthodoxy, though he had formerly employed those very men in criticising the contents of important books, such for instance as the spiritual exercises of Ignatius. He instituted the festival of St. Dominic in honour of that great inquisitor.

Thus it was that the rigidly spiritual, restorative tendency of the papacy became paramount.

Paul IV. seemed almost to have forgotten that he had ever entertained any other views; the memory of past times was extinguished within him. He lived and moved in his reforms, and his inquisition; passed laws, imprisoned, excommunicated, and held autos-da-fés. At last, when laid low by an illness sufficient to cause the death even of a younger man, he called the cardinals once more together, commended his soul to their prayers, and the holy see and the inquisition to their care: he strove to collect his energies once more, and to raise himself up; his strength failed him; he fell back and died (18 Aug. 1559).

Herein, at least, are these men of decided and

\* Mocenigo, Relazione di 1560. Nelli officii divini poi e nelle ceremonie procedeva questa pontefice con tanta gravità e devotione che veramente pareva degnissimo vicario di Gesu Christo. Nelle cose poi della religione si prendeva tanto pensiero et usava tanta diligenza che maggior non si poteva desiderare. [In the divine offices likewise, and ceremonies, this pontiff proceeded with such gravity and devotion, that he truly appeared a most worthy vicar of Jesus Christ. To the affairs of religion too he applied himself with such deep thought, and so much diligence, as left nothing to be desired.]

† Mocenigo. Papa Paolo IV. andava continuamente facendo qualche nova determinazione e riforma, e sempre diceva preparare altre, acciò che restasse manco occasione e meno necessità di far concilio. [Pope Paul IV. was continually making some new resolution in the way of reform, and was always saying that he had others in preparation, so that there was little opportunity, and less necessity for assembling a council.]

\* Caracciolo, Vita di Paolo IV. MS. particularly mentions them. The pope said, "Che simili officii d'amministrazione e di giustitia conveniva che si dassero a persone che li facessero e non venderli a chi avesse occasione di volerne cavare il suo danaro." [That it was expedient to bestow such offices of administration and of justice, on persons who would discharge the duties belonging to them, and not on such as were prompted to make them a source of gain.]

† Bromato, li. 483.



passionate temperament, happier than weaker natures: their prejudices dazzle them, but at the same time steel them, and make them intrinsically invincible.

But the people forgot not so quickly as the pope himself, what they had suffered under him. They could not forgive him the war he had brought on Rome; his alienation of his nephews, hated as they certainly were, was not enough for the masses. Upon his death some assembled in the capitol, and resolved to destroy his monuments, since he had been an ill-doer to the city and to the whole earth. Others pillaged the buildings of the inquisition, set fire to them, and mal-treated the servants of the tribunal. An attempt too was made to burn the Dominican convent della Minerva. The Colonnas, Orsini, Cesarini, Massimi, who had all been mortally offended by Paul IV., took part in these tumultuous proceedings. The statue that had been erected to the pope was torn down from its pedestal, broken in pieces, and the head with the triple crown dragged through the streets\*.

But how fortunate had it been for the popedom, had it never encountered any other reaction against the projects set on foot by Paul IV.

*Remarks on the progress of Protestantism during this reign.*

WE saw how the former discord between the papacy and the imperial, or Spanish power, contributed more perhaps than any other external circumstance to the establishment of protestantism in Germany. Nevertheless, a second breach had not been avoided, and this led to still greater, and more comprehensive consequences.

We may date its commencement from the recall of the papal troops from the imperial army, and the removal of the council. The importance of these acts was manifested at once. Nothing so essentially impeded the subjection of the protestants as the policy of Paul III. at that period.

But the great and permanent effects of that pope's measures were not felt till after his death. The connexion with France, into which he introduced his nephews, occasioned a general war; a war in which not only did the German protestants achieve that ever memorable victory, that secured them for ever from council, emperor, and pope, but in which too the new opinions made vigorous progress in France and in the Netherlands, being introduced directly by the German soldiers, who fought on both sides, and being favoured by the turmoil of war, which precluded any rigorous precautions.

Paul IV. ascended the papal chair. He ought steadily to have fixed his eyes on the existing state of things, and have bent all his efforts to the resto-

ration of peace; but with the blind impetuosity of passion he plunged into the strife. The result was, that he, the most fiery of zealots, was destined, more perhaps than any of his predecessors, to promote the dissemination of protestantism, which he hated, loathed, and persecuted.

Let us call to mind his influence upon England.

The first victory of the new opinions in that country was for a long time incomplete: it needed but a retrocession of the government, nothing more than the accession of a catholic queen was requisite, to determine the parliament to a new subjection of the church to the pope's sway. Still the latter had every reason to proceed with moderation, nor durst he wage open war upon the circumstances that had arisen out of the past innovations. Julius III. clearly perceived this. The first papal legate immediately remarked\*, how potent were the interests connected with the confiscated church properties. Julius adopted the magnanimous resolution not to insist on their restoration. Indeed, the legate was not permitted to enter England till he was first in a condition to give satisfactory assurances on that head: they formed the basis of all his subsequent influence†, and by their means he obtained the most signal success. The legate was Reginald Pole, with whom we are already acquainted; amongst all the men of the day the very one most fitted to labour after the restoration of catholicism in England; a man exalted above all suspicion of impure motives, intelligent, moderate, and, as a native Englishman of high rank, equally acceptable to queen, nobles, and people. The undertaking prospered beyond all expectation. The accession of Paul IV. to the throne was distinguished by the presence of English ambassadors, who assured him of the obedience of that country.

Paul IV. had not to acquire the allegiance of England, but merely to retain it. Let us see what measures he adopted towards that end.

He declared the restitution of the church property to be an indispensable duty, the violation of which entailed everlasting damnation. He strove also to re-establish the collection of Peter's pence‡. But besides all this, what worse means could he adopt to complete the recovery of England within the pale of the church, than pursuing with such rancorous animosity Philip II. of Spain, who was also king of England? English soldiers took part in the battle of St. Quintin; the consequences of which were so serious to Italy. Lastly, he persecuted cardinal Pole, whom he never could endure, despoiled him of the rank of legate, which no one had ever exercised with greater advantage to the holy see, and put in his place an inefficient, aged, and infirm monk, but one of more violent opinions§. Had the problem proposed to Paul IV. been, how

\* Mocenigo. Viddi il popolo correr in furia verso la casa di Ripetta, deputata per le cose dell' inquisitione, metter a sacco tutta la robba ch'era dentro, si di vittualie come d'altra robba, che la maggior parte era del Revmo. Cl. Alessandrino, sommo inquisitore, trattar male con bastonate e feriti tutti i ministri dell' inquisitione, levar le scritture, gettandole a refuso per la strada e finalmente poner foco alla casa. I frati di S. Domenico erano in tant' odio a quel popolo che in ogni modo volevan abbruciar il monastero della Minerva. He goes on to state that the blame rested most on the nobles. Similar tumults took place in Perugia.

\* Lettere di Mr. Henrico, Nov. 1553, in a MS. entitled Lettere e Negotiati di Polo, which contains much matter besides, important to this history. Respecting this transaction see Pallavicini, xiii. 9. 411.

† He did not hesitate to acknowledge the rights of the actual possessors. Litteræ Dispensatorie Clæ Poli, Concilia M. Britannie, iv. 112.

‡ He was then wholly engrossed with these ideas. He published his Bull Rescissio alienationum, (Bullarium iv. 4. 319.) in which he annulled all alienations whatever of the old ecclesiastical possessions.

§ Godwin's Annales Angliæ, etc. p. 456.

he might prevent the work of restoration, he could not have adopted any other course.

It was no wonder, therefore, that after the early and unexpected death both of the queen and the legate, the two conflicting tendencies broke out with renewed violence. This result was greatly accelerated by the religious persecutions, which Pole had condemned, but which were approved of by his bigoted opponents.

The question was then once more submitted to the pope: it demanded the more serious consideration, inasmuch as its import no doubt concerned Scotland likewise. There too strife ran high between the two religious parties: the final determination of the matter in England would needs decide the future condition of Scotland.

What an important fact it was, that Elizabeth in the beginning of her reign appeared by no means decidedly Protestant\*, and that she caused her accession to be notified to the pope. A marriage between her and Philip II. was at least made matter of negotiation, and was generally regarded in that day as very probable. One would suppose that no event could have been more desirable for the pope.

But Paul IV. knew no moderation. He gave a repulsive scornful answer to Elizabeth's ambassador. "She must first of all," he said, "submit her claims to his judgment."

Let it not be supposed he was moved to this conduct only by his regard to the dignity of the apostolic see: other motives co-operated. The French desired from political jealousy to prevent the proposed marriage. They employed the pietists, the Theatines, to represent to the old pope that Elizabeth was after all a Protestant at heart, and that the marriage would never lead to any good†. The Guises had the strongest interest in this matter. Should Elizabeth be repudiated by the Roman see, their sister's daughter, Mary Stuart, dauphine of France, and queen of Scotland, would possess the next title to the crown of England. The Guises might hope to rule in her name over all the three kingdoms. Mary actually assumed the English arms, and already dated her edicts with the year of her reign over England and Ireland. Preparations for war were made in the Scottish ports‡.

Even though Elizabeth had not been so inclined, she would yet have been compelled by circumstances to throw herself upon Protestantism: she did so in the most decided manner. She succeeded in procuring a parliament with a protestant majority§, by which, in a few months, all those changes were adopted that essentially fixed the character of the English Church.

Scotland too was necessarily affected by this course of things: there a national Protestant party resisted the progress of the French catholic interests. Elizabeth hesitated not to ally herself with that party, and in this purpose she was confirmed even by the Spanish ambassador||. The

treaty of Berwick, which she concluded with the Scottish opposition, gave the latter the predominance. Before Mary Stuart could set foot in her kingdom, she was forced not only to forego the title of queen of England, but even to ratify the statutes of a parliament of protestant views; statutes, one of which prohibited mass under the penalty of death.

Thus it was in a great degree a re-action against the French pretensions, to which the pope lent his sanction, that contributed for ever to secure the victory of Protestantism in Great Britain.

Not that the inward impulses of the parties inclined to Protestantism were dependent on those political movements; their origin lay far deeper; but it commonly happened that the data from which followed the outbreak, progress, and decision of the strife, coincided closely with the various contingencies of politics.

In Germany, too, a measure adopted by Paul IV. proved in one respect of great importance. His opposition to the transfer of the imperial crown, in pursuance of his old aversion to the house of Austria, obliged Ferdinand I. to be more observant than before of the maintenance of friendly relation with his Protestant allies. From that time forth it was an union of the moderate princes of both parties that guided the affairs of Germany; and under their influence the transference of ecclesiastical foundations in Lower Germany to Protestant administrations was speedily accomplished.

It seemed as though the papacy was not to suffer any detriment, to which it did not itself conduce in one way or another by its political efforts.

Let us pause at this moment to cast a glance over the world from the summit of Rome, and contemplate the enormous losses the catholic creed had sustained. We see Scandinavia and Britain revolted, Germany almost wholly Protestant, Poland and Hungary in violent fermentation, Geneva become a central point for the Latin nations and the West, as important as Wittenberg for the German nations and the East: in France too, and in the Netherlands, we see a party already on foot beneath the banners of Protestantism.

But one last hope remained to the Catholic faith. In Spain and Italy the symptoms of dissent had been quelled, and a strict spirit of ecclesiastical restoration had arisen. However disadvantageous was the secular policy of Paul IV. in other respects, he had yet achieved the supremacy of that spirit in the court and the palace. The question was, whether it would continue to maintain itself there, or whether it would once more be enabled to pervade and unite the catholic world?

#### PIUS IV.

It is related that once at a banquet of cardinals, Alessandro Farnese presented a garland to a lad who had the art of improvisating to the lyre, and bade him offer it to him among them who was one day to be pope. The lad, Silvio Antoniano, himself afterwards a distinguished man and cardinal, went up instantly to Giovanni Angelo Medici, and pronouncing an eulogy upon him, presented him with the garland. That Medici was Paul's successor by the title of Pius IV.\*

\* Nares also, in his *Memoirs of Burleigh*, ii. p. 43, thinks her religious opinions "at first liable to some doubts."

† Private narrative of Thunus.

‡ In *Forbes's Transactions* there is a *Responsio ad petitiones D. Glasion. et Episc. Aquilani*, by Cecil, which sets forth all these motives in the most striking manner.

§ Neal, *History of the Puritans*, i. 126. "The court took such measures about elections as seldom fail of success."

|| Camden, *Rerum Anglicarum Annales*, p. 37.

\* Nicinus Erythraeus relates this anecdote in the article on Antoniano, *Pinacotheca*, p. 37. Mazzuchelli also repeats it. The election took place on the 26th of Dec. 1559.

He was of mean extraction. His father Bernardino had originally settled in Milan, where he had accumulated a small fortune by government contracts\*. His sons, however, were left to shift for themselves with but very slender means. One of them, Giangiacomo, who adopted the military profession, took service at first with a nobleman; the other one, Giovanni Angelo, applied himself to study, but in very straitened circumstances. Their fortunes originated in the following manner. Giangiacomo, reckless and enterprising by nature, made himself servicable to the then rulers of Milan, in putting out of the way one of their opponents, a Visconti named Monsignorino. No sooner, however, was the murder done, than those who devised it sought to get rid of their tool likewise, and sent the young man to the castle of Mus on the lake of Como, with a letter to the castellan, directing him to put the bearer to death. Giangiacomo had his suspicions, opened the letter, saw what was prepared for him, and forthwith adopted his resolution. He chose a few trusty comrades, obtained admission into the castle by means of the letter, and then succeeded in seizing possession of it. From that time forth he conducted himself as an independent prince; secure in his fastness, he kept the Milanese, Swiss, and Venetians in perpetual commotion; at last he took the white cross and entered the imperial service. He was created Marquis of Marignano, served as chief of the artillery in the war against the Lutherans, and commanded the imperial army encamped before Siena†. He was equally shrewd as desperate, fortunate in all his enterprizes, and devoid of pity. Many a peasant who sought to convey provisions into Siena did he slay with his own hand with his iron staff. There was not a tree far and wide on which he had not caused some one to be hanged: the victims he had caused to be put to death were said to amount to 5000. He conquered Siena, and founded a considerable house.

The advance of his brother Giovanni Angelo had accompanied his own. He took the degree of doctor, and acquired reputation as a jurist. He then purchased an appointment in Rome. He was already in the confidence of Paul III., when his brother the marquis married an Orsina, sister to the wife of Pier Luigi Farnese‡. Upon this he

was made cardinal. After that we find him entrusted with the administration of the papal cities, the conduct of political negotiations, and more than once with the commissariat of papal armies. He showed himself dexterous, prudent, and good humoured. But Paul IV. could not endure him, and once broke out into violent invectives against him in the consistory. Medici thought it best to withdraw from Rome. He assuaged the pains of exile by literary occupations, and by a munificent bounty that procured him the title of father of the poor, residing sometimes at the baths of Pisa, sometimes in the Milan, where he built a great deal. Perhaps the diametrical contrast he exhibited to Paul IV. now contributed chiefly to his election.

That contrast was more than usually striking.

Paul IV. was a Neapolitan of high birth, of the anti-Austrian faction, a zealot, a monk, and an inquisitor. Pius IV. a Milanese parvenu, closely connected through his brother and some German relations with the house of Austria, a jurist, of a jovial and worldly disposition. Paul IV. had stood aloof and inaccessible; in his least actions he aimed at displaying dignity and majesty; Pius was all goodness and condescension. He was daily seen on foot or on horseback in the streets, almost without attendants; he talked affably with every body. The Venetian despatches make us fully acquainted with him\*. The ambassadors come upon him as he writes or transacts business in a cool hall: he rises and walks up and down with them, or they meet him as he is proposing to visit the Belvedere: he seats himself without laying down his stick, hears what they have to say without further ceremony, and then sets off on his excursion in their company. Whilst he treats them in this familiar way, he looks too for courteous address and deference on their parts. The clever sallies with which the Venetians sometimes accost him, delight him, and elicit his smile and plaudits. Staunch partisan of Austria as he is, he is disgusted at the unbending and imperious manners of the Spanish ambassador Vargas. He dislikes to be encumbered with details, which soon fatigue him; but those who confine themselves with him to general important matters, always find him good humoured and easy to deal with. On such occasions he pours out a thousand cordial protestations, how heartily he hates the bad, how by nature he loves justice, and desires to molest no man's freedom, but to evince good feeling and friendliness to every one: but especially his thoughts are bent on labouring with all his might for the church, and hopes to God he will be able to effect something for its good. We may easily picture him to ourselves; a hale burly old man, still active enough to reach his country house before sunrise, with a cheerful face and lively eye; fond of conversation, good cheer, and merriment. Recovered from an illness that had been deemed alarming, he throws himself on his horse, rides off to the dwelling he had occupied when a cardinal, runs nimbly up and down the stairs, and cries, "No! no! we are not going to die yet."

upright and just man, of an obliging disposition.] The marriage of the marquis followed, "con promessa di far lui cardinale" [with the promise that he should be made cardinal].

\* Raguagli del Ambasciatore Veneto da Roma 1561. By Marc Antonio Amulio (Mulla). Informatt. Polit. xxvii.

\* Hieronymo Soranzo, Relatione di Roma. Bernardino padre della B.S. fu stimato persona di somma bontà e di gran industria, ancora che fusse nato in povero e basso stato: nondimeno venuto habitar a Milano si diedi a pigliar datti in affitto.

† Ripamont, Historiæ Urbis Mediolanis. Natalis Comes Hist.

‡ Soranzo. Nato 1499, si dottorò 1525, vivendo in studio così strettamente che il Pasqua suo medico, che stava con lui a dozzena, l'accommodò un gran tempo del suo servitore e di qualche altra cosa necessaria. Del 1527 comprò un protonotariato. Servendo il cardinal Farnese (Ripamonte tells of his good understanding with Paul III. himself) colla più assidua diligenza s'andò mettendo innanzi: ebbe diversi impieghi, dove acquistò nome di persona integra e giusta e di natura officiosa. [Born in 1499, he took his degree of Doctor in 1525, pursuing his studies in such straitened circumstances, that Pasqua his physician accommodated him with the service of his own domestic and with other necessities. He purchased a protonotary's place in 1527. Exercising the most assiduous diligence in the service of the cardinal Farnese, his advance was constant. He held different employments, in which he acquired the reputation of an

But was a pope of this joyous and mundane temperament the one best fitted at this crisis to pilot the Church through her difficulties? Was it not to be feared that he would lapse from the tenor of the course but scarce begun in the close of his predecessor's reign? His nature I will not deny may have tended that way; but the event was otherwise.

For his own part he had no good will to the Inquisition; he censured the monkish harshness of its proceedings, and seldom or never frequented the congregation: but on the other hand he never ventured to molest it, declaring that he knew nothing about the matter, that he was no theologian; and he left it all the power it had possessed under Paul IV.\*

He made a fearful example of the nephews of that pope. The excesses committed by the duke of Palliano even after his fall (he put his own wife to death out of jealousy) made it an easy matter for the enemies of the Caraffa to gratify their thirst for vengeance. A penal process was instituted against them, wherein they were accused of the most horrible crimes, robberies, murders, forgeries, and besides all this, of very arbitrary conduct in the administration of public affairs, and of a continued system of deception practised on poor old Paul IV. Their reply is extant, and is not indeed destitute of a show of justification†. But their accusers prevailed. The pope, after sitting one day in the consistory from an early hour till evening, to hear the several documents read to him, pronounced sentence of death on the accused, namely, the cardinal, the duke of Palliano, and two of his nearest relations, the counts Aliffe, and Leonardo di Cardine. Montebello and some others had fled. The cardinal perhaps had expected banishment, but never thought of being condemned to death. When the sentence was announced to him one morning as he lay in bed, and when every doubt was now removed, he covered his face for a moment in the coverlet; then rising up he smote his hands together, and uttered that painful exclamation common in Italy in desperate contingencies, "Well, well, patience!" He was not allowed his usual confessor: he had much to say, as may be imagined, to the confessor sent him, and the shrift was somewhat protracted. "Finish, will you, monsignore," cried the officer of police, "we have other business in hand."

\* Sorano. Se bene si conobbe non esser di sua satisfatione il modo che tengono gl' inquisitori di procedere per l'ordinario con tanto rigore contra gli inquisiti, e che si lascia intendere che piu li piacerea che usassero termini da cortese gentiluomo che da frate severo, non di meno non ardise, o non vuole mai opponerli al giudicii loro. [Though it be well known that he is not satisfied with the manner in which the inquisitors commonly proceed with such rigour against the accused, and that he gives it to be understood he would be better pleased were they to use the language of gentlemanly courtesy, than of monkish harshness, nevertheless he does not venture or does not wish ever to oppose their judgment.]

† Bromato gives chiefly from Nores a circumstantial account of these proceedings. In the *Informatt.* we also find the letters of Mula, e. g. 19 July, 1560; the *Extractus Processus cardinalis Caraffæ*, and *El successo de la muerte de los Caraffas*, con la declaracion y el modo que murieron. La morte de Cl. Caraffa (Library at Venice, vi. no 39.) is the MS. Bromato had before him in addition to that of Nores.

Thus perished these nepotes. They are the last who aspired after independent sovereignties, and who excited great general movements with a view to their private political ends. We meet with this class from the days of Sixtus IV.; Hieronymo Riario, Cesar Borgia, Lorenzo Medici, Pier Luigi Farnese; the Caraffas close the list. Other nepotist families have since arisen, but under wholly different circumstances. Nepotism has never been revived in its old shape.

Now, for instance, should Pius IV., after so violent an execution, have ventured to bestow on his nephews a power of the same nature as that, the exercise of which he had so implacably visited upon the Caraffas? Besides, as a man of naturally active temperament, he was disposed to govern for himself; he determined all important matters only upon the strength of his own judgment, and if he was open to censure, it was rather for relying too little on the support of others. Add to this, that the nephew he might have been tempted to push forward, Federigo Borromeo, died young. The other, Carlo Borromeo, was not the man for worldly elevation; he would never have accepted it. Carlo Borromeo regarded his position with respect to the pope, and the contact into which it brought him with the weightiest affairs of government, not as conveying to him a right to any selfish indulgence, but as imposing duties to which he was to devote himself with all assiduity. He did so with equal modesty and perseverance, gave audience indefatigably, and sedulously devoted himself to the administration of the state; the latter was in one respect importantly affected by his tenure of authority, inasmuch as he formed around him a college of eight doctors, which afterwards grew into the *Consulta*. After dispatching these occupations, he gave his assistance to the pope. He is the same who was afterwards pronounced a saint, and in the times we are speaking of his conduct was noble and irreproachable. "So far as is known," Hieronymo Lorenzo says of him, "he is pure from every stain; so religious is his life, and so excellent his example, as to leave the best men nothing to desire. It redounds very greatly to his praise, that in the prime of his years, nephew to a pope whose favour he fully enjoys, and residing at a court where he might procure himself every kind of pleasure, he leads so exemplary a life." His recreation was to collect some learned men about him in the evening. The conversation began with profane literature, but from Epictetus and the stoics, whom Borromeo, still a young man, did not disdain, it soon passed, even in those hours of leisure, to ecclesiastical questions\*. If any thing was objected against him, it was not as regarded his good will or his diligence, but only in some degree as to his talents; or his servants complained that they were forced to forego the rich marks of favour enjoyed under the nepotism of former years.

Thus did the nephew's qualities make up for what the more strictly inclined might have blamed as wanting in the uncle. At any rate every thing proceeded in the established course: ecclesiastical and secular business was completed zealously and with due attention to the interests of the church, and the progress of reform was maintained. The

\* These are the *Noctes Vaticanæ* mentioned by Glusianus, *Vita Caroli Borromei*, i. iv. 22.

pope publicly admonished the bishops to reside in their dioceses, and some were seen forthwith to kiss his foot and take their leave. There is a coercive power in widely prevalent ideas that have once gained the upper hand. A serious spirit in religious matters had attained supremacy in Rome, and not even the pope could any longer swerve from its dictates.

But if the more mundane disposition of this pope was not unpropitious to the restoration of strict discipline in the church, we may add that, on the other hand, it was calculated to contribute immensely towards cementing the breaches that had occurred in the catholic world.

Paul IV. had held that it belonged to the pope to lord it over emperors and kings; for this it was that he had plunged into so many enmities and wars. Pius was the more clearly aware of this fault, forasmuch as it was committed by a predecessor with whom he had other reasons besides to feel himself in direct contrast. "Thereby we lost England," he exclaimed, "which we might have retained, had cardinal Pole been better supported; thereby was Scotland also lost: during the war the German doctrines penetrated into France." He on the contrary desired peace above all things. Even a war with the protestants was not to his mind. He frequently interrupted the ambassador from Savoy, who solicited his aid towards an attack on Geneva, exclaiming, "What times are these to make me such proposals? There is nothing they demand so imperatively as peace\*." He would fain have been on good terms with every one. He dispensed his ecclesiastical favours readily; and if he had to refuse anything, he did so courteously and modestly. It was his conviction, and he declared it openly, that the power of the pope could not subsist without the authority of sovereigns.

The last part of the pontificate of Paul IV. was marked by the renewed demand of the whole catholic world for a council. It is certain that Pius IV. could not, without the greatest difficulty, have resisted the call. He could no longer make war a pretext for refusal, as his predecessors had done, for at last all Europe was at peace. The measure was even of urgent necessity on his own account, since the French were threatening to assemble a national council, which might very possibly have led to a schism. But in truth I find that, apart from all this, he was very well inclined that way. Let us hear himself: "We desire the council," he says, "we desire it assuredly, and we desire it general. Were it not so, we might throw obstacles in the way, and dally with the expectations of the world for years: but we are, on the contrary, much more disposed to remove all hindrances. What needs reform shall be reformed, even in our own person and in our own affairs. If we have any other thought than to do God service, may God chastise us accordingly." It often appeared to him that he did not meet with sufficient assistance from the several sovereigns towards so great a design. One morning the Venetian ambassador found him in bed, crippled with the gout,

and immersed in thought. "Our purpose is good," he exclaimed, "but we are alone." "I was seized with pity," says the ambassador, "to see him as he lay in bed, and to hear him say, 'We are alone to bear so heavy a burthen.'" Meanwhile, however, he set the work in progress. On the 18th Jan. 1562, there were so many bishops and delegates assembled in Trent, that it was possible to resume, for the third time, the twice-interrupted council. The pope had mainly contributed to this. "Assuredly," says Girolamo Soranzo, who does not take his part on other occasions, "his holiness has shown in this matter all the zeal that was to be expected of so great a chief shepherd: he has neglected nothing that could conduce towards so holy and so necessary a work."

#### *The latter sittings of the Council of Trent.*

The state of the world was entirely altered since the first assembling of this council. The pope had no longer reason to fear that a powerful emperor would avail himself of it to become master of the popedom. Ferdinand I. had no power whatever in Italy; nor was any serious diversity of opinion on essential dogmas now to be apprehended\*. These, in the form in which they had been confirmed, though not fully developed, had already become predominant throughout a great part of the catholic world. A reunion of the protestants with the church was no longer seriously to be thought of. They had assumed in Germany a powerful and henceforth unassailable position: in the north their ecclesiastical notions had been incorporated with the state policy, and the same thing was just now taking place in England. When the pope declared that the new council was but a continuation of the former, and finally silenced the voices raised against this declaration, he virtually abandoned all hope of the kind. How could the free protestants acquiesce in a council by whose earlier resolutions the most important articles of their faith had been already condemned†? In this way the influence of the council was limited beforehand to the exceedingly contracted circle of the catholic nations. Its purpose could, on the whole, extend only to settling the disputes between the latter and the supreme ecclesiastical authority; to the establishment of dogmas on certain as yet undetermined points; and, above all, to the completion of the internal reform already begun, and the issuing of rules of discipline which should be of universal authority.

But even this limited task proved exceedingly

\* This was the view taken of the matter by Ferdinand I. *Litteræ ad Legatos*, 12 Aug. 1562, in *Le Plat*, *Monum. ad Hist. Conc. Tridentini*, v. p. 452. *Quid enim attinet . . . disquirere de his dogmatibus, de quibus apud omnes non solum principes, verum etiam privatos homines catholicos, nulla nunc penitus existit disceptatio?* [For what end does it serve . . . to discuss those dogmas, respecting which among all catholics, whether princes or private individuals, there now exists no manner of dissension?]

† The main argument in the protest of the Protestants: "Causæ eorum electores principe salique Augustanæ confessioni adjunctæ status recusant adire concilium." *Le Plat*, iv. p. 57. The remark in the very first proclamation, the formidable words, "omni suspensione sublata." They recalc to mind the condemnation formerly passed on their fundamental principles, and copiously set forth "quæ mala sub ea confirmatione lateant" [what evil lurks under that confirmation].

\* Mula, 14 Feb. 1561. Pius begged him to say: "Che avemo animo di stare in pace, e che non sapemo niente de questi pensieri del duca di Savoia, e ci meravigliamo che vada cercando queste cose: non è tempo di fare l'impresa di Ginevra, ne di far generali. Scrivete che siamo constanti in questa opinione di star in pace."

difficult. The most vehement controversies soon broke out among the assembled fathers.

The Spaniards mooted the question, whether the residence of the bishops in their dioceses was a matter prescribed by divine law, or by human authority. This might seem an idle dispute, since all parties were agreed in holding residence to be necessary. But the Spaniards maintained the general principle that episcopal authority was not an emanation of the papal, as was alleged in Rome, but that its origin rested directly on divine appointment. This was striking at the very heart of the whole system of the church. The independence of the subordinate clerical authorities, whom the pope so sedulously kept under, would of necessity have followed in the train of this principle.

The debate on this topic was already very animated, when the imperial ambassadors arrived. The articles they proposed are highly remarkable: "It is to be wished," say some of them, "that the pope, following the example of Christ, will humble himself, and submit to reform as regards his own person, his dominions, and his curia. The council must reform both the nomination of the cardinals and the conclave." Ferdinand was used to say: "Since the cardinals are not good, how can they choose a good pope?" He wished the reform he proposed to be based on the plan promulgated by the council of Constance, but which had not been carried into effect. The resolutions were to be prepared by deputations from the several nations. But, furthermore, he demanded the cup for the laity, and the marriage of priests; remission of fasts for some of his subjects; the establishment of schools for the poor; the purification of the breviary, legends, and homilies; more intelligible catechisms; the use of German in church singing; a reform of the convents, and for this special reason too, "that their great wealth might no longer be expended in so flagitious a manner.\*" These were indeed proposals of vast moment, the upshot of which would have been nothing less than a thorough transmutation of the whole church system. The emperor urged the consideration of them in repeated letters.

Last of all appeared the cardinal of Lorraine with the French prelates, and cordially seconded the German proposals. He demanded, especially, the grant of the cup to the laity, the administration of the sacraments in the vulgar tongue, the accompaniment of the mass with instruction and preaching, and permission to sing the psalms in French in full congregation—all of them matters from which the most desirable consequences were anticipated. "We are fully assured," says the king, "that the accordance of the cup to the laity would quiet many uneasy consciences, reunite to the catholic church whole provinces that have severed them-

selves from its communion, and be one of the best means of appeasing the troubles in our realm\*." But, besides all this, the French bishops sought also to bring forward the resolutions of Basel, and they maintained openly that a council is above the pope.

The Spaniards did not concur in the demands of the Germans and the French. They condemned in the most energetic manner the layman's cup and the marriage of priests, and it was impossible to obtain, from the council at least, any concession on these points: all that was done was to refer the expediency of the concessions to the pope's decision. There were points, however, on which the three nations agreed in resisting the pretensions of the curia. They thought it intolerable that the legates alone should have the right of proposing resolutions: but, besides this, the conduct of the legates in previously consulting the pope's good pleasure with regard to every resolution, appeared to them an insult to the dignity of the council. According to that way of proceeding, as the emperor said, there were properly two councils, the one in Trent, the other, and more real one, in Rome.

In this state of opinions, had the votes been taken by nations, what singular results would have ensued!

As this, however, was not the case, the three nations, even taken together, were in a minority. The Italian, much the more numerous party, as usual supported, without much tenderness of conscience, the opinions of the curia, on which they were for the most part dependent. Great bitterness of feeling arose on both sides. The French jested about the Holy Ghost arriving in Trent in a mail-bag. The Italians spoke of Spanish leprosy and French diseases, with which the orthodox were visited in turns. When the bishop of Cadiz said, there had been famous bishops, nay, fathers of the church, whom no pope had appointed, the Italians were loud in their vociferations: they demanded his expulsion, and talked of anathema and heresy. The Spaniards retorted upon them the charge of heresy†. Sometimes different parties assembled in the streets, shouting the watchwords, Spain! Italy! and blood was seen to flow on the chosen ground of peace.

Was it then to be wondered at, if for ten months it was never found possible to come to a session? if the pope's first legate dissuaded him from going to Bologna, representing to him what would be said if even then the council could not reach any regular termination, but must be dissolved‡? A dissolution however, a suspension, or even a mere translation, which had often been thought of, would have been exceedingly hazardous. Nothing was expected in Rome but mischief: they thought there that a council was much too violent a remedy for

\* Pallavicini almost wholly passes over these postulates, xvii. 1, 6. They are irksome to him. Indeed they have never been made known in their proper form. They lie before us in these extracts. The first is in P. Sarpi, lib. vi. p. 325, and precisely alike, but in Latin, in Rinaldi and Goldast. The second is in Bartholomæus de Martyribus, and is somewhat more copious. The third was taken by Shelhom from the papers of Staphylus. They do not agree very well together. I am inclined to think the original of them is to be found in Vienna: it must be a remarkable document. I have adhered to the extract in Shelhom. Le Plat gives them all, as well as the answer.

• Mémoire baillé à M<sup>r</sup> le Cl<sup>e</sup> de Lorraine, quand il est parti pour aller au concil. Le Plat, iv. 562.

† Pallavicini XV. v. 5. Paleotto, Acta: "Alii prælati ingeminabant clamantes, Exeat, exeat; et alii, Anathemasit; ad quos Granatensis conversus respondit: Anathema vos estis." Mendham, Memoirs of the Council of Trent, p. 251.

‡ Lettera del Cl<sup>e</sup> di Mantua, legato al concilio di Trento, scritta al papa Pio IV. il 15. Gen. 1563. Quando si havè sc<sup>o</sup> di dissolvere questo concilio . . . per causa d'altri e non nostra . . . mi piaceria più che V<sup>ra</sup>. Beatitudine fusse restata a Roma.

the debilitated body of the church, and that it would prove fatal to it and to Italy. "A few days before my departure, in the beginning of the year 1563," Girolanio Soranzo tells us, "cardinal Carpi, dean of the college, and a very intelligent man, said to me, that in his last illness he had prayed to God to grant him death in His mercy, that he might not live to see the downfall and the burial of Rome. All the other eminent cardinals, too, incessantly deplore their ill fortune: they see plainly there is no escape for them, unless God's holy hand be especially extended to them\*." Pius IV. dreaded to see all the evils with which other popes had ever thought themselves threatened, now burst upon himself.

It is a lofty thought, that in times of difficulty and of keen discord in the Church, it is to an assembly of its chief shepherds it must look for remedy. "Let it deliberate without presumption or envy in catholic peace," says Augustine; "after fuller experience, let it open what was shut, and bring to light what was hidden." But even in the earliest times, this ideal was far from being attained: it would have needed a purity of sentiment, and an independence of extraneous influence, that seems not bestowed on man. But how much more unattainable was it, now that the Church was intertwined with the state by such innumerable and such conflicting relations. If, notwithstanding this, councils still remained objects of so much respect, and were so often, and so urgently demanded, that was to be attributed for the most part, to the necessity of curbing the power of the popes. But now, what the latter had always asserted, seemed to be confirmed, viz., that in times of great confusion, councils were rather fitted to augment, than to allay the evil. All the Italians shared in the alarm of the curia. "Either," said they, "the council will go on, or it will be dissolved. In the former case, especially if the pope should die in the interim, the ultramontanes will fashion the conclave after their own views, and to the detriment of Italy: they will circumscribe the pope to that degree, that he will be little more than a mere bishop of Rome: under the pretext of reform, they will destroy all offices, and ruin the whole curia. Should it, on the other hand, be dissolved without having effected anything desirable, even the faithful will take great offence thereat, and the waverers will run extraordinary risk of being lost altogether."

Looking at the position of things, it seemed impossible to elicit in the council itself any change in the sentiments prevailing there. Confronted with the legates, who were guided by the pope, and the Italians, who were dependent on him, stood the prelates of the other nations, who, on their parts, adhered to the ambassadors of their respective

sovereigns. No reconciliation, no accommodation could be devised. Matters seemed still desperate in Feb. 1563; all was bickering; each party obstinately stood fast to its own notions.

But, on more closely viewing the case in its naked reality, one possibility appeared of an escape from the labyrinth.

The discordant opinions only met and combated in Trent; they had their sources at Rome, and in the courts of the several sovereigns. If these dissensions were to be annulled, they must be dealt with at the fountain head. Pius IV. had said, that the popedom could no longer subsist isolated from the sovereigns of Europe; this then was the very moment to act upon that maxim. He had once thought of receiving the demands of the several courts, and fulfilling them without the interference of a council; but this would have been but a half measure. The grand object was, to bring the council to a close in harmony with the greater powers; in no other way could it be done.

Pius IV. resolved to attempt this; and he was seconded by his ablest and most statesmanlike cardinal Morone.

The most important personage to conciliate, was the emperor Ferdinand, in whose views the French, as we have said, concurred, and for whom, as his uncle, Philip II. entertained no little deference.

Morone, who shortly before had been named president of the council, but who felt assured that nothing could be effected in Trent, betook himself, in April 1563, unaccompanied by a single prelate, to Inspruck to meet the emperor. He found him soured, discontented, and offended, convinced that no serious intentions of reform were entertained at Rome, and determined, in the first place, to secure the freedom of the council\*.

Extraordinary address, great diplomatic skill, as we should say in these days, was requisite on the legate's part, to propitiate the incensed monarch†.

Ferdinand was angry that his propositions of reform had been put aside, and never made subjects of actual discussion. The legate had the art to persuade him that it had, for reasons not altogether to be despised, been judged hazardous to discuss them in form, but that the most important points they contained had, nevertheless, been considered, and even already adopted. The emperor further complained, that the council was led by Rome, and that the legates were governed by instructions received thence. Morone rejoined, and the fact was undeniable, that the ambassadors of the sovereigns were also guided by instructions from home, and were continually receiving fresh orders.

In fact Morone, who had already long possessed

\* Li Cardinali di maggior autorità deploravano con tutti a tutte l'ore la loro miseria, la quale stimano tanto maggiore che vedono e conoscono assai chiaro non esservi rimedio alcuno, se non quello che piacesse dare al Sr. Dio con la sua santissima mano!—Certo non si può se non temere, adds Soranzo on his own part, Sermo. Principe, che la povera Italia afflitta per altre cause habbi ancora a sentire afflitione per questo particolarmente: lo vedono e lo conoscono tutti i savj. [Certainly, most serene prince, it cannot but be feared that poor Italy is destined, in addition to all her other afflictions, to suffer particularly from this cause too. This is manifest to all wise men.]

\* To this place belongs also the Relazione in scr. fatta dal Comendone ai Sr. legati del concilio sopra le cose ritratte dal' imperatore, 19 Febr. 1563. Pare che pensino trovar modo e forma di haver piu parte et autorità nel presente concilio per stabilire in esso tutte le loro petitioni giuntamente con li Francesi. [It appears, they think to find ways and means of possessing more share and greater influence in the present council, so as to carry their measures in conjunction with the French.]

† The most important document I have met with touching the transactions at Trent, is Morone's Report of his Legation: it is brief, but to the point. Neither Sarpi nor even Pallavicini make mention of it. Relazione sommaria del Cl. Morone sopra la legatione sua. Bibl. Altieri in Roma, vii. P. 3.



the confidence of the house of Austria, got happily over this most delicate matter. He glossed over the unfavourable impressions the emperor had taken up, and then applied himself to effect a mutual agreement on those controverted points that had caused the greatest discord in Trent. It was not at all his intention to give way on essential matters, or to suffer the pope's authority to be in any wise weakened: "the great object was," he himself says, "to hit upon such conclusions, that the emperor might deem himself satisfied, without trenching too closely upon the authority of the pope or the legates \*."

The first of these points was the exclusive right of initiating measures vested in the legates, a right which it was constantly asserted militated against the freedom of the council. Morone remarked, that it was not for the interest of the sovereigns to concede the initiative to all prelates; a fact of which he could have had no difficulty in convincing the emperor. It was easy to foresee that the bishops, once possessed of that privilege, would not be slow to propose resolutions running directly counter to the existing pretensions and rights of the state. It was manifest what confusion would arise out of such a concession. Still there was a desire, in some degree, to meet the wishes of the sovereigns, and the device adopted to that end is worthy of notice. Morone promised to bring forward everything that the ambassadors should suggest to him with that intention, or on his failing to do so, to admit their right to propose the measures in person. This accommodation was significant of the spirit that gradually began to prevail in the convocation. The legates admitted an occasion on which they would forego their exclusive right to the initiative; but this not so much in favour of the fathers assembled in council, as of the ambassadors †. In followed thence, that the sovereigns alone were accorded a share in those rights, which in other respects the pope reserved to himself.

A second point was the demand that the committees which prepared the resolutions, should be constituted according to the several nations. Morone remarked, that this had always been the practice, but that for the future, since the emperor desired it, it should be more strictly observed.

The third point was, reform. Ferdinand conceded at last, that the expression, reformation of the head, and also the old question of the Sorbonne, whether councils were superior to the pope or not, should be avoided; in return for which, Morone promised a real searching reform in all other particulars. The plan agreed on to that end included even the conclave.

\* Fu necessario trovare temperamento tale che paresse all' imperatore di essere in alcuno modo soddisfatto, et insieme non si pregiudicasse all' autorità del papa nè de' legati, ma restasse il concilio nel suo possesso.

† *Summarius eorum que dicuntur acta inter Cæsaream Majestatem et illustrissimum cardinalem Moronum*, in the Acts of Torellus, likewise in Salig, *Geschichte des Tridentinischen Concilliums* III., A. 292., wherein this is expressed in the following manner: Maj. S. sibi reservavit, vel per medium dictorum legatorum, vel si ipsi in hoc gravarentur, per se ipsum, vel per ministros suos proponi curare: [His majesty reserved to himself, the causing measures to be proposed through the medium of the said legates, or if they objected to this, by himself or his servants.] I confess I should not readily have inferred from hence, such a negotiation as Morone reports, though indeed it is implied in it.

These main points being set at rest, all secondary questions were easily arranged. The emperor desisted from many of his demands, and enjoined his ambassadors, above all things, to maintain a good understanding with the papal legates. Morone returned back over the Alps, having successfully accomplished his mission. "As soon as the emperor's favourable determination was known in Trent," he says himself, "and the concord between his ambassadors and the pope's was fully ascertained, the council began to assume a different aspect, and to become much easier to manage."

Other circumstances also contributed to this result.

The Spaniards and the French had quarrelled about the precedence due to the representatives of their kings, and had ever since hung much less together.

Special negotiations had also been entered on with each of them.

Philip II. was urgently impelled by the force of circumstances towards a good understanding with the pope. His power in Spain was, in a great measure, founded on ecclesiastical interests, and these it was naturally his prime care to hold in his own hand. The Roman court was well aware of the fact, and the nuncio from Madrid often said, that a quiet termination of the council was as desirable for the king as for the pope. The Spanish prelates at Trent had already raised their voices against the burdens imposed on church property, burdens which in Spain constituted an important part of the public revenues. The fact had caused the king much uneasiness, and he entreated the pope to forbid such objectionable language \*. Under these circumstances, how could he have thought of securing his prelates a right to initiate any measure? On the contrary, he rather sought to impose restrictions upon them. Pius complained of the constant opposition offered him by the Spanish prelates: the king promised to adopt means for checking their disobedience. In short, the pope and the king were clearly convinced that their interests were identical. Other negotiations too must have taken place. The pope threw himself wholly into the king's arms, while the latter solemnly promised to aid the pope in every emergency with all the strength of his kingdom.

Meanwhile, the French, on their part, were approximating to Rome. The Guises, who exercised so great an influence in the government at home and in the council, adopted in both places a policy decidedly and increasingly catholic. It was owing only to the compliances of cardinal Guise, that after ten months' delay, and an eighth postponement, there was at last a possibility of again holding a session. But furthermore, an alliance of the strictest nature was talked of. Guise proposed a congress of the leading catholic sovereigns, the pope, the emperor, and the kings of France and Spain †. He went in person to Rome to discuss the project more fully, and the pope was at a loss for words to laud "his Christian zeal for God's service and the public tranquillity, not only in matters touching the council, but also in others that

\* Paolo Tiepolo, *Dispaccio di Spagna*, 4 Dec. 1562.

† *Istruzione data a Mons. Carlo Visconti mandato da papa Pio IV. al re catt. per le cose del concilio di Trento* (ultimo Ottobre, 1563.) *Bibl. Barb.* 1007.



concerned the general welfare \*." The proposed congress would have been very welcome to the pope, who sent ambassadors on the subject to the emperor and the king.

Thus it appears that the important dissensions were appeased, and the obstacles to a happy termination of the council were removed, not at Trent, but at the several courts, and by means of political negotiations. Morone, who had most largely contributed to this result, succeeded also in the mean time, in gaining over the prelates individually, lavishing on them all the acknowledgments, praise, and favour for which they panted †. He furnished a striking example of what can be effected in the most trying circumstances by a man of intellect and address, who comprehends the posture of affairs, and directs his powers to an aim compatible therewith. To him, above every other individual, the catholic church is indebted for the favourable issue of the council of Trent.

The path was smoothed, and, as he says himself, the inherent difficulties of the subject might now be accosted.

The old controversy respecting the necessity of residence, and the divine right of the bishops, was still pending. For a long time the Spaniards held out immovably in defence of their doctrine on this head, declaring it, so late as in July, 1563, as infallible as the ten commandments; the archbishop of Grenada wished that all books should be burned in which the contrary opinion was asserted ‡. Nevertheless, when the decree came to be drawn up, they submitted to the omission from it of their favourite opinion. A form, however, was adopted, that still left them a possibility of arguing in favour of their own views. This very ambiguity in the decree, Lainez made the subject of his special praise §.

The same course was pursued with respect to the other disputed point, the initiative, the "*proponantibus legatis*." The pope declared that every one should be at liberty to ask and to say whatever he had a right, in accordance with the usages of ancient councils, to ask and to say; but he cautiously abstained from employing the word *propose* ||. An expedient was thus hit upon, with which the Spaniards were satisfied, although it did not involve the slightest concession on the pope's part.

The obstacles arising out of political considerations being removed, the questions which had given occasion to bitterness and wrangling, were dealt with, not so much with a view to decide them, as to get rid of them by some dexterous accommodation.

In this disposition of the council, the less serious matters were got through with so much the more

ease. Never did the council's proceedings make more rapid progress. The important dogmas of clerical ordination, the sacrament of marriage, indulgences, purgatory, the adoration of saints, and by far the weightiest measure of reform it ever adopted, belong to the last three sessions in the second half of the year 1563. The congregations on every one of these topics were composed of different nations. The project of reform was concerted in five separate assemblies, one of them French, presided over by the cardinal de Guise, one Spanish, at the head of which was the archbishop of Grenada, and three Italian \*.

They easily agreed on most questions; only two real difficulties presented themselves, the questions as to the exemption of chapters, and plurality of benefices, in which private interests again played an important part.

The former question particularly affected Spain, where the chapters had already lost something of the extraordinary freedom they had once possessed. Whilst it was their wish to regain this, the king conceived the design of still further curtailing their privileges; for the nomination of the bishops being vested in himself, he had an interest in extending this authority. The pope, on the other hand, was for the chapters, the absolute subjection of which to the bishops, would have not a little diminished his influence over the Spanish church. On this point therefore, these two great powers were again in collision, and it was a question, which of them would command a majority. The king too was exceedingly strong in the council. His ambassador had succeeded in excluding from it a delegate sent by the chapters, to watch over their rights. He had so much ecclesiastical patronage at his disposal, that every one was reluctant to break with him. The opinions pronounced orally, were unfavourable to the chapters, but observe the device adopted by the papal legates to counteract that result. They decided that the votes should, on this occasion, be taken in writing: the *circa rone* declarations alone, made in the presence of so many of the king's adherents, were shaped in compliance with his views, not the written ones, which were placed in the legate's hands. By this scheme they at last obtained an important majority for the papal views and for the chapters. Encouraged by this, they then entered, through Guise's mediation, into negotiations with the Spanish prelates, who, in the end, contented themselves with a much more moderate extension of their immunities than they had contemplated †.

\* The best accounts on this are to be found where they would be least expected, in Baini, Vita di Palestrina, i. 199. derived from authentic letters. The diary of Servantio, of which Mendham has made use, (p. 304.) also touches on the affair.

† Saupi, viii. 816, does not give a very clear account of this matter. Morone's authentic explanation is very acceptable. L'articolo delle cause e dell'essenziom di canonici fu vinto secondo la domanda degli oltramontani: poi facendosi contra l'uso che li padri tutti dessero voti in iscritto, furono mutate molte sententie e fu vinto il contrario. Si venne al fin alla concordia che si vede nel decreti, e fu mezzano Lorenza, che gia era tornato da Roma, tutto addito al servizio di S. Beatitudine et alla fine del concilio. [The article of the causes and essential attributes of the clergy, was passed in accordance with the views of the ultramontanes: afterwards the usual order being broken through, according to which

\* "Il beneficio universale." Lettera di papa Pio IV., 20 Ottobre, 1563.

† I have not yet seen the Life of Ayala by Villanueva, in which, as I find, there must be some account of this. Meanwhile, Morone's assurance is quite sufficient. "I prelati," says he, "accarezzati e stimati e lodati e gratiati si fecero piu trattabili."

‡ Scrittura nelle lettere e memorie del nuncio Visconti, ii. 174.

§ "Ejus verba in utramque partem pie satis posse exponi." Paleotto in Mendham, Memoirs of the Council of Trent, p. 252.

|| Pallavicini, xxiii. 6. 5.

The second question, that respecting pluralities, was still more momentous for the curia. A reform of the institution of cardinals had been long talked of, and there were many who regarded its corruption as the primary source of all mischief. Now the cardinals often accumulated a multitude of benefices, and it was proposed to restrict them in this by the most cogent laws. It will readily be conceived how sensitive the curia must have been with regard to every innovation of this kind; they shrank in alarm from the very thought of a serious discussion of the subject. In this case, too, the evasion contrived by Morone was very remarkable: he mixed up the reform of the cardinals with the articles affecting the bishops. "But few," he says, "perceived the importance of the circumstance, and in this way all rocks and shoals were avoided."

Whilst the pope thus successfully maintained the subsistence of the Roman court in the form it had hitherto worn, he also manifested his readiness to drop the project that had been entertained of a reformation of princes. On this head he yielded to the emperor's representations\*.

The whole of the proceedings were actually like those of a peaceful congress. While questions of subordinate interest were discussed to general conclusions by the divines, those of more importance were subjects of negotiation between the courts. Couriers were incessantly flying to and fro, and one concession was requited with another.

The pope's foremost object was now to bring the convocation to a speedy close. For a while the Spaniards held out against this: they were not satisfied with the reforms that had been effected; and the king's ambassador once even made a show of protesting: but as the pope declared his readiness to call a new synod in case of urgency†, as every one was alive to the extreme inconvenience that would ensue, were the papal see to become vacant pending a council, and lastly, as every one was tired and longed to return home, even the Spaniards gave way in the end.

The spirit of opposition was virtually overcome. To the very last the council manifested extreme submissiveness. It condescended to solicit the pope's confirmation of its decrees, and declared expressly that all reforming decrees, however their words might run, were conceived with the fixed understanding that nothing in them should be construed as affecting the dignity of the holy see‡. How far were they at Trent from renewing the pretensions of Constance and Basel to superiority over the papal power! In the proclamations with which the sittings were closed, and which were composed by cardinal Guise, the universal bishopric of the pope was specially recognized.

Thus prosperous was the event. The council

the assembled fathers should have given their votes in writing, many opinions were changed, and the contrary resolution was adopted. At last the council came to that agreement which is seen in its decrees, the mediator being the cardinal of Lorraine, who had now returned from Rome, entirely devoted to the service of his holiness, and to the ends of the council.]

\* That a rigid reform of the curia, the cardinals, and the conclave did not take place, was in close keeping with the omission of a reformation of the princes. Extracts from the correspondence of the legates in Pallavicini, 23, 7, 4.

† Pallavicini, 24, 8, 5.

‡ Sessio xxv. c. 21.

that had been so vehemently demanded, and so long evaded, that had been twice dissolved, had been shaken by so many political storms, and whose third convocation even had been beset with danger, closed amidst the general harmony of the catholic world. It may readily be understood how the prelates, as they met together for the last time on the 4th Dec. 1563, were all emotion and joy. Even those who had hitherto been antagonists congratulated each other, and tears were seen to start into the eyes of many of those aged men.

Now seeing, as we have remarked, that the result obtained had been the fruit of so much suppleness and political dexterity, it might be asked whether the efficacy of the council had not been impaired thereby.

The council of Trent must ever be regarded as the most important, if not of all councils, yet assuredly of those of more modern ages.

Its importance is compressed into two great crises.

In the first, which we touched on in a former place, during the war of Smalcald, the doctrines of Rome after many fluctuations broke for ever with the protestant opinions. Out of the doctrine of justification as then set forth, arose forthwith the whole system of dogmatic theology, such as it is professed to the present day by the catholic church.

In the second of these crises, and the last we considered, after Morone's conference with the emperor, in the summer and autumn of the year 1563, the hierarchy was established anew, theoretically by the decrees respecting clerical ordination, and practically by the resolutions touching measures of reform.

These reforms are, to the present day, of the greatest moment.

The faithful were again subjected to the uncompromising discipline of the church, and in urgent cases to the sword of excommunication. Seminaries were founded, where young ecclesiastics were carefully brought up under strict discipline and in the fear of God. The parishes were regulated anew, the administration of the sacraments and preaching subjected to fixed ordinances, and the co-operation of the regular clergy subjected to determined laws. The bishops were held rigidly to the duties of their office, especially to the superintendence of the clergy, according to their various grades of consecration. It was a regulation attended with weighty results, that the bishops solemnly bound themselves by a special confession of faith, signed and sworn to by them, to observance of the decrees of the council of Trent, and to submissiveness to the pope.

But the purpose undoubtedly entertained at first in this convocation, of limiting the power of the pope, was not fulfilled: on the contrary, that power issued from the struggle even augmented in extent and cogency. As the exclusive right of interpreting the decrees of the council of Trent was reserved to the pope, it was always in his power to prescribe rules for faith and conduct. All the cords of the restored discipline centred in Rome.

The catholic church owned the circumscription of its dominion; it gave up all claims upon the Greeks and the East, and protestantism it repudiated with countless anathemas. In the early catholicism there was involved an element of protestantism; this was now for ever cast out. But catholicism, in thus limiting the field of its opera-

tions, concentrated its strength, and braced up all its energies.

It was only, as we have seen, by means of a good understanding and agreement with the foremost catholic princes, that so much was achieved; and in this alliance with monarchy lies one of the main conditions of all catholicism's subsequent development. This is in some degree analogous to the tendency of protestantism to combine episcopal with sovereign rights. It was only by degrees it exhibited itself among the catholics. It is obvious that it involves a possibility of new divisions, but of this there was, in the times we are speaking of, no immediate danger. The decrees of the council were promptly received in province after province. The claims of Pius IV. to importance in the world's history rest on his having effected this event: he was the first pope who deliberately abandoned the tendency of the hierarchy to set itself in opposition to the authority of sovereigns.

Having now attained this grand result, Pius thought full surely that the work of his life was completed. It is remarkable, that the tension of his mind relaxed from the moment the council was closed. Men thought they noticed in him a neglect for divine service, too great a proneness to good living, and too much indulgence in courtly splendour, sumptuous festivities, and magnificent buildings. The zealous perceived a difference between him and his predecessor, of which they complained loudly\*.

Nevertheless, there was no reason to apprehend any re-action in public feeling from this cause. A tendency had unfolded itself in catholicism that was no longer to be suppressed or restrained.

When once a spirit is roused, there is no prescribing to it the path it shall pursue. Every departure, however trifling, from its rules on the part of those who should represent it, will be productive of the most striking symptoms.

The spirit that had gone forth in the direction of rigid catholicism became forthwith dangerous to Pius himself.

There lived in Rome a certain Benedetto Accolti, a catholic even to enthusiasm, who talked perpetually of a mystery that had been confided to him by God: this he would reveal, engaging, in proof that he spoke the truth, to pass uninjured through a burning pile, in presence of the assembled people in the Piazza Navona.

His secret was the foreknowledge he imagined he possessed, that an union would shortly take place between the Greek and Romish churches; the then united Catholic church would subdue the Turks and all apostates; the pope would be a holy man, attain to universal monarchy, and introduce the

\* Paolo Tiepolo. Dopo che questo (il concilio) hebbe fine, liberato da una grande sollecitudine, fattosi fermo e gagliardo nell'autorità sua, incominciò più liberamente ad operare conforme alla sua inclinazione e pensieri: onde facilmente si conobbe in lui animo più tosto da principe che attendesse solamente al fatto suo, che di pontefice che avesse rispetto al beneficio e salute degli altri. [After the council had come to an end, being freed from so great an anxiety, and being secured and set at his ease in the exercise of his authority, he began to act more freely in conformity with his own inclinations and views; so that he manifested rather the disposition of a sovereign who looks only to his personal interest, than of a pope regardless of the advantage and weal of others.] Panvinius has remarked the same thing.

millennium on earth. He was filled to fanaticism with these notions.

He now found, however, that Pius IV., whose habits and temper were infinitely remote from his ideal, was not the man for so great an enterprise. Benedetto Accolti deemed himself destined by God to free Christendom from so unfit a chief.

He conceived the design of putting the pope to death, and found an accomplice, whom he assured of rewards to be received at the hands of God, and of the future holy monarch. They set out one day on their purpose, and soon saw the pope approaching in the midst of a procession, easy to be come at, tranquil, without suspicion and without defence.

Accolti, instead of rushing upon him, began to tremble and to change colour. There is in all that surrounds the person of a pope something that must irresistibly impress minds so fanatically catholic as his. The pope passed on his way.

Others, meanwhile, had observed Accolti. His accomplice, Antonio Canossa by name, was a man of no steadfast resolution; sometimes he suffered himself to be prevailed on to attempt the deed some other time, sometimes he felt tempted to divulge the design. Neither of them observed strict silence, and at last they were secured and condemned to death\*.

We see what manner of minds were astir in those agitated times. Much as Pius IV. had done for the reconstruction of the church, there were yet many for whom that was far from being enough, and who cherished far other projects.

#### PIUS V.

But the partisans of the more austere system had presently a great and unexpected success. Pius IV. dying on the 9th Dec. 1565, a pope was elected, whom they might by all means reckon as one of themselves. This was Pius V.

I will not repeat the more or less dubious secret information concerning his election, contained in the book on the conclaves, and in some historians of that time. We have a letter from Carlo Borromeo, that gives us a sufficient explanation of the event. "I resolved," he says, (and it is certain that he was very influential in determining the choice,) "to look to nothing so much as to religion and faith. The piety, irreproachable life, and holy disposition of the cardinal of Alessandria, afterwards Pius V., being known to me, I thought that the Christian commonwealth could be best administered by him, and I exerted all my efforts in his favour†." In a man of such spiritual-mindedness as cardinal Borromeo, no other motives could have been expected. Philip II., interested by his ambassador in favour of the same cardinal, expressly thanked Borromeo for the part he took in the election‡. Pius V. was just such a man as was

\* I take these notices, which I have met with no where else, from a MS. in the Corsini library in Rome, No. 674, under the title, Antonio Canossa. Questo è il sommario della mia deposizione per la qual causa io moro, quale si degnarà V. S. mandare alli miei sr. padre e madre.

† Clu. Borromæus Henrico Clu. Infanti Portugalliæ, Romæ, d. 26 Feb. 1566. Glusiani, Vita C. Borromæi, p. 62. Compare Ripamonti Historia Urbis Mediolani, lib. xii. p. 814.

‡ I find this in a Dispaccio di Sorauzo ambre. in Spagna. Non essendo conosciute le qualità di S. S.<sup>a</sup>, da questo Sermo-Re, mentre era in cardinalato, il detto commendator (Luigi

thought to be wanted. The adherents of Paul IV., who had hitherto kept still, now deemed themselves happy. Letters of theirs are extant, "To Rome, to Rome!" writes one of them, "come confidently, without hesitation, but with all modesty: God has raised up Paul IV. to us again."

Michele Ghislieri (now Pius V.) of mean extraction, born in the year 1504 at Bosco, not far from Alessandria, entered a Dominican convent when but in his fourteenth year, and there gave himself up body and soul to the monastic poverty and devotion required of him by his order. Of the alms he received he retained for himself not even enough to procure him a cloak; he found the best preservative against the heat of summer to consist in abstinence; and though confessor to a governor of Milan, he always travelled on foot with his wallet on his back. When he taught, he did so with precision and zeal; had he to administer the affairs of a convent as prior, he was strict and frugal, and many were those he cleared from debt. The growth and fashioning of his mind occurred in those times in which Italy herself witnessed the strife between the established doctrines and the protestant innovations. He adopted the party of the old doctrine in all its strictness. Of thirty disputations he held in Parma in 1543, the greater part related to the authority of the pope, and were opposed to the new opinions. He was ere long invested with the office of an inquisitor, which he had to discharge precisely in places of especial danger, as Como and Bergamo\*, where intercourse with the Swiss and the Germans could not be avoided, and in the Valteline that was under the Grisons. He displayed there the obstinacy and the courage of a zealot. He was sometimes pelted with stones on his entry into Como; often to save his life he was compelled to hide himself by night in peasants' huts, and steal away like an outlaw. But he suffered no danger to divert him from his course. The count Della Trinita threatening to have him thrown into a well, he answered, "God's will be done." Thus he too was implicated in the struggle between spiritual and political powers then agitating Italy: and as the side he adopted was victorious, his advancement kept pace with its progress. Requesens, Comm. maggior) sempre lo laudò molto, predicando questo soggetto esser degno del pontificato; con il che S. M. si mosse a dargli ordine che con ogni suo potere li desse favore. [His holiness's qualities since he had been in the cardinalate, not being known to that most serene king, the said commendator (Luigi Requesens, Comm. maggior) always praised him highly, affirming that he was a person worthy of the pontificate: whereupon his majesty was pleased to command him that he should favour him with all his power.] Thus the story related by Oltrerochi in the remarks on Giussano, p. 219, falls to the ground. The election took place Jan. 9, 1566.

\* Paolo Tiepolo, Relazione di Roma in tempo di Pio IV. et V. In Bergamo li fu levato per forza, dalle prigioni del monastero di S. Domenico, dove allora si solevano mettere i rei, un principale heretico, nominato Giorgio Mondaga (another name to add to the list of the Italian Protestants,) con gran pericolo suo e de' frati. Nella medesima città poi travagliò assai per formare il processo contra il vescovo allora di Bergamo. [At Bergamo there was rescued from him by force, from the prisons of the monastery of St. Dominic, where accused persons used then to be kept, a chief heretic named Giorgio Montalto, under circumstances of great peril to himself and the monks. He afterwards exerted himself so far in the same city, as to institute a process against the then bishop of Bergamo.]

perity. He was named commissioner of the Inquisition in Rome. Paul IV. soon declared that Fra Michele was a great servant of God, and worthy of high honour; he appointed him bishop of Neri, wishing, as he said, to put a chain on his legs, so that he might never hereafter be tempted to withdraw to the repose of a monastery\*. In 1557 he made him cardinal. In this new dignity Ghislieri continued as before, austere, poor, and unpretending; he told the members of his household they must imagine they were inmates of a monastery. For himself, he lived only in his devotions and in the Inquisition.

In a man of this character, Borromeo, Philip II. and the entire strict party, thought they beheld the saviour of the Church. The Roman citizens were not perhaps so well satisfied. Pius V. heard of it and said, "They shall lament me so much the more when I am dead."

He retained all his monastic austerity even when pope, rigidly and undeviatingly observed all the fasts, allowed himself no garment of fine texture, read frequently, and daily heard mass, but still took care that his devotional practices should not offer any hindrance to public business. He never indulged in the siesta, and was a very early riser. Were there any doubt as to the depth of his religious earnestness, we might find a warrant for it in the fact, that he did not regard the papacy as conducive to the increase of his piety, nor as tending to the soul's weal, and to the attainment of the glories of Paradise; were it not for prayer, he thought the burden would be intolerable to him. To his last hour he enjoyed the bliss of a fervent devotion, the only bliss of which he was capable, a devotion that often moved him even to tears, and from the practice of which he rose up with the conviction that he had been heard. The people were in raptures when they saw him in procession, barefooted and bareheaded, with his long snow-white beard, and his face that beamed with unaffected piety. So pious a pope they were sure they had never looked upon, and they would relate how his very aspect had converted protestants. Moreover, Pius was kindly and affable; he treated his old servants with the utmost familiarity. How noble was his manner of accosting that same count Della Trinita, when he was now sent as ambassador to him! "Behold," he said, when he recognized him, "thus does God help the innocent:" this was the only way in which he ever visited the past upon the count. Benevolent he had always been: he had a list of the needy in Rome, whom he regularly assisted in proportion to their station.

Natures such as his are humble, resigned, and childlike; but when they are irritated and offended they kindle into stormy vehemence and impleacable resentment. Their own trait of thought they regard in the light of a duty, a paramount duty, the neglect of which rouses their indignation. Pius V. was conscious that he always pursued the straightforward path. That this had conducted him to the

\* Catena, Vita di Pio V., from which we have taken the greater part of our information, gives this also. Pius V. related it himself to the Venetian ambassadors as they, namely, Mich. Suriano and Paul Tiepolo, (Oct. 2, 1568) acquaint us.

† Catena, Tiepolo: Nè mai ha lasciato la camisia di rassa che come frate incominciò di portare. Fa le orazioni divotissimamente et alcune volte colle lacrime.

papacy, was a fact that filled him with such self-reliance as made him utterly indifferent to every extraneous consideration.

His obstinate adhesion to his own opinion was extreme; the soundest arguments were found insufficient to wean him from them. He was easily irritated by contradiction; his face reddened, and he broke out into the most violent expressions\*. As he understood but little of the affairs of the world or of domestic politics, and rather suffered his judgment to be warped in one way or another by secondary circumstances, it was a matter of the greatest difficulty to deal with him to the purpose.

With regard to individuals, he did not indeed allow his opinions to be determined at once by the first impression; but having once made up his mind to consider any one as good or bad, there was no moving him from that conclusion†. He was prone, however, to think that men deteriorate rather than improve in character, and he looked on most men with suspicion.

It was remarked that he never mitigated a penal sentence; commonly he would much rather have wished they had been more severe.

It was not enough for him that the Inquisition punished recent offences; he caused inquiry to be made into old ones of ten or twenty years' standing.

If there was a place where fewer punishments were inflicted, that was enough to condemn it in his eyes as impure: he ascribed the circumstance to official negligence.

Observe with what rigour he insists on the application of ecclesiastical censure. "We forbid," he says in one of his bulls, "every physician, who shall be called in to attend a bedridden patient, to visit the said patient for a longer space than three days, unless he receive a certificate within that time, that the patient has confessed his sins afresh‡." Another bull imposes punishments upon the violation of the sabbath and on blasphemy. For the rich these were of a pecuniary nature. "But a common man who cannot pay, shall for the first offence stand a whole day before the church-doors with his hands bound behind his back; for the second, he shall be whipped through the city; for the third, his tongue shall be bored, and he shall be sent to the galleys."

Such is the general style of his ordinances. How often was it necessary to remind him that he had to do, not with angels, but with men §!

\* Informazione di Pio V. (Bib. Ambrosiana in Milan F. D. 181.) La S. Sa. naturalmente è gioviale e piacevole, se ben per accidente pare di altra disposizione, e di qui viene che volentieri onestamente ragiona con Mr. Cirillo, suo maestro di casa, il quale con le sue piacevolezze essendo uomo dextro e accorto, diletta S. Beatitudine, e sempre profitta a se stesso et altri. [His holiness is naturally of a cheerful and pleasant temper, though he may by accident appear otherwise; wherefore he readily engages in honourable discourse with monsignor Cirillo, his maestro di case, who, being a man of polished address, delights his holiness with his pleasant sallies, to the constant profit of himself and others].

† Informazioni di Pio V. E più difficultoso di lasciar la cattiva impressione che la buona, e massimamente di quelle persone che non ha in pratica. [He foregoes a bad impression with more difficulty than a good one, particularly with regard to those persons of whom he does not see much.]

‡ Supra gregem Dominicum, Bull. iv. il. p. 281.

§ In the Informationi Politiche, xii. is to be found for instance an Epistola a N. S. Pio V. nella quale si esorta S. S. tollerare gli Ebrei e le corteggiane, [An epistle to our lord

Deference towards the secular powers, now become so urgently necessary, never checked him in this respect. He not only caused the bull *In Cæna Domini*, which had been an old subject of complaint on the part of the sovereigns, to be proclaimed anew, but even rendered it more harsh by some special additions. In that bull he appeared, on the whole, to deny the right of government to impose new taxes.

Such violent proceedings were followed of course by re-actions; not merely inasmuch as the demands which a man of such austerity thought himself justified in making upon the world, could never be satisfied, but furthermore, a deliberate resistance arose, and jarings innumerable. Philip II., devotee as he was, once hinted to the pope that he should not venture to try of what a sovereign, irritated to the uttermost, might be capable.

The pope, on his part, was deeply affected by this state of things. He often felt himself unhappy in his rank. He said he was weary of life; that since he acted without respect of persons he had made himself enemies, and that ever since he had been pope, his life had been one series of vexations and persecutions.

Be that as it may, and although Pius no more succeeded than any other man in giving full content and satisfaction, certain it is that his demeanour and his habits of mind exercised an incalculable influence over his contemporaries, and over the general development of his church. After so long a train of circumstances, all conspiring to call forth and promote a more spiritual tendency, after so many resolutions adopted to make this generally predominant, there needed a pope of his mould to provide that the new system should not only be every where proclaimed, but also practically enforced. To this end his zeal and his example alike were of immense efficacy.

The often talked-of reformations of the court were commenced in fact at least, if not in the forms that had been proposed. The expenditure of the papal household was retrenched to an extraordinary degree. Pius V. required little for his own person, and used often to say, "He who would govern, must begin with himself." For his servants, who as he thought had remained true to him all his life through without hope of reward, and purely out of affection, he provided not indeed without liberality; but still he kept his dependents within more straitened limits than ever had any pope before him. He moderately endowed his nephew Bonelli, whom he had made cardinal, only because he was told that such a step was expedient towards maintaining a more confidential intercourse with sovereigns. When Bonelli once invited his father to Rome, Pius obliged him to quit the city again that night and that very hour. The rest of his relations he would never raise above the middle station, and woe to him who should have been induced into any transgression, even into a lie; he never forgave him, but drove him from him without mercy. How far was he from the practice of that nepotism, that for centuries had constituted

Pius V., in which his holiness is exhorted to tolerate the Jews and the courtesans by a certain Bertano, who expatiates largely on his subject. The Caporioni begged the pope that he would grant at least the barest toleration. The pope answered, he would rather quit Rome, than wink at such abominations.

so considerable a part of papal history. In one of his most energetic bulls, Pius V. forbade for the future every enfeoffment of a possession of the Roman Church under any title and pretext whatever: he declared *ipso facto* excommunicated all who should even counsel such an act, and he caused these declarations of his to be signed by all the cardinals \*. He proceeded with zeal in the repeal of abuses; few dispensations, and still fewer compositions, were known to issue from him; and frequently did he restrict the indulgences that had been granted by his predecessors. He enjoined his auditor-general to proceed without ceremony against all archbishops and bishops who neglected to reside in their respective dioceses, and to report them to himself, that he might depose the disobedient †. He commanded all parish-priests, under heavy penalties, to attend closely to the discharge of public worship in their several churches, and he cancelled whatever dispensations from that duty they might have received ‡. He was not less zealous in his endeavours to restore order in the convents. On the one hand, he confirmed to them their exemption from imposts and other burthens, as, for instance, the quartering of troops; he would not have their tranquillity molested; but, on the other hand, he forbade the monks to hear confessions without examination and permission of the bishops, and every new bishop was to be at liberty to repeat the examination §. He enjoined the strictest seclusion both of monks and nuns. This was not universally approved of. Complaints were urged that he enforced rules more strict than those to which members of orders had bound themselves: some fell into a sort of desperation, others fled ||.

All these things he enforced in the first instance in Rome, and in the states of the Church. He bound the secular as well as the ecclesiastical authorities to the administration of his spiritual ordinances ¶, while he himself provided for a vigorous and impartial administration of justice \*\*. He did not merely admonish the magistrates

earnestly thereto, but every last Wednesday of the month he held a public sitting with the cardinals, at which every one might appeal in person against the ordinary tribunals. Independently of this, he was indefatigable in giving audience. He remained in his chair from early morning, and every one was admitted. His zeal did actually produce a total reform in the ways of Rome. "At Rome," says Paul Tiepolo, "things go on very differently from the old flagitious course. The inhabitants are become much better, or at least they appear so."

Something similar took place more or less throughout all Italy. Church discipline was every where rendered more strict by the publication of the decrees of the council. An obedience was rendered to the pope, such as none of his predecessors for a long time had enjoyed.

Duke Cosmo of Florence did not hesitate to give up to him those who were denounced by the Inquisition. Carnesecchi, another of those men of letters who had participated in the first movements towards protestantism in Italy, had hitherto always come off safely: but now neither his personal credit, nor the reputation of his family, nor his connexion even with the reigning house itself, could any longer protect him. He was delivered bound to the Roman Inquisition, and suffered death at the stake †. Cosmo was entirely devoted to the pope; he aided him in all his undertakings, and admitted his spiritual claims without hesitation. In return for this, the pope felt moved to crown him archduke of Tuscany. The right of the Roman see to take such a step was exceedingly dubious; the prince's morals occasioned well-grounded offence, but the devotion he manifested towards the holy see, the strict ecclesiastical measures he adopted in his dominions, appeared in the pope's eye to constitute the very merit of merits.

The old antagonists of the Medici, the Farnesi, vied with them in the same course: even Ottavio Farnese plumed himself on executing the pope's commands upon the least hint.

Pius was not on quite such good terms with the Venetians. They were neither so hostile to the Turks, nor so indulgent to monastic institutions, nor so cordial towards the inquisition, as he could have wished. Still he took good care not to break with them. He deemed "that the republic was based upon the faith, and had always kept herself catholic: she alone had remained free from the inundation of the barbarians; the honour of Italy rested upon her," and he declared that he loved her. The Venetians too conceded more to him than to any other pope. They delivered up to him (an act unparalleled in their annals) the unfortunate Guido Zanetti of Fano, whose religious opinions had incurred suspicion, and who had fled to Parma. They introduced tolerably good order among the clergy of the city, who for a long time had given themselves little concern about the rules of the Church. But, besides this, their churches of Verona were admirably organized by J. Matteo Giberti, who was held up as an example of what a bishop's life should be ‡. His plans and regu-

\* *Prohibitio alienandi et infeudandi civitates et loca S. R. E. admonet nos: 1567, 29 Mart.*

† *Cum alias 1566, 10 Junii, Bull. iv. ii. 303.*

‡ *Cupientes 1568, 8 Julii, Bull. iv. iii. 24.*

§ *Romani 1571, 6 Aug. Bull. iv. iii. 177.*

|| Tiepolo, Spesse volte nel dar rimedio a qualche disordine incorre in un altro maggiore, procedendo massimamente per vie degli estremi. [Frequently in applying a remedy to one evil, he incurred another of greater magnitude, his proceedings being for the most part in extremes.]

¶ Bull. iv. iii. 284.

\*\* *Informazione della qualità di Pio V. e delle cose che da quelle dependono (Berlin Library). Nel conferire le grazie non si cura delle circostanze, secondo che alle volte sarebbe necessario per qualsivoglia rispetto considerabile, nè a requisition d'alcuno la giustizia si ha punto alterata, ancora che sia senza dar scandalo e con esempio d'altri pontefici potesse fare. [In conferring favours he pays no heed to circumstances, as would at times seem necessary in regard to some considerable claim to deference, nor does justice waver a jot at the solicitation of any one, even though it might be done without giving scandal, and under the sanction of other popes' examples.] Soriano observes, that he never conferred a favour without accompanying it with an admonition: "il che mi parse proprio il stilo de' confessori, che fanno una gran reprehensione al penitente, quando sono per assolverlo." [which seems to me the peculiar style of confessors, who chide the penitent largely when they are about to absolve him.]*

\* Cantini, Vita di Cosimo, p. 458.

† Petri Francisci Zini, boni pastoris, exemplum ac specimen singulare ex Jo. Matthæo Giberto episcopo expressum atque propositum. Written in 1536, and originally intended for England. Opera Giberti, p. 252.

lations were regarded as morals throughout the entire catholic world; the council of Trent adopted several of them. Carlo Borromeo had his likeness taken, that he might be constantly reminded of his walk and demeanour.

But Carlo Borromeo himself exercised a still greater influence. From his numerous dignities and offices, (among them, that of grand-penitentiary,) and as chief of the cardinals who had chosen his uncle, he might have occupied a brilliant position in Rome; but he gave up everything, and refused everything, to devote himself to the ecclesiastical duties of his bishopric of Milan. These he discharged with uncommon energy, nay with passion. He was continually journeying through his diocese in every direction; there was not a place in it which he had not visited two or three times; the loftiest mountains, the remotest valleys, were not neglected by him. He was usually preceded by a *visitor*, whose report he carried with him, and then investigated everything with his own eyes, imposing punishments and confirming improvements\*. He led his clergy to adopt a similar course: six provincial councils were held under his auspices. But besides all this, he was indefatigable in the discharge of ordinary clerical functions. He preached, and read mass; passed whole days in administering the sacrament, ordaining priests, admitting nuns, and consecrating altars. The latter ceremony was one of eight hours' duration: three hundred occasions have been enumerated, on which he performed it. Many of his measures, indeed, chiefly concerned externals, relating more particularly to the renovation of buildings, the harmonizing of rituals, and the elevation and adoration of the host. What was most essential, was the rigid discipline in which he held his clergy, and in which these again held their flocks. He knew well the art of making his orders effective. In Swiss countries he visited the places of most ancient sanctity, divided presents among the people, and invited the nobles to his table. On the other hand, he knew how to meet the refractory with effect. The peasantry of Valcamonica waited for him once to receive his blessing. Now as they had not paid their tithes for some time, he passed on without moving his hands or casting a glance on one of them. The people were distracted at this, and made up their minds to return to their old dutiful behaviour†. Occasionally, however, he encountered more obstinate and more rancorous opposition. His purpose to reform the order of Umiliati, whose members had entered it only to enjoy its wealth in licentiousness‡, exasperated those men to such a degree, that they made an attempt on the archbishop's life. A shot was fired at him as he was praying in his chapel. Nothing, however, was ever more useful to him

than this attack. The people looked on his escape as a miracle, and from that moment began to regard him with absolute veneration. Since his zeal was as pure and as unsullied by worldly motives as it was persistent, since even in the hour of peril, when the plague was raging, he was unwearied in his solicitude for the bodily and spiritual health of those committed to his care, since every act of his bespoke nothing but disinterestedness and piety, his influence grew day by day, and Milan assumed a totally altered aspect. "How shall I sufficiently praise thee, fairest city!" exclaims Gabriel Paleotto towards the close of Borromeo's administration; "I admire thy sanctity and religion; I see thee a second Jerusalem." With all the worldliness of the Milanese nobility, exclamations so enthusiastic as these could not possibly have been altogether ungrounded. The duke of Savoy solemnly congratulated Borromeo on the success of his exertions. The latter sought now to secure the future stability of his regulations. The uniformity of the ritual was to be maintained by a congregation. A special order of regular clergy, named *obligati*, pledged themselves to the service of the archbishop and his church. The Barnabites received new rules, and since that time their labours were appropriated, first in that diocese, and afterwards wherever their order obtained admission, to the task of aiding the bishops in their care of souls\*. These arrangements were a repetition of those of Rome on a smaller scale. A *Collegium Helveticum* too was founded in Milan for the restoration of catholicism in Switzerland, as in Rome the *Collegium Germanicum* had been established for Germany. All this could but corroborate the importance and consideration of the pope. Borromeo, who never received a papal brief but with uncovered head, instilled the same devotedness into his church.

Meanwhile, Pius V. had attained an unwonted influence in Naples too. In the very commencement of his papacy he had sent for Tommaso Orsino da Foligno, and charged him with a reforming visitation of the Roman churches. On the completion of this, he named him bishop of Strongoli, and sent him with the same view to Naples. Amidst a great concourse of that devout people, Orsino completed his visitation of the capital and of a considerable part of the kingdom.

True it is, the pope had in Naples as well as in Milan no few disputes with the royal officers. The king felt himself aggrieved by the bull *In Cena Domini*, whilst the pope would hear nothing of the royal exequatur: for the former, the ecclesiastical officers did too much; for the latter, the royal officers did too little: there were incessant bickerings between the viceroys and the archbishops. Intense dissatisfaction often, as we have already said, prevailed at the court of Madrid, and the king's confessor was loud in his complaints. No open rupture however ensued. Both sovereigns respectively imputed the chief blame to the other's officers and advisers, and they remained on terms of personal friendship with each other. On one occasion, when Philip II. was ill, Pius V. lifted up his hands and prayed to God for his recovery: the aged man implored God to take some years

\* Giussanus, de vita et rebus gestis S. Caroli Borromæi, Mediol. p. 112, is very explicit respecting the "ritus visitationis," and all such things.

† Ripamonte, Historia urbis Mediolani, in Grævius, II. i. p. 864. Ripamonte dedicated the whole second part of his history, lib. xi.—xvii. to St. Charles Borromeus.

‡ They had, in all, ninety-four houses, each of which might have maintained a hundred individuals; yet so small was the number of the members, that there were on an average only two to a house. The order was abolished, and Borromeo's endowments, as well as the Jesuits, profited by its wealth.

\* Ripamonte, 857. He calls the first founders Beccaria, Ferraria, and Moriglia. Giussano, p. 442, gives the usual names.



from his own span, and add them to the king's, whose life was of more moment than his own.

Moreover, Spain was, on the whole, governed completely in the spirit of the ecclesiastical renovation. The king had, for a moment, pondered whether or not he should unconditionally admit the resolutions of the council of Trent, and he would at least have been glad to curtail the papal power, as far as regarded the right of making concessions at variance with the tenour of those resolutions;—but the religious character of his monarchy was opposed to all attempts of the kind: he saw that he must avoid even the semblance of a serious difference, if he would remain secure of the allegiance paid to himself. The decrees of the council were everywhere proclaimed, and the regulations enforced. In this kingdom, too, the rigorous dogmatic spirit acquired the upper hand. Carranza, archbishop of Toledo, the first clergyman in Spain, formerly a member of the council of Trent, and who, next to Pole, had contributed most to the restoration of catholicism in England under the reign of Mary, in spite of all these claims, could not escape the inquisition. "I have never," he said, "had any other purpose in view, than to put down heresy, and God has stood by me in this design. I myself have converted many persons of heterodox views; I have caused the bodies of many arch-heretics to be disinterred and burned; catholics and protestants have named me the foremost defender of the faith." But all this unquestionably catholic conduct availed him nothing against the Inquisition. Sixteen articles were found in his works, in which he seemed to approximate to the notions of the Protestants, especially with regard to justification. After suffering a long imprisonment in Spain, and the anxieties of a protracted prosecution, he was sent to Rome. It seemed doing him a great favour to snatch him from the hands of his personal enemies; but even in Rome he could not in the end escape sentence of condemnation\*.

If such was the fate of a man of such high station, in a case of so doubtful a nature, it may be conceived how little tolerance the Inquisition would be inclined to show to undeniable lapses from the faith, in persons of lower rank; instances of which did certainly appear here and there in Spain. The whole rigour with which the remains of Judaism and Mohammedanism had hitherto been hunted down, was now concentrated upon Protestant opinions. Autos-da-fé followed thick and fast upon each other, till at last every germ of the obnoxious creed was extirpated. Since the year 1570, we hardly meet with any but foreigners brought before the Inquisition for protestantism†.

The government of Spain did not favour the Jesuits. They were considered to be, for the most part, Jewish Christians, not of pure Spanish blood; and were shrewdly suspected of harbouring the thought of some time or other revenging themselves for all the maltreatment they had endured. In Portugal, on the contrary, the members of the order attained but too rapidly unlimited power:

they governed the kingdom in the name of king Sebastian. As they enjoyed the highest credit in Rome too, and under Pius V., they made their power in that country subservient to the views of the curia.

And thus Pius V. ruled both the peninsulas more completely than any of his predecessors for a long time. The regulations of the council of Trent were everywhere in vigour. All bishops swore to the *Professio Fidei*, which contained a summary of the dogmatic propositions of the council. Pope Pius V. promulgated the Romish catechism, in which those propositions appear here and there in a more expanded form; he abolished all breviaries not expressly issued by the papal see, or which had not been in use upwards of two hundred years, and published a new one, modelled on that of the oldest of the principal churches of Rome, desiring that it might be universally adopted\*. He failed not also to publish a new missal for general use, "after the rule and ritual of the holy fathers†. The ecclesiastical seminaries were filled; the convents were effectually reformed; the inquisition watched with merciless severity over the unity and inviolability of the faith.

Now by such means as these, a strict combination had grown up between all these countries and states. This was greatly promoted by the fact, that France, involved as it was in civil war, either abandoned its old hostility to Spain, or was unable to give it effect. The troubles of France were productive of another result also. The events of a period always evolve some general political notions, which then exercise a practical dominion over the world. The catholic princes believed themselves assured that the admission of changes in religion was fatal to a state. Whereas Pius IV. had said that the Church could not subsist without the support of sovereigns, the latter were now convinced that for them, too, an union with the Church was indispensably necessary. Pius V. never ceased to preach up this doctrine to them. In fact, he lived to see all Southern Christendom grouped around himself in one common enterprise.

The Ottoman power was still making vigorous progress: it ruled the Mediterranean; and its enterprises, first against Malta, and then against Cyprus, showed how earnestly it was bent on the conquest of the yet unsubjugated islands. It threatened Italy from Hungary and Greece. Pius V. succeeded in at last opening the eyes of the catholic monarchs to the magnitude of this danger. The thought of a league between those sovereigns suggested itself to him upon the attack on Cyprus, and he proposed it to Venice on the one side, and to Spain on the other. "When I received permission to treat with him on the subject," says the Venetian ambassador, "and communicated my instructions to him, he raised his hands towards heaven and thanked God: he promised that his whole soul, and every thought of his mind, should

\* *Remotis iis quæ aliena et incerta essent.* [To the withdrawal of all those of adventitious and uncertain origin.]—*Quoniam nobis: 9 Julii, 1568.*

† *Collatis omnibus cum vetustissimis nostræ Vaticanæ bibliothecæ aliisque undique conquistis emendatis atque incorruptis codicibus.* [Collated with all the most ancient MSS. in our Vatican library, and with other correct and uncorrupted MSS. selected from all quarters.]

\* Llorente has devoted three long chapters, in his History of the Inquisition, to this event. *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, lib. 183—315.

† Mc Crie's History of the Progress and Suppression of the Inquisition in Spain, p. 336.



be devoted to that business\*." It cost him infinite trouble to remove the difficulties that impeded an union of the two maritime powers. He added the other states of Italy to them; and he himself, though at first he possessed neither money nor ships nor arms, yet found means to reinforce the fleet even with papal galleys. He had a share in the choice of the leader, Don John of Austria, whose ambition and devotion he contrived equally to influence. The result at last was the most successful engagement, that of Lepanto, in which Christendom had ever been concerned. So intensely was the pope interested in this enterprise, that on the day of battle he believed he beheld the victory in a sort of rapturous trance. Its achievement filled him with the highest self-confidence and the most daring projects. In a few years he hoped to see the Ottomans wholly prostrated.

But his mediation was not exclusively devoted to the bringing about of such unquestionably glorious enterprises. His religion was of so exclusive and imperious a kind, that he cherished the bitterest hatred towards all Christians of a different faith. Strange inconsistency, that religion should persecute innocence and humility and genuine piety! It seemed none to Pius V., who had risen through the Inquisition, and grown old in its ways. If he sought with inexhaustible zeal to extirpate the remains of dissent that yet lurked in catholic lands, he persecuted with still more savage fury the avowed Protestants who had already shaken off his yoke, or who were yet engaged in the struggle. He not only aided the French catholics with a small body of troops, but he gave the leader of these, the count Santafore, the monstrous order, to take no Huguenot prisoner, but to kill forth, with every Protestant who should fall into his hands†. When the disturbances broke out in the Netherlands, Philip II. wavered at first as to what

course he should pursue with these provinces; the pope advised him to an armed intervention. His argument was, "He that negotiates without the cogency of arms must receive laws; but he that has arms in his hands can prescribe them." He approved of Alva's bloody measures, and sent him, in reward of them, the consecrated hat and sword. It cannot be proved that he was privy to the preparations for the massacre of St. Bartholomew; but he did things that make it evident he would have approved of it as much as his successor.

What a medley of singleness of purpose, loftiness of soul, personal austerity, and entire devotion to religion, with grim bigotry, rancorous hatred, and sanguinary zeal for persecution!

In this spirit lived and died Pius V.\* When he saw his end approaching, he once more visited the seven churches, "in order," as he said, "to take leave of those holy places;" and he thrice kissed the last steps of the Scala Santa. He had once promised not only to expend on an expedition against England the property of the Church, chalices and crosses not excepted, but even to head it in person. Some fugitive catholics from England presenting themselves in his way, he said, "he wished he might shed his blood for them." He spoke with special interest of the Ligue, for the successful prosecution of which he left everything in ready train: the last money he dispensed was for that purpose†. The phantoms of his enterprises hovered round him to his last moment. He had not a doubt of their prosperous issue, deeming that God would needs raise up from the very stones the man his work demanded.

If his loss was immediately felt more acutely than he himself had anticipated, an unity had yet been founded, a force had been summoned forth, whose inherent momentum would of necessity maintain the course begun.

## BOOK THE FOURTH.

### COURT AND STATE. THE TIMES OF GREGORY XIII. AND SIXTUS V.

#### *Introduction.*

HENCEFORTH catholicism confronted the protestant world in renovated collected vigour.

Comparing the two antagonists together, we see

\* Soriano. Havuta la resolutione, andai subito alla audienza, benché era di notte, e l' hora incommoda, e S. S. travagliato per li accidenti seguiti quel giorno per la coronatione del duca di Fiorenza ed il protesto dell' ambasciatore Cesareo (against it): e comunicata la commissione che haveva, S. S. si allegro tutto. [Having received the resolution, I went instantly to seek an audience, though it was night, and the hour inconvenient, and his holiness had been much fatigued that day by the incidents arising out of the coronation of the duke of Florence, and the protest of the imperial ambassadors against it; and on my communicating my orders, his holiness was entirely delighted.]

† Catena, Vita di Pio V., p. 85. Pio si dolse del conte che non havesse il comandamento di lui osservato d'amazzar subito qualunque heretico gli fosse venuto alle mani.

an extraordinary advantage on the side of catholicism, inasmuch as it had a centre, a chief who guided its movements in every direction.

Not only had the pope the means of uniting the other catholic powers in a community of efforts, but he possessed besides dominions of his own, sufficiently strong to contribute something to the general force.

From this time forth, the states of the Church come before us in a new light.

\* He died May 1, 1572.

† Informatione dell' infermità di Pio V. Havendo in sua stanza in una cassetta 13m. sc. per donare e fare elemosine di sua mano, due giorni avanti sua morte, fece chiamare il depositario della camera e levarli, dicendo che sariano boni per la lega. [Having in his chamber a casket containing thirteen thousand scudi, intended for presents and alms to be bestowed with his own hand, two days before he died he sent for the treasurer to the camera to take them, saying, they would be serviceable to the Ligue.]

Their foundation resulted from the efforts of the popes to elevate their families to princely station, or to secure for themselves a paramount importance among the powers of the world, and especially among the Italian states. In neither object did they succeed to the full extent of their desires; and now it was become for ever impossible to renew those efforts. A law of their own making forbade the alienation of the possessions of the Church, while the Spaniards were far too powerful in Italy to admit of any contest with them. On the other hand, the temporal sovereignty had now become a prop for the spiritual authority: the financial means it afforded were important to the general development of the papal power. Before we proceed further, it will be necessary to take a closer view of the administration of the States of the Church, in the form it gradually assumed during the course of the sixteenth century.

#### *Administration of the States of the Church.*

A well-situated, rich, and noble region had fallen to the lot of the popes.

The writers of the sixteenth century cannot find words sufficiently to extol its fertility. What beautiful plains did it exhibit round Bologna, all through Romagna! what loveliness combined with fertility, down the slopes of the Apennines! "We travelled," say the Venetian ambassadors of 1522, "from Macerata to Tolentino through the most beautiful fields; through hills and plains covered with corn: there was nothing else to be seen growing for a space of thirty miles; not a foot of uncultivated land was discoverable; it seemed impossible to gather in, not to speak of consuming, such an abundance of corn." Romagna yearly yielded forty thousand stara more corn than was sufficient for its own consumption; for this there was a great demand, and after supplying the mountain districts of Urbino, Tuscany, and Bologna, thirty-five thousand stara more were at times exported by sea. Whilst Venice\*, on the one sea, was supplied with necessaries from Bologna and the March; on the other, Genoa commonly, and occasionally Naples too, were supplied from Viterbo and the patrimony. In one of his bulls of the year 1566, Pius V. extols the divine grace, that had permitted that Rome, which formerly had not been able to subsist without foreign supplies of corn, should now not only possess it in superfluity, but often be able to supply it of its own growth to neighbouring and distant countries, by land and sea†. In the year 1589, the exports of corn from the States of the Church are estimated at the annual value of five hundred thousand scudi‡. Particular districts were further celebrated for their several peculiar productions; Perugia for hemp, Faenza for flax, Viterbo for

both\*, Cesena for a wine for exportation, Rimini for oil, Bologna for wood, San Lorenzo for its manna; the vintage of Montefiascone was famous all over the world. In Campagna there existed in those times a breed of horses not much inferior to that of Naples; about Nettuno and Terracina there was excellent hunting, especially of the wild boar. There was no lack of lakes abounding in fish: there were salt and alum works, and quarries of marble: the country seemed to possess in plenty every thing that could be desired for the comforts of life.

Nor was this territory by any means excluded from the general commerce of the world. Ancona had a very flourishing trade. "It is a handsome place," say the ambassadors of 1522, "full of merchants, particularly Greeks and Turks: we were assured that in preceding years some of them did business to the amount of five hundred thousand ducats." In the year 1549, we find two hundred Greek families settled there as traders, having their own church. The harbour was full of Levantine caravels. There were Armenians, Turks, Florentines, people from Lucca, Venetians, and Jews from the East and from the West. The goods that changed hands here consisted of silk, wool, leather, Flemish lead and cloths. Luxury was on the increase; house-rents were rising, physicians and schoolmasters were more numerous, and their fees higher than ever before†.

But the inhabitants of the States of the Church were still more renowned for their valour than for their commercial activity and capacity. They are sometimes described to us according to the several shades of their military character. The Perugians are steady soldiers, the inhabitants of Romagna brave but improvident, those of Spoleto abound in stratagems of war; the Bolognese are high-spirited, but hard to keep in discipline; the inhabitants of the March addicted to plunder; the Faentini are above all others the men to resist a charge, and to pursue the enemy on his retreat; the men of Forlì are distinguished for skill in executing difficult manœuvres; those of Fermo for dexterity in the use of the lance‡. "The whole population," says one of our Venetians, "is martial and fierce by

60m. rubbia di grano e piu di 30m. di menudi. Il paese di Roma e lo stato di là dell' Alpi quasi ogni anno somministra il viver al paese di Genova et altri luoghi circonvicini: onde dell'uscita di grani e di biade dello stato ecclesiastico si tien per cosa certa che ogni anno entri in esso valente di 500m. sc. almeno: nè all'incontro ha bisogno di così di fuori se non di poco momento et in poca stima, che sono speclerie e così da vestirsi di nobili e persone principali. [It is stated that Romagna and the March alone have occasionally sixty thousand rubbia of wheat, and more than thirty thousand rubbia of other grain. The country round Rome and the Transalpine State, almost every year supply the necessaries of life to Geneva and other surrounding neighbourhoods: accordingly it is ascertained, that in return for the corn and oats of the Ecclesiastical States, there yearly flows into them the amount of five hundred thousand scudi at least. On the other hand, they have no need of foreign goods, with the exception of things of small importance and value, such as groceries, and materials of apparel for the nobility and persons of distinction.]

\* Voyage de Montaigne, il. 488.

† Saracini, Notizie istoriche della città d'Ancona. Roma, 1675, p. 362.

‡ Laudi, Questiones Forcianæ, Neapoli, 1536: a book full of authentic and minute observations on the state of Italy in those days.

\* Badoer, Relations, 1591. The friendship of Romagna for Venice rested on the consideration, "quanto importa la vicinità di questa città per ben vendere per l'ordinario le loro biade, vini, frutti, guadi et altre cose, riportando ne all'incontro boni danari." [How important the vicinity of the latter city was for the ready sale of the corn, wine, fruits, nets, and other very profitable commodities.]

† Jurisdietio consulum artis agriculturæ urbis—9 Sep. 1566. Bullar. Cocquel. iv. li. 314

‡ Giovanni Gritti, Relatione, 1589. La Romagna e la Marca sola si mette che alcune volte abbia mandato fuori

nature. So soon as these men leave their homes they are fit for every deed of war, whether of leaguer or of open fight: they bear with ease the toils of a campaign \*." The Venetians constantly drew their best troops from the March and from Romagna: for that reason was the friendship of the dukes of Urbino of such moment to the republic; we always find officers from those districts in its service. It was said, however, that here there were captains enough for all the sovereigns in the world; from hence had gone forth the company of St. George, with which Alberich of Barbiano had extirpated the foreign mercenaries, and revived the fame of the Italian arms; here was still the race and stock of the men who had contributed so much to the establishment of the Roman empire†. Later times have not justified such high encomiums; still the last leader who employed these men on foreign service is said to have given them the decided preference over the rest of his Italian, and over a considerable part of his French troops.

All these rich districts and this brave population were now subject to the peaceful, spiritual power of the pope. Let us now trace the leading features of the government that developed itself under the pontiffs.

It was founded, as usual in the Italian states, on a more or less stringent limitation of the independence to which the municipalities had almost every where grown in the course of centuries.

Down even to the fifteenth century, the priors of Viterbo, sitting on their stone seats before the door of the town-hall, received the oath of the podestas, sent them by the pope or his representative‡.

When the city of Fano became immediately subject to the Roman see, it made stipulations before hand, conditioning not only that it should for the future be under the immediate sovereignty of Rome, but also that it should have right of choosing its own podestà, without the need of any further confirmation of the appointment, with twenty years immunity from all new burthens, the advantages of the sale of salt, and several other privileges§.

Even so arbitrary a ruler as Cesar Borgia could not avoid granting privileges to the towns of which he had composed his principality. He even surrendered to the town of Sinigaglia revenues that had till then belonged to the sovereign||.

How much more incumbent was this upon Julius II., whose ambition it was to figure as an emancipator from tyranny. He himself reminded the Perugians that he had spent the best years of his youth within their walls. When he drove Baglione

out of Perugia, he contented himself with recalling the emigrants, restoring their power to the peaceful magistrates, the *priori*, and bestowing higher salaries on the professors of the universities: he made no encroachments on the ancient immunities of the city. For a long time afterwards it paid no more than a few thousand ducats, by way of recognition of the pope's sovereignty; even under Clement VII. I find a calculation of the number of troops it could bring into the field, just as though it were a perfectly free community\*.

Bologna's yoke was equally light. With the forms, it at all times maintained likewise many of the essential attributes of municipal independence. It freely administered its own revenues, maintained its own troops, and the pope's legate received a salary from the city.

Julius II. conquered the towns of Romagna in the Venetian war; but he did not possess himself of a single one without consenting to restrictive conditions or conferring new positive rights. In later times they always recurred to the stipulations they then concluded with him. They designated the political condition on which they entered by the name of "Ecclesiastical Freedom†."

The state, thus constituted, had on the whole a certain analogy to that of Venice. In the one, as in the other, the political power had hitherto been in the hands of the communes, which had for the most part subjected smaller communities to their sway. In the Venetian territories these ruling municipalities, without in all respects foregoing their independence, had subjected themselves under accurately defined conditions to the control of the nobili of Venice: in the Ecclesiastical States they fell under the commonwealth of the curia; for the court constituted a commonwealth in the latter, as the nobility did in the former. The dignity of prelate, indeed, was not indispensable towards the occupation of the highest posts in the municipalities during the first half of this century: temporal vice-legates present themselves to us in Perugia; in Romagna it seemed almost an established rule that a secular president should be at the head of the administration; laymen attained occasionally to the greatest power and consequence, as for instance, Jacopo Salviati, under Clement VII.; but these laymen belonged after all to the curia; they were servants of the pope, and thereby members of that corporation. The towns, however, did not like those secular governors; they demanded prelates, thinking it more honourable to obey ecclesiastics of high rank. Compared with a German principality, with all its organized system of estates, an Italian at first sight appears almost anarchical. But even in the case of the latter, there existed in fact a notable partition of privileges between the various classes, between the highest authorities of a city and its nobili, between these latter and the cittadini, between the aristocracy and the communes subject to them, between the city and the rural population. It is a striking fact, that hardly in any one instance was a system of provincial administration adopted in Italy. Provincial assemblies were held indeed in the Ecclesiastical States, and these have been dignified with the name of par-

\* Soriano, 1570: Quanto a soldati, è commune opinione che nello stato della chiesa siano i migliori di tutto il resto d'Italia, anzi d'Europa. [As for soldiers, it is commonly thought that the Ecclesiastical States possess the best in Italy, or even in Europe.]

† Lorenzo Priuli: Relazione, 1586. Lo stato pieno di viveri per darne anco a popoli vicini, pieno di huomini bellicosi—he specifies Genga, Carpagna, and Malatesta. Pareno tutti questi popoli nati et allevati nella militia. E molto presto si metteria insieme molto buona gente toccando il tamburo. [The State abounds with the necessaries of life, so that it can supply its neighbours, and is full of warlike men. The whole population seems born and bred to war. A fine body of men would speedily assemble at the beat of the drum.]

‡ Feliciano Bassi: Istoria di Viterbo, p. 59.

§ Amiani: Memorie storiche della città di Fano, t. ii. p. 4.

|| Siena, Storia di Sinigaglia, App. n. v.

\* Suriano, Relazione di Fiorenza, 1533.

† Rainaldus alludes to this but very briefly. Concerning Ravenna, see Hieronymi Rubel Historiarum Ravennatum lib. viii. p. 660.

liaments; but in some way or other it must have been inconsistent with the manners of the country and with the Italian character to bring such institutions to perfection: they never attained to any enduring influence.

Now had the municipal constitution reached that complete development of which it was susceptible, and towards which it seemed in progress, seeing on the one hand the limitation of the government authority, on the other the positive rights and the great power of the communes, and the multitude of individual privileges, it would have exhibited the principle of stability in the most striking form—a political system defined by special prerogatives and reciprocal limitations.

Considerable progress was made in this direction in the Venetian dominions, not nearly so much in the States of the Church.

This difference is referable to the original diversity of their forms of government. In Venice there was a hereditary self-governing corporation, that regarded the supreme power as its own property. The Roman curia on the other hand was extremely fluctuating; new elements flowed in upon it after every new conclave; the countrymen of the several popes always acquired a large share in the disposal of business. In the former, appointments to places in the administration proceeded from the corporation itself; in the latter, they depended on the favour of the head of the state. In the former, the rulers were kept in check by rigorous laws, close inspection, and syndication; in the latter, individuals were less restricted by fear of punishment than by hope of promotion, which moreover depended, in a great degree, on favour and affection, and they enjoyed a wider range of action.

From the very first, too, the papal government had secured to itself a freer position.

In this point of view we arrive at a remarkable result, on comparing the concessions made respectively by Rome and Venice. A favourable opportunity for this is afforded, among others, by the case of Faenza, which had yielded itself up to the Venetians a few years before its surrender to the pope, and had made stipulations with both\*. On both occasions it had demanded, for instance, that no new tax should ever be imposed without the approval of the majority of the great council of Faenza: to this the Venetians acceded unconditionally, whereas the pope added the clause, "unless it should otherwise seem fit to him upon important and reasonable grounds." I will not enlarge on this subject; the same difference is every where observable; it is sufficient that I mention one other instance. The Venetians had consented without hesitation that all criminal judgments should be subject to the approval of the podesta and his curia: the pope likewise granted this in general, but insisted on one exception. "In cases of high treason, or of similar crimes, which might occasion public irritation, the authority of the governor shall step in." It is manifest that the papal government reserved to itself, from the

very outset, a much more vigorous exercise of the sovereign authority than did the Venetian\*.

It cannot be denied that its efforts to this end were greatly facilitated by the other side.

In the subject towns in those days the middle classes, the burghers, and the traders and artisans, when their incomes sufficed for their maintenance, remained peaceable and obedient; but there was no end to the commotions among the patricians, the nobili, who held the municipal authority in their hands. They practised no arts, cared little for agriculture, set no great store by intellectual cultivation, or skill in arms; their own feuds and enmities were all that engrossed their attention. The old factions of Guelphs and Ghibellines still subsisted; they had been fostered by the last wars, in which victory had alternated between them; all the families belonging to either party were well known. In Faenza, Ravenna, and Forlì, the Ghibellines were the stronger; in Rimini the Guelphs; but in all these towns the weaker party still maintained itself. In Cesena and Imola the two were on a par. Even in the midst of outward peace a secret war was carried on; every one made it his special purpose to keep down his adversary of the other faction, and to cast him into the shade†. The chiefs had at their beck dependents in the lowest classes, stout determined fellows, vagabond bravi, who voluntarily offered their services to those who they knew stood in fear of enemies, or had an injury to avenge. They were always ready to commit murder for hire.

The result of these universal feuds was, that while neither party trusted the other, or allowed it the exercise of authority, the cities were less sedulous to maintain their privileges. When the president, or the legate, entered the province, the question was not asked whether he was disposed to respect the rights of the municipalities; the only thing attempted to be guessed at was, to which party he adhered. It is impossible to describe the exultation of the favoured party, and the dismay of their rivals. The legate had need to be very wary. The most influential men sought his intimacy, courted his good-will, affected to display great zeal for the interests of the state, and acquiesced in all measures proposed for its advantage; but all this was often but a pretence to secure them a better footing with the legate, to ingratiate themselves

\* What were the means it used is shown by Paul III. when he says (1547): "Ceux qui viennent nouvellement au papat viennent pauvres, obligés de promesses, et la dépense qu'ils font pour s'asseurer dans les terres de l'église monte plus que le profit des premières années." Le Card. de Guise au Roy de France, en Ribier, li. 77.

† Relazione della Romagna (Bibl. Alt.). Li nobili hanno seguito di molte persone, delle quale alcune volte si vagliono ne' consigli per conseguire qualche carica, o per se o per altri, per potero vincere o per impedire all' altri qualche richiesta: ne' giudicii per provate et alcune volte per testificare, nelle inimicitie per fare vendette, ingiurie: alcuni ancora a Ravenna, Imola e Faenza usavano di contrabbandare grano. [The nobles have a numerous train of dependents, of whose aid they avail themselves in the councils, to obtain any charge either for themselves or for others, to further any request of their own, or hinder those of others; before the tribunals to carry on suits, and sometimes to bear witness, and in their quarrels to satisfy their revenge. Some too in Ravenna, Imola, and Faenza, employed these persons in smuggling corn.]

\* Historie di Faenze, fatica di Giulio Cesare Tonduzzi. Faenza, 1675, contain (p. 569) the capitulations concluded with the Venetians in 1501, and (p. 587) those assented to by Julius II. in 1510.

with him, and so enable them the more keenly to wound and persecute the party they hated \*.

The barons in the country were in a somewhat different position. They were for the most part poor, but liberal and ambitious, so that they even kept open house, and without exception expended more than their means could afford. They always had dependents in the towns, whose aid they often employed for illegal purposes. But they made it their chief care to maintain a good understanding with their peasantry, who always possessed the largest extent of ground, though no wealth. In southern countries regard is indeed paid to high birth and to the prerogatives of gentle blood, but the distinction of ranks is very far from being so strictly marked there as in northern lands, nor does it act as a bar to the closest personal intimacy. The peasants lived with their barons rather on the footing of brotherly subordination, nor could it well be said whether the peasants showed more alacrity towards obedience and service, or the barons towards acts of patronage and support: there was something of a patriarchal character in the connexion between them†. This arose chiefly out of the desire of the barons to hinder their vassals from having recourse to the state authorities. They paid but little regard to the feudal supremacy of the papal see. They looked on the pretensions of the legate to judge, not only on appeal, but sometimes even in the first instance, not as claims of right, but as consequences of an unfortunate political conjuncture that would soon pass away.

There existed also here and there, particularly in Romagna, independent communities of peasants‡. They were large clans descended from a common stock; lords in their own villages; all armed, and especially practised in the use of the arquebus; generally half-savage. They may be compared with the free Greek or Slavonian communities, that maintained their independence among the Venetians, or with those of Candia, Morca, and Dalmatia, who reconquered their lost independence from the Turks. In the States of the Church these peasants likewise adhered to the different factions. The Savina, Scardocci, and Solaroli, were Ghibellines; the Manbelli, Corroni, and Serra, were Guelphs. The Serra had in their district an eminence that served as an asylum for those who committed any offence. The strongest of all were the Cerroni, whose numbers extended also

into the Florentine territory. They had divided themselves into two branches, Rinaldi and Ravagli, which were unceasingly at feud, notwithstanding their relationship. They stood in a sort of hereditary connexion not only with the noble families of the towns, but also with lawyers who supported the one or the other faction in their litigations. There was not in all Romagna a single family so powerful that it could not easily have been hurt by these peasants. The Venetians always kept some one of their military commanders among them, in order to be assured of their aid in case of war.

If, as we have already said, all these populations had been united, it would have been difficult for the Roman prelates to assert the authority of the state; but their dissensions strengthened the hands of the government. In the report of a president of Romagna to pope Gregory XIII. I find the words: "As the people is easily ruled when disunited, so is it with difficulty governed when too much united \*." But, furthermore, another party sprang up in these countries in favour of the government. It consisted of those peaceable individuals who wished for tranquillity, men of the middle station, who were not partisans of either faction. In Fano this party formed an association, called the "Holy Union," compelled to this step, as stated in their foundation-deed, "because the whole town is become full of robbery and murder, and not only are those persons insecure who are involved in the several feuds, but those, too, who would fain eat their bread in the sweat of their brow." They bound themselves together in the church by an oath of brotherhood for life or death to uphold the quiet of the town, and to exterminate its disturbers†. The government favoured them, and allowed them the right of bearing arms. We find them throughout all Romagna under the title of *pacifici*, gradually constituting a kind of plebeian magistracy. The government had its adherents likewise among the peasants. The Manbelli attached themselves to the legate's court. They arrested banditti, and acted as wardens of the frontiers, whereby they acquired no slight increase of consequence in the eyes of their neighbours‡. The government was further assisted by local jealousies, the opposition of the rural communities to the towns, and many other internal evils.

Thus, instead of that legal order, quiet, and stability, to which, judging theoretically, the constitution might have led, we find turbulent strife of factions, interference of government so long as

\* Relazione di Monsr. Revmo. Giov. P. Ghislieri al P. Gregorio XIII. tornando egli dal presiderato di Romagna. We learn from Tonduzzi (Historie di Faenza, p. 673) that Ghislieri came into the province in 1578.

† Relazione della Romagna: Essendosi aggiustate gli uni all' humore degli altri. [Being fitted to each other's humour.]

‡ The peasants likewise often threw off the yoke of the towns. Ghislieri: "Scossi da quel giogo e recati quasi corpo diverso da quelle città" (ex. gr. Forlì, Cesena), "si governano con certe loro leggi separate, sotto il governo d'un protettore eletto da loro medesimi, li quali hanno amplissima autorità di far le resolutioni necessarie per li casi occorrenti alli contadini." [Having shaken off the yoke, and seceded as a separate body from those cities, they are under the government of their own distinct laws, administered by a president elected by themselves, who has the amplest authority to adopt all resolutions necessary under the various circumstances occurring to the peasants.]

\* Siccome il popolo disunito facilmente si domina, così difficilmente si regge quando è troppo unito.

† They were like the Hermandad. Amiani, Memorie di Fano, li. 146, gives their formula grounded on the text "Beati pacifici, quia filii Dei vocabuntur." [Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of God.] Hence may have been derived their name in other towns.

‡ According to the Relazione della Romagna, they called themselves also, from their place of abode, "Uomini da Schieto":—"Uomini," it says, "che si fanno molto riguardare; sono Guelphi: la corte di Romagna si è valuta dell' opera loro molto utilmente, massime in avere in mano banditi, et in ovviare alle fraudi che si fanno in estrarre bestiami dalle montagne." [Men who are much esteemed: they are Guelphs: the court of Romagna has profited much by their aid, especially in curbing the banditti, and in preventing the fraudulent abstraction of cattle from the mountains.]

these are at variance, reaction of the municipalities when they are again united ; violence on the side of the law, violence against the law, every man trying how far he might riot in licence.

Under Leo X. the Florentines, who for the most part held the reins of administration, immediately exercised the rights of the curia in a very oppressive manner. Embassies from the towns arrived one after the other in Rome, entreating relief of their grievances. Ravenna declared it would rather surrender to the Turks, than endure the continuance of such a system of government\*. Often during the vacancies of the papal see the old lords returned, and were not afterwards expelled without difficulty by the new pope. On the other hand, the towns dreaded being alienated from the papal see. Sometimes a cardinal, sometimes one of the pope's adherents, or a neighbouring prince, would endeavour to obtain the right of government in one or other of the towns, in consideration of money paid to the camera. The towns, therefore, kept agents and envoys at Rome, to discover every scheme of this kind the moment it was suggested, and to frustrate it whenever it was sought to be put in operation. They were generally successful in this ; but sometimes it happened that they were obliged to have recourse to force against the pope's authority, and even against his troops. In almost all the histories of the towns there occur one or more examples of rude insubordination. In Faenza once, in the summer of 1521, the Swiss of pope Leo and the citizens came to a regular battle in the streets. The Swiss contrived to concentrate themselves in the piazza, but the citizens barricading all the streets that opened upon it, they were glad enough when one was unbarred, and they were suffered to march out unmolested. That day was for many a year afterwards celebrated in Faenza with religious solemnities†. Jesi, which could hardly be called an important town, had yet courage enough to attack the vice-governor in his palace, on the 25th November, 1528, on his demanding certain marks of honour which the inhabitants refused to pay him. The citizens and the peasants united, and a hundred Albanians who were in the neighbourhood were taken into pay : the vice-governor fled with all his officers. "My native town," says the otherwise very devout catholic chronicler, "having in this way retrieved its original freedom, resolved yearly to solemnize that day at the public cost‡."

From such acts nothing, it is obvious, could ensue but new subjugations, new punishments, and harder restrictions. The government seized on the pretext afforded them by such occurrences, to wrest from the towns whatever remnants they yet retained of ancient independence, and to bring them into total subjection.

\* Marino Zorzi: *Relazione di 1517*. La terra di Romagna è in gran combustione e disordine: li vien fatta poco giustizia: e lui orator ha visto tal x man di oratori al cardinal di Medici, che negotia le facende, lamentandosi di mali portamenti fanno quelli rettori loro. [Romagna is in the utmost turbulence and disorder; justice is little regarded there, and the reporter has seen as many as ten deputations to cardinal Medici, respecting the state of things there, all loudly complaining of the misconduct of their rulers.]

† Tonduzzi, *Historie di Faenza*, p. 609.

‡ Baldassini, *Memorie storiche dell' antichissima città de Jesi*, 1744, p. 256.

Ancona and Perugia afford striking and memorable instances of this.

Ancona was one of those towns that paid the pope merely a small annual sum by way of recognition ; the inadequacy of which appeared the more strongly as the prosperity of the town augmented. The court reckoned the revenue of Ancona at fifty thousand scudi, and thought it intolerable that the local nobility should divide all that money between themselves. So when the city refused to submit to new taxes, and took forcible possession of a castle to which it laid claim, an open rupture ensued. The manner in which governments of that day sometimes asserted their rights is worth notice. The papal functionaries swept away all the cattle from the March of Ancona to realize the amount of their dues : this they called exercising reprisals.

Clement VII. however was not satisfied with this : he only waited a favourable opportunity to make himself temporal master of Ancona, and, to bring this about, he had recourse to stratagem. He ordered a fort to be erected in the city, alleging he did so only because the Turkish power, after its recent successes in Egypt and Rhodes, which gave it such strength in the Mediterranean, would undoubtedly make a speedy descent on Italy. How perilous would it be then if Ancona, in which there were always numerous Turkish vessels at anchor, should be left without any military works ! He sent Antonio Sangallo to erect the fort. The works were carried on with the utmost rapidity, and a small garrison was soon installed in them. This was the moment the pope looked for. When things were so far advanced, one day in September, 1532, the governor of the March, Monsignor Bernardino della Barba, a priest, but a man of martial character, made his appearance in the territory of Ancona with an imposing army furnished him by the jealousy of the neighbouring districts, took one of the gates of the city, and marched his troops up to the palace. The Anziani, but recently chosen by lot, dwelt there free from apprehension, and surrounded with the badges of supreme dignity. Monsignor della Barba entered with a military staff, and announced to them, with little ceremony, "that the pope was resolved to have the uncontrolled government of Ancona in his own hands." In fact, there was no possibility of resisting him. The younger nobili brought in from the country in all haste a few bands of retainers ; but what could they do, now that the papal troops were already prepared by new fortifications for every contingency ? The elder nobles would not risk the plundering and devastation of the city. They yielded, therefore, to what was inevitable.

The Anziani left the palace, and presently appeared the new legate, Benedetto della Accolti, who had stipulated to pay the camera twenty thousand scudi yearly for the government of Ancona.

The whole state of things was changed. All arms were required to be given up, and sixty-four of the principal nobles were exiled : new lists of magistrates were made out ; some of the offices of state were conferred on the inhabitants of the rural district and persons not noble. Justice was no longer administered according to the old statutes.

Woe to him who offered to oppose these regulations ! Some leading men incurred the suspicion of conspiring together : they were forthwith ar-



rested, sentenced, and beheaded. The next day a carpet was spread in the market-place, and the corpses laid upon it, with a lighted torch by each : in that manner they were left lying the whole day.

Paul III. indeed subsequently granted the inhabitants some relaxation from the severity shown them ; but they were not raised from their state of abject subjection, nor had he any thought of restoring their ancient independence.

On the contrary, he employed the same Bernardino della Barba to suppress the liberties of another of his towns.

The pope having raised the price of salt one half, the city of Perugia thought itself justified by its privileges in opposing the exaction. The pope excommunicated the citizens who assembled in the churches, elected a magistracy of "twenty-five defenders," and laid the keys of their gates before a crucifix in the market-place. Both sides prepared for action.

The insurrection of so important a city against the pope's sway excited general commotion, and would have led to remarkable consequences, had there been war at the time in Italy : but as every thing was quiet, no state could afford them the aid on which they counted.

Though Perugia was not without strength, it was far from being able to cope with the army led against it by Pier Luigi Farnese, consisting of ten thousand Italians and three thousand Spaniards. The government of the five-and-twenty, too, was marked rather by violence and impetuosity than by discretion and care for the protection of the city. They did not even provide money for the payment of the troops brought to their aid by one of the Baglioni. Their only ally, Ascanio Colonna, who resisted the same impost, contented himself with driving off cattle from the ecclesiastical territories, but could not be prevailed on to render them any more serious assistance.

Accordingly, after a brief enjoyment of freedom, the city was forced to surrender again on the 3rd of June, 1540. Delegates from it were obliged to attend at the pope's feet in the portico of St. Peter, in long mourning-ropes, with ropes round their necks, to beg for mercy.

This was granted, but their liberties were already destroyed ; all their privileges were repealed.

Bernardino della Barba arrived in Perugia, to deal with it as he had done with Ancona. The inhabitants were disarmed ; the chains with which the streets had been closed till now were taken away ; and the houses of the five-and-twenty, who had early taken flight, were levelled with the ground. A fort was erected on the site where the Baglioni had resided. The citizens were forced to pay the expenses. A chief magistrate was appointed, whose title, "conservator of ecclesiastical obedience," was sufficiently indicative of the purpose for which he was intended. A subsequent pope restored the title of prior, but without any renewal of the old privileges.\*

Ascanio Colonna, too, was meanwhile overcome by the same papal army, and driven out of his strongholds.

The papal power was incalculably augmented in

\* Mariotti, *Memorie storiche civili ed ecclesiastiche della città di Perugia e su contado*, Perugia, 1806, gives an authentic and detailed account of these occurrences, i. p. 113—160. He recurs to them again, for instance, iii. p. 634.

the states of the church by so many successful achievements ; neither towns nor barons dared any longer stand out against it. The free communes had submitted one by one, and the popes could now bend all the resources of the country to their own ends.

Let us contemplate the manner in which they did this.

#### *Finances.*

It is necessary that we should, in the first instance, make ourselves acquainted with the papal system of finance ; a system important not only as regarded that state, but also from the example it furnished to all Europe.

It has been observed, that the system of exchanges of the middle ages owed its origin chiefly to the nature of the papal revenues, which, falling due all over the world, were to be remitted from all parts to the curia : nor is it less worthy of remark, that the system of public debt, with which we are all now encompassed, and which exercises so paramount an influence over all the springs of commerce, was first systematically developed in the states of the Church.

However just may have been the complaints raised against the exactions of Rome during the fifteenth century, it is yet manifest that but a small part of the proceeds passed into the hands of the pope. Pius II. enjoyed the general obedience of Europe ; and yet, for want of money, he was once compelled to limit himself and his household to a single meal a day. He was obliged to borrow the two hundred thousand ducats requisite for the Turkish war he had in contemplation. Even those petty expedients which many a pope adopted, such as obtaining from a prince, a bishop, or a grand-master, who had an affair pending at the papal court, a present it might be of a gold cup, with a sum of ducats in it, or of costly fur, only show the really miserable state of their economy\*.

Money certainly arrived at the court in very considerable sums, though not so exorbitant as has been supposed ; but there it was dissipated among a thousand hands. It was absorbed by the offices which it had been the practice for a great length of time to put up to sale. The income of these was chiefly founded on gratuities, and free scope was given to the exactions of the holders. The pope received nothing but the price paid for the offices on the filling up of vacancies.

If the pope was disposed to engage in any costly undertaking, he was obliged to have recourse to extraordinary means. Jubilees and indulgences were most welcome helps ; through such instrumentality the docility of the faithful afforded him a clear revenue. There was another ready means at his command. To procure important sums he had but to create new offices, and sell them ; a singular kind of loan, for which the church paid heavy interest, liquidated by the increase of its own dues. This practice had long prevailed. According to a

\* Voigt, "Voices from Rome respecting the papal court in the fifteenth century," in *Fr. von Raumer's Historischen Taschenbuch* for the year 1853, contains numerous notices on this subject. Those who have access to the work entitled "Schlesien vor und seit dem Jahre 1740," will find there, ii. 483, a satire of the fifteenth century, not badly executed, on this monstrous system of present-giving: "*Passio domini papae secundum marcam auri et argenti.*"

register of the house of Chigi, which is deserving of credit, there were in the year 1471 about six hundred and fifty vendible offices, the income of which was calculated at about one hundred thousand scudi\*. These were almost all places of proctors, registrars, abbreviators, correctors, notaries, secretaries, and even messengers and porters; the increasing number of which continually augmented the cost of a bull or a brief. This was the very object of their creation; the duties attached to them amounted to little or nothing.

It will readily be supposed that the succeeding popes, deeply involved as they were in European politics, eagerly laid hold on so convenient a means of filling their coffers. Sixtus IV. availed himself in this matter of the advice of his prothonotary Sinolfo. He established whole colleges at once, the posts in which he sold for a few hundred ducats. They were singular titles under which these new establishments figured; as, for instance, a college of a hundred janissaries, who were nominated for one hundred thousand ducats, and their salaries charged upon the proceeds of the bulls and annates†. Sixtus IV. sold notariates, prothonotariates, proctorships of the camera, and every office besides, and carried the system to such lengths that he has been held to be its founder. At any rate, it was first fully adopted in his time. Innocent VIII., whose embarrassments were such as to make him even pledge the papal tiara, founded a new college of twenty-six secretaries for sixty thousand scudi, and a full complement of other offices. Alexander VI. named eighty writers of briefs, each of whom had to pay seven hundred and fifty scudi. Julius II. added a hundred writers of archives upon the same terms.

The sources, however, from which all these hundreds of functionaries derived their salaries, were not inexhaustible. We have seen how almost all Christian states made simultaneous and successful attempts to limit the interference of the papal court. These took place precisely at the juncture when the popes beheld themselves constrained to great expenditure by the magnitude of their undertakings.

It was fortunate for them that they obtained possession of a territory from which, mild as was their administration in the beginning, they yet drew considerable new revenues. It will not excite surprise that they dealt with these just in the same way as with the ecclesiastical funds.

Julius II., besides the assignment of the annates, gave the above-mentioned writers a lien also on the dogana and the treasury. He instituted a college of a hundred and forty-one presidents of the Annona, who were all paid out of the coffers of the state. In this way he made the surplus revenue of the country serve as a basis for contracting loans. The grand distinguishing character of this pope in the eyes of foreign powers was that he could raise

as much money as he chose. This was, in a great degree, the foundation of his policy.

The wants of Leo X., however, were much greater than those of Julius, since he was no less involved in war, was much more prodigal, and more dependent on the support of his relations. "That the pope should ever keep by him a thousand ducats together," says Francesco Vettori of him, "is just as impossible as that a stone should fly up into the air of itself." The charge has been laid at his door, that he ran through the wealth of three pontificates; that of his predecessor, from whom he inherited a considerable treasure, his own, and that of his successor, to whom he bequeathed a mass of debt. He was not content with selling existing offices; his great nomination of cardinals brought him in important sums, and nothing could exceed the boldness with which he employed the established expedient of creating new offices simply for the purpose of sale. Above twelve hundred such were created by him alone\*. The characteristic of all these *portionarii*, *scudieri*, *cavalieri di San Pietro*, and whatever else they were called, is, that having paid down a sum of money, they drew interest on it for life under those titles: their office had no other signification than the addition of some small prerogatives to the enjoyment of that interest. This was, in point of fact, nothing else than a system of borrowing on annuities. Leo derived about nine hundred thousand scudi from the sale of offices. The interest, which was indeed very high, as it yearly amounted to an eighth of the capital†, was to a certain extent provided for by a slight advance in the amount of ecclesiastical dues; but it was principally furnished by the treasuries of the recently conquered provinces, that is, by the surplus funds of the municipal administrations, paid into the state coffers, by the proceeds of the alum works, the salt trade, and the dogana at Rome. Leo swelled the number of offices to 2150, the yearly income of which was calculated at 320,000 scudi, and was a burden to both church and state.

However intrinsically censurable was this prodigality, Leo may have been confirmed in it by observing that for the time it produced beneficial rather than pernicious effects. The singular elevation of Rome at that period was ascribable in part to this system of finance. There was no place in the world where a man could lay out his capital to so much advantage. The multitude of new offices, vacancies, and re-appointments, created an incessant movement in the curia, that offered every one an easy opportunity of advancement.

Another consequence was, that the burden of new imposts was avoided. Undoubtedly, the states of the church, of all countries in those days, and Rome of all cities, paid the lowest taxes. It had

\* Gli uffici più antichi. MS. Bibliotheca Chigi, No. ii. 50. There are 651 offices and 98,340 scudi, "fin al creationi di Sisto IV." (up to the creation by Sixtus IV.) So little truth is there in the assertion of Onuphrius Panvinus, that Sixtus IV. was the first who sold them: p. 348.

† There were also Stradiotes and Mamelukes, who were afterwards however suppressed. "Adstipulatores sine qulibus nullas possent confici tabulas." Onuphrius Panvinus. According to the register (Uffici Chigii), this creation would seem to have brought in only 40,000 ducats,

\* Sommario di la relation di M. Minio, 1520: Non ha cantanti, perche è liberal, non sa tenir danari: poi li Fiorentini, (che) si fanno e sono soi parenti, non li lassa mai aver un soldo: e diti Fiorentini è in gran odio in corte, perche in ogni cosa è Fiorentini. [He has no ready money, because he is liberal and cannot keep it. Then the Florentines, who are, or pretend to be, his relations, never leave him a penny. And the said Florentines are in great odium at court, because they thrust themselves into every thing.]

† The 612 *portionarii* di ripa—aggiunti al collegio dei presidenti—paid 286,200 ducats, and received yearly 38,816: the 400 cavalieri di S. Pietro paid 400,000, and had in return 50,610 ducats yearly.



long before been represented to the Romans that every other city furnished to its sovereign heavy loans and vexatious imposts, whilst their lord, the pope, rather made them rich. A secretary of Clement VII., who shortly after wrote an account of the conclave in which his master was elected, expresses his wonder that the Romans were not more devoted to the holy see, since they suffered so little from taxation. "From Terracina to Piacenza," he exclaims, "the church possesses a large and fair part of Italy: its dominion spreads far and wide; yet so many flourishing lands and wealthy cities, which, under any other government, would be taxed to maintain great armies, pay the Roman popes hardly so much as may suffice to cover the cost of their own administration \*."

But, of necessity, this system could only last so long as there was a surplus in the state coffers. Leo himself did not succeed in funding all his loans. Aluise Gaddi had advanced him thirty-two thousand, Bernardo Bini two hundred thousand ducats: Salvati, Ridolfi, all his servants and retainers, had done their utmost to procure him money, relying on his liberality and his youth for repayment and brilliant reward. They were every one of them ruined by his sudden death.

He left his dominions in a state of exhaustion, which was sorely felt by his successor.

The universal hatred the unfortunate Adrian drew down on his head, arose partly from his having recourse, in his urgent need of money, to the imposition of a direct tax of half-a-ducato on each hearth†. This was the more unpopular, because the Romans were little accustomed to such demands.

But Clement VII., too, could not avoid new taxes, at least indirect ones. Murmurs were raised against cardinal Armellino, who was regarded as their inventor: the augmentation of the duties levied at the city gates on articles of provision caused particular dissatisfaction, but the people were obliged to bear with it‡. Things were come to such a pass, that it would be necessary to have recourse to measures of a far more efficient character. Hitherto loans had been raised under the form of saleable offices: Clement VII. was the

first who approximated to the system of direct loans, on the important occasion of his taking up arms against Charles V. in the year 1526.

When offices were purchased, the capital was lost in case of death, unless the family recovered it from the papal treasury. Clement VII. now took up a capital of two hundred thousand ducats, which did not yield so high an interest as the places, yet paid a considerable one, viz. ten per cent, passing, moreover, by inheritance. This is a 'monte non vacabile,' the 'monte della fede.' The interest was charged on the dogana. The security of the monte was furthermore greatly increased by the provision that the creditors became immediately admitted to a share in the direction of the dogana. Nor even in this matter were the old forms quite forgotten, for the montes were incorporated into a college. A few contractors paid the sum required to the camera, and then shared it out among the members.

Can it be said that the creditors of the state, in so far as they have a lien on the general income, on the product of the labours of the community, acquire thereby an indirect share in the government? Such, at least, appeared to be the case in Rome at that day, nor would capitalists lend their money without the form of such a participation.

Now this was, as we shall see, an introduction to the most extensive operations of finance.

Paul III. proceeded in them with moderation. He contented himself with diminishing the interest of the monte established by Clement; and as he succeeded in making new assignments of it, he augmented the capital nearly one half. But he did not found a new monte. The creation of six hundred new places sufficiently compensated him for this moderation. The measures by which he made himself memorable in the history of finance are of a different character.

We have seen what commotions were excited by his enhancement of the price of salt. He abandoned this, but he instituted in its stead, and with the express promise of foregoing it, the direct tax of the  *sussidio*. It is the same impost which was levied in many of the southern countries in those days: in Spain under the name of *servicio*, in Naples by that of *donative*, as *mensuale* in Milan, and elsewhere under different titles. In the states of the church it was originally introduced for three years, and fixed at three hundred thousand scudi. The contribution of each province was determined in Rome; the provincial parliaments assembled to divide it between the several towns; the towns again allotted it between themselves and the surrounding districts. Every one was called on to bear his share of the burden. The bull expressly enjoins that all secular subjects of the Roman church, whatever were their exemptions or privileges, marquises, barons, vassals, and public officers not excepted, should be rated to this contribution\*.

But payment was not made without the most urgent remonstrances, especially when the *sussidio* was seen to be renewed for successive periods of

\* Bullar. In the year 1537, he declares to the French ambassador, "la débilitté du revenu de l'église (and thereby of the state) dont elle n'avoit point maintenant 40<sup>m</sup>. escus de rente par an de quel elle puisse faire estat." In Ribier, i. 69. [The scantiness of the revenues of the church, which had not then 40,000 crowns a year which it could dispose of.]

\* Vianesius Alberghatus, *Commentarii rerum sui temporis* (nothing more than the description of the conclave). Opulentissimi populi et ditissimæ urbes, quæ ab alterius ditiosis essent, suis vectigalibus vel magnos exercitus alere possunt, Romano pontifici vix tantum tributum pendunt quantum in prætorum magistratuumque expensam sufficere queat. In the report of Zurzi, 1517, the united revenues of Perugia, Spoleto, the March and Romagna, are set down, after a calculation made by Francesco Armellino, at 120,000 ducats. Of this one half fell to the papal treasury. "Di quel somma la mità è per terra per pagar i legati et altri officii e altra mità ha il papa." Unfortunately there are no few mistakes in the copy of the report given by Sanuto.

† Hieronymo Negro a Marc Antonio Micheli, 7 April, 1523. *Lettere di Principi*, i. p. 114.

‡ Foscarini: *Relatione*, 1526. E qualche murmuration in Roma etiam per causa del Cardinal Armellino, qual trouva nuove invention per trovar danari in Roma, e far metter nove angarie, e fino chi porta tordi a Roma et altre cose di manzar, paga tanto: la qual angaria importa da due. 2,500. [There is some murmuring in Rome on account of cardinal Armellino, who has devised new schemes for getting money, and imposes new duties, so that every one, even down to those who bring thrushes and other eatables to Rome, pays something; which duty brings in 2500 ducats.]

years : it had never, indeed, been repealed ; but it had always been imperfectly collected \*. Bologna, that had been assessed at thirty thousand scudi, was prudent enough to compound for perpetual freedom from the tax on paying down a sum of ready money. Parma and Piacenza were alienated, and paid the subsidy no longer. Fano affords us an example of how the other towns fared. That town long withheld payment, on the pretext that it was assessed at too high a rate. Thereupon Paul III. felt himself obliged, for once, to remit the inhabitants all arrears, but on condition that they should expend the full amount on the repair of their walls. Subsequently, too, a third of their contingent was always allowed to be set off on the same account. Nevertheless, the descendants of these men have continually complained of being exorbitantly rated. The rural districts, too, were incessant in their outcries against the share of the burden imposed on them by the towns ; they made attempts to withdraw from the control of the town council ; and, as the latter struggled to maintain its authority, they would gladly have placed themselves under the command of the duke of Urbino. It would carry us too far, were we to continue the investigation of these petty interests. It is enough if we arrive at an explanation of the fact, that not much more than the half of the subsidy was ever realized †. In the year 1560, the whole proceeds were valued at 165,000 scudi.

Be this as it may, this pope had greatly augmented the revenues of the ecclesiastical states. Under Julius II. they were estimated at 350,000 scudi ; under Leo, at 420,000 ; under Clement VII., in the year 1526, at 500,000. According to an authentic table procured by the Venetian ambassador, Dandolo, from the Roman treasury, they amounted immediately after the death of Paul III. to 706,473 scudi.

His successors, for all that, did not find themselves in much the better plight. Julius III. complains, in one of his instructions, that his predecessor had alienated the whole revenues of the *sec* (with the exception, doubtless, of the *subsidio*, which could not be so dealt with, since it was always, nominally at least, imposed but for three years), and that he had moreover left behind a floating debt of 500,000 scudi ‡.

Julius III. by embarking, in spite of this, in his war against the French and the Farnesi, necessarily involved himself in the greatest embarrassments. Although the imperialists furnished him

with subsidies by no means inconsiderable for those times, his briefs are yet filled with complaints : "He had counted on receiving 100,000 scudi in Ancona, but had not taken 100,000 bajocchi : instead of 120,000 scudi from Bologna, he had gotten only 50,000. The promises of Genoese and Lucchese money-changers were recalled immediately after they were given ; whoever possessed a carline, kept it back, and would not risk it \*."

The adoption of more effectual measures was imperiously demanded, if the pope would keep his army together : he resolved, therefore, to found a new monte ; and the manner in which he did this is the same as that which has almost ever since been pursued.

He appointed a new tax. He laid two carlines on the rubbio of flour, which brought him in, clear of all deductions, 30,000 scudi : this sum he appropriated to the payment of interest on a capital he forthwith raised : thus originated the "*monte della farina*." We observe the close analogy between this and former financial operations. On previous occasions ecclesiastical offices, payable out of the augmenting revenues of the curia, had been created, solely that they might be sold to furnish the sums of which there was present need : in this instance, the revenues of the state were increased by a new tax, which, however, was employed merely as interest upon a large capital which there was no other means of raising. All subsequent popes continued this practice. Sometimes these "*monti*" were like Clement's, "*non vacabili* ;" at other times they were "*vacabili* ;" i. e. the payment of the interest ceased upon the death of the creditor. In the latter case the per-centage was higher, and the collegiate character of the montists brought the system still nearer to that of saleable offices. Paul IV. established the "*monte novennale de' frati*," upon a tax he imposed on the regular monastic orders. Pius IV. laid a *quatrino* on every pound of meat, and immediately applied the proceeds to the foundation of the "*monte pio*," which brought him in 170,000 scudi. Pius V. laid another *quatrino* on the pound of meat, and based upon it the "*monte lega*."

If we keep the development of this system in view, we shall be very strongly possessed with the general importance of the territorial dominions of the church. What were the necessities that compelled the popes to have recourse to those singular kinds of loan, which entailed such an immediate burden on the resources of their country ? They were, for the most part, the necessities of catholicism. As the time of purely political tendencies was gone by, there were none other which the popes could aim at carrying out but those of an ecclesiastical nature. The support of the catholic powers in their struggle against the Protestants, and in their enterprises against the Turks, was now almost always the immediate inducement to financial operations. The monte founded by Pius V. was called "*monte lega*," because the capital derived from it was applied to the Turkish war, which that pope undertook in league with Spain and Venice. This became still more and more the case. Every European commotion affected the states of the church in this manner. On almost every occasion they were constrained to contribute

\* Bull. : *Decens esse censemus* : 5 Sept. 1513. Bull. Cocqu. iv. i. 225.

† Bull of Paul IV. *Cupientes indemnitate* : 15 April, 1559. Bullar. Cocq. iv. i. 358. *Exactio, causantibus diversis exceptionibus, libertatibus, et immunitatibus a solutione ipsius subsidii diversis communitatibus et universitatibus et particularibus personis, necnon civitatibus, terris, oppidis, et locis nostri status ecclesiastici concessis, et factis diversarum portionum ejusdem subsidii donationibus seu remissionibus, vix ad dimidium summæ trecentorum millium scutorum hujusmodi ascendit.* [In consequence of various exceptions, liberties, and immunities from the payment of the subsidy granted to divers communities, universities, and individuals, moreover to cities, lands, towns, and places in our ecclesiastical state, and donations or remissions being made of divers portions of the said subsidy, the net proceeds hardly amount to half the gross sum of three hundred thousand crowns.]

‡ Instructione per vol. Monsignore d'Imola : ultimo di Marzo, 1551. *Informationi Politiche*, tom. xii.

\* Il papa a Giovamb. di Monte, 2 April, 1552.

through some new exaction to the defence of the ecclesiastical interests. For this reason was the possession of these temporal states of such moment as regarded the ecclesiastical position of the popes.

For they were not content with the monti alone, but kept up the old contrivances also. They continually created new places, or cavalierate with special privileges; whether it was that the salaries were covered as before by new taxes, or that the fall in the value of gold, which then began to be very obvious, caused larger amounts to flow into the treasury\*.

Hence it happened, that the revenues of the popes, after the short depression under Paul IV., occasioned by his wars, continued constantly to rise. Even under Paul they increased again to 700,000 scudi; under Pius they were reckoned at 898,482 scudi. Paul Tiepolo expresses his astonishment at finding them, after an absence of nine years, augmented in the year 1576 by 200,000 scudi, and amounting to 1,100,000. It was a curious fact, however, though inevitable under the circumstances of the case, that the popes did not receive more money in consequence of this rise in their revenues. The alienations kept pace with the taxes. It is calculated that Julius III. alienated 54,000 scudi of income, Paul IV. 45,960, and Pius IV., who made the most of every thing, as much as 182,550. Pius IV. also increased the number of saleable offices to three thousand five hundred, exclusively, of course, of the Monti, which were not counted as belonging to the offices†. The amount of alienated revenue reached 450,000 scudi; it was continually on the increase; in the year 1576 it had grown to 530,000 scudi. Great as had been the increase of income, this swallowed up nearly the half of it‡.

The tables of the papal revenues about this time present a remarkable aspect. After naming the sum which the farmers of the revenue had contracted to pay (the contracts were generally for periods of nine years), they also state what portion of those sums was alienated. The dogana of Rome, for instance, yielded in 1576 and the following years the considerable sum of 133,000 scudi; of this, however, 111,170 scudi were assigned; other deductions occurred; and, finally, the camera received only 13,000 scudi. Some taxes upon corn, meat, and wine, were wholly swallowed up by the monti. From several provincial chests, called treasuries, which likewise had to meet the exigencies of the provinces,—for instance, from the March and from Camerino,—not a bajocco reached the papal camera; and yet the sussidio was often applied to the same use. Nay, such heavy incumbrances were laid on the alum-works of Tolfa, which had formerly been reckoned a superior

source of revenue, that there was actually a deficit of 2000 scudi\*.

The pope's personal expenses, and the maintenance of his court, were charged principally upon the dataria, which had two several sources of income. The one was more peculiarly ecclesiastical, consisting of compositions and fixed fines, for which the datario permitted various canonical irregularities on the translation from one benefice to another. These profits had been very much contracted by the rigorous measures of Paul IV., but they gradually increased again. The other was of a more secular character, growing out of the appointments to vacant "Cavaliere," saleable offices and places in the "monti vacabili," and augmenting in proportion as the number of these increased†. About the year 1570, however, both these sources of revenue together were no more than sufficient barely to meet the daily expenses of the household.

This course of things had placed the states of the church in a wholly altered position. Whereas they had formerly boasted of being the least burdened of all those of Italy, they were now as badly off as the rest, nay worse‡; and the inhabitants were loud in their complaints. But little remained of the ancient municipal liberties; the administration was become more and more systematic and uniform. In former times the rights of government had frequently been conceded to favoured cardinals and prelates, who made no inconsiderable profit of them. The pope's countrymen, the Florentines under the Medici, the Neapolitans under Paul IV., the Milanese under Pius IV., had then monopolized the best places. Pius V. put an end to this system. Those favourites had never personally conducted the governments committed to them, but had always left them in the hands of a doctor of laws§; Pius V. himself appointed this doctor, and appropriated to the camera the advantages that had before accrued to the favourites. Every thing proceeded with more order and quiet. In earlier times a militia had been established in

\* E. G. Entrata della reverenda camera apostolica sotto il pontificato di N. S. Gregorio XIII. fata nel anno 1576. MS. Gothana, No. 219.

† According to Mocenigo, 1560, the dataria had formerly yielded between 10,000 and 14,000 ducats per month. Under Paul IV. the proceeds fell to 3000 or 4000 ducats.

‡ Paulo Tiepolo, Relazione di Roma in tempo di Pio IV. e Pio V., says at that time:—"L'imposizione allo stato ecclesiastico è gravezza quasi insopportabile per essere per diversi altri conti molto aggravato; . . . d'alienare più entrate della chiesa non vi è più ordine, perchè quasi tutte l'entrate certe si trovano già alienate e sopra l'incerto non si trovaria chi desse danari." [The incumbrances on the ecclesiastical states are a burden almost insupportable, being aggravated from various other causes: . . . there is no possibility of making any further alienation of church revenues; for almost all the certain revenues are already alienated, and no one would advance money upon an uncertainty.]

§ Tiepolo. Ibid. Qualche governo o legatione rispondeva sino a tre, quattro o forse sette mila e più scudi l'anno. E quasi tutti allegramente ricevendo il denaro si scaricavano del peso del governo col mettere un dottore in luogo loro. [Each government, or legation, was worth three, four, or, perhaps, seven thousand scudi, and more, annually. In almost every instance the persons appointed eagerly receiving the money, relieved themselves of the burden of the government, deputing a doctor in their stead.]

\* Thus, about 1580, many "luoghi di monte" stood at 100 instead of 130: the interest of the "vacabili" was depressed from 14 to 9, whereby a great saving was effected on the whole.

† Lista degli ufficii della corte Romana, 1560; Bibl. Chigi, N. II. 50. Many other separate lists of different years.

‡ Tiepolo reckons, that besides 100,000 scudi for salaries, 270,000 were spent on fortifications and nunciatures, so that the pope still had 200,000 left. He calculates, that under the pretext of the necessities of the Turkish war the popes had received 1,800,000 scudi, and had only expended 340,000 in that way.

the country, and 16,000 men enrolled: Pius IV. had maintained a corps of light cavalry: Pius V. abolished both the one and the other; he disbanded the cavalry, and suffered the militia to fall into disuse. His whole armed force did not amount to 500 men; 350 of whom, chiefly Swiss, were stationed in Rome. Had it not been for the necessity of defending the coasts against the assaults of the Turks, the people would have quite forgotten the use of arms. That warlike population seemed disposed to become wholly peaceful. The popes wished to rule their country like a great domain, the rents of which should in part be applied to the advantage of their own households, but the main portion be devoted to the exigencies of the church.

We shall see that in this design they again encountered great difficulties.

*The Times of Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V.*

GREGORY XIII.

Gregory XIII.—Hugo Buoncompagno of Bologna—who had risen to eminence as a jurist and in the civil service, was of a cheerful and jovial nature. He had a son, who was born to him before indeed he had assumed the clerical character, but not in wedlock. Though he afterwards led a regular life, he was at no time over-scrupulous, and to a certain kind of sanctimony he rather manifested his dislike. He seemed disposed to follow the example of Pius IV., whose ministers he forthwith recalled, rather than that of his immediate predecessor\*. But in this pope was exemplified the constraining influence of public opinion. A hundred years earlier he would have reigned at most like an Innocent VIII.; now, on the contrary, a man, even such as he, could no longer resist the severe ecclesiastical spirit of the times.

There was a party at court that had made it its primary business to maintain and defend that spirit. It consisted of the jesuits, the theatines, and their friends. We meet with the names of Monsignori Frumento and Corniglia, the fearless preacher Francis Toledo, and the datary Contarelli. They obtained command over the pope the more readily, as they acted in combination. They represented to him, that the consideration Pius V. had enjoyed was owing principally to his personal conduct. In all the letters they read to him, nothing was talked of but the memory of the holy life of the departed, and the fame of his reforms and his virtues. They suppressed every expression of an opposite character. They gave the ambition of Gregory XIII. a thoroughly ecclesiastical colouring†.

He had it much at heart to promote his son, and to elevate him to princely rank. But upon the very first mark of favour he showed him (he named

him castellan of St. Angelo, and gonfaloniere of the church), the rigorous friends alarmed his conscience. During the jubilee of 1575 they would not tolerate Giacomo's presence in Rome: it was not till it was over, they consented to his return, and then only because the aspiring young man's health suffered from his vexation. Gregory then caused him to marry, and effected his nomination by the Venetians as one of their nobili\*, and by the king of Spain as general of his *hommes d'armes*. But he continued to keep him sedulously under restraint. When the young man once went so far as to liberate one of his university friends from arrest, the pope again banished him, and threatened to deprive him of all his offices. The young wife's prostrate entreaties hindered this, but all loftier hopes were gone for many a day‡. It was not till the pope's last years that Giacomo recovered his influence over his father, and not even then in important matters of state, or unrestrictedly§. When his intercession was solicited by any one, he shrugged his shoulders.

If this was the case with the pope's son, how much less might his other relations venture to hope for irregular favours or for a share of authority! Gregory admitted two of his nephews to the cardinalate; even Pius V. had done something similar; but a third, who thought to assume the same rank, he refused to admit to an audience, and compelled him to begone within two days. The pope's brother had set out to enjoy a sight of the good fortune that had befallen his house: he had already reached Orvieto, when he was met by a messenger from the court, ordering him to turn back. Tears started into the old man's eyes, and he could not forego advancing a little further on his way to Rome: upon a second order, however, he retraced his steps to Bologna§.

In short, this pope cannot be charged with nepotism, or undue favouring of his family. When a newly-appointed cardinal told him that he would

\* They had the difficult task on this occasion of declaring his birth. It has been praised as an instance of Venetian address that they called him Signor Giacomo Buoncompagno, closely connected with his holiness. This was really the expedient of Cardinal Como. When the matter was under discussion, the ambassador asked the minister, whether Giacomo was to be designated as the son of his holiness.

“ S. Sgrta. Illma. prontamente dopo aver scuato con molte parole il fatto di S. Sa. che prima che avesse alcuno ordine ecclesiastico, generasse questo figliuolo, disse: che si potrebbe nominarlo per il Sr. Jacomo Buoncompagno Bolognese, strettamente congiunto con Sua Santità.” Disparcio Paolo Tiepolo, 3 Marzo, 1574. [His excellency, immediately after making profuse excuses for his holiness, who had begotten that son before he had taken any ecclesiastical orders, said that he might be called Sr. Jacomo Buoncompagno of Bologna, closely connected with his holiness.]

† Antonio Tiepolo: Disparci Agosto Sett. 1576. In the year 1583 (29th of March) it is said in one of these dispatches, “ Il Sr. Giacomo non si lascia intronettere in cosa di stato.” [Sr. Giacomo is not allowed to interfere in matters of state.]

‡ It is to this last period only of Gregory's life that judgment is applicable, which has taken such firm root, and which I find, for instance, in the *Memoires de Richelieu*: “ Prince doux et benin fut meilleur homme que bon pape.” [A mild and beneficent prince, he was better as a man than as a pope.] It will be seen in how limited a degree this is true.

§ The good man complained that his brother's advancement to the papacy was more hurtful than advantageous to himself; since it obliged him to greater expenses than were covered by the allowance made him by Gregory.

\* It was expected his reign would be different from that of his predecessor: “ mitiori quadam hominumque captui accommodatiori ratione ” [of a milder and more conciliating character]. *Commentarii de rebus Gregorii XIII.* (MS. Bibl. Alb.)

† *Relazione della corte di Roma a tempo di Gregorio XIII.* (Bibl. Corsini, 714.) 20th Febr. 1574, is very instructive on this head. Of the pope's disposition, the author says:—“ Non è stato scrupoloso né dissoluto mai, e le son dispiaciute le cose mal fatte.” [He has never been scrupulous or dissolute, and he looks with displeasure on misconduct.]

be grateful to the house, and the nephews of his holiness, he struck the arms of his chair with both hands, exclaiming, "You must be grateful to God, and to the holy see!"

So deeply was he already penetrated by the religious spirit of the times. He sought not only to equal, but even to surpass Pius V. in evidences of piety\*. In the first years of his pontificate he himself read mass thrice every week, and never omitted to do so on Sunday. His life and deportment were not only blameless, but edifying.

No pope ever discharged certain duties of his office more faithfully than Gregory. He kept a list of men of all countries who were fit for the episcopal dignity: he proved himself well informed respecting every one proposed to him, and sought to conduct the nominations to those important offices with the utmost care.

Above all, he devoted his earnest endeavours to promote a strict system of ecclesiastical education. He aided the progress of the jesuit colleges with extraordinary liberality. He made considerable presents to the establishment of professed members in Rome; and purchased houses, closed up streets, and allotted revenues for the purpose of giving the whole college the form it wears to this day. It was calculated to contain twenty lecture-rooms, and three hundred and sixty cells for students; it was called, "The Seminary of all Nations." Upon its first foundation, in order to signify its purpose of embracing the whole world within its scope, twenty-five speeches were delivered, in as many different languages, each immediately accompanied by a Latin translation†. The Collegium Germanicum, which was founded earlier, had fallen into a critical condition, from the failure of its funds; the pope granted it not only the San Apollinare palace, and the revenues of San Stefano on Monte Celio, but 10,000 scudi besides, from the apostolic treasury. Gregory may be regarded as the proper founder of this institution, from which, since that day, a vast number of champions of catholicism have year by year been sent into Germany. He also founded an English college in Rome, and found means to endow it. He aided the colleges in Vienna and Grätz out of his privy purse; and there was probably not a jesuit school in the world that had not cause in some way or other to applaud his liberality. By the advice of the bishop of Sitia he founded a Greek college likewise, in which young people from thirteen to sixteen years of age were received, not merely from lands already under Christian rule, such as Corfu and Candia, but also from Constantinople, the Morea, and Salonichi. They had Greek teachers, wore the caftan and the Venetian baret; they were to be kept thoroughly Greek, and the thought was always to be impressed upon them that they were to return to their native land. Their own ritual was to be retained as well as their language; and the instruction to be given them was modelled on the principles laid down by the council,

in which the Greek and Latin churches had been united\*.

Gregory's reform of the calendar was another instance of his comprehensive care for the whole catholic world. The measure had been desired by the council of Trent, and it was rendered unavoidable by the removal of the high festivals of the church from the connexion with seasons of the year imposed upon them by decrees of councils. All catholic nations took part in this reform. Luigi Lilio, a Calabrian, in other respects little known, won for himself immortal memory by his suggestion of the easiest method of overcoming the difficulty. His proposal was communicated to every university, among others to those of Salamanca and Alcalá, and opinions were collected from every quarter. A commission in Rome, the most active and best-informed member of which was the German Clavius†, then subjected the plan to a fresh investigation, and passed the final decision. The learned cardinal Sirleto had the greatest influence over the whole course of the proceedings. A certain degree of mystery was observed; the new calendar was shown to no one, not even to the ambassadors, until it had been approved by the several courts‡. Thereupon it was solemnly published by Gregory. He extols the reform as a proof of God's infinite grace to his church§.

But this pope's efforts were not all of so peaceful a nature. It gave him deep concern that the Venetians in the first place concluded a peace, and subsequently, even king Philip II. made a truce with the Turks. Had it rested with him, the league that had won the victory of Lepanto would never have been dissolved. The disturbances in the Netherlands and in France, and the collision of parties in Germany, opened a wide field for his exertions. He was indefatigable in efforts against the Protestants. The insurrections queen Elizabeth had to subdue in Ireland were almost all instigated by Rome. The pope made no secret of his wish to bring about a general combination against England. Year after year his nuncios negotiated on this subject with Philip II. and the Guises. It would not be uninteresting, were a connected history composed of all those negotiations and endeavours, which were often unknown to those for whose ruin they were intended, and which led at last to the great enterprise of the Armada. Gregory plied them with the most ardent zeal. The French league, which was so dangerous to Henri III. and Henri IV., owed its origin to the connexion between this pope and the Guises.

Little as Gregory XIII. burdened the state for the sake of his relations, it yet follows of course, from the comprehensiveness and the costly nature of his undertakings, that he did not spare the public revenues. Even Stukeley's expedition, which ended

\* Dispaccio Antonio Tiepolo, 16 Marzo, 1577. "Accio che fatto maggiori possano affezionatamente e con la verità imparata dar a vedere suoi Greci la vera via." [So that when grown up, they may with affectionate zeal, and with the aid of the truth they shall have acquired, demonstrate the true faith to their Greek countrymen.]

† Erythreus, "In quibus Christophorus Clavius principem locum obtinebat."

‡ Dispaccio Donato, 20 Dec. 1581. 2 Giugno, 1582. He praises the cardinal as an "uomo veramente di grande letteratura." [A man of truly great learning.]

§ Bull of the 13th Feb. 1582, § 12. Bullar. Coeq. iv. 4, 10.

\* Seconda relatione dell'ambasciatore di Roma Cmo. M. Paolo Tiepolo Cavre, 3 Maggio, 1575. Nella religione ha tolto non solo d'imitar, ma ancora d'avanzar Piu V.: dice per l'ordinario almeno tre volte messa alla settimana. Ha avuto particolare cura dell'chiese, facendole non solo con fabbriche et altri modi ornar, ma ancora colla assistentia e frequentia di preti accrescer nel culto divino.

† Dispaccio, Donato, 13 Genn. 1582.

so disastrously, in Africa, trifling as it was, absorbed a considerable sum. He once sent Charles IX. four hundred thousand ducats, the proceeds of a direct tax on the towns of the ecclesiastical states. He frequently furnished subsidies to the emperor, and to the grand-master of Malta. But even his pacific enterprises required considerable sums. It was calculated that the aid afforded to young men pursuing their studies cost him two millions\*. How much then must he have expended on the twenty-two colleges of the jesuits alone, which owed their origin to him?

Considering the financial condition of his states, which, in spite of an increasing revenue, never exhibited a surplus, he must have frequently found himself involved in embarrassments.

The Venetians, shortly after his accession, made an attempt to induce him to grant them a loan. Gregory listened with augmenting attention to the detailed proposals of the ambassador, and when at last he saw what he was aiming at, he cried out, "What do you mean, sir ambassador? The congregation sits every day to devise means of raising money, and never lights upon any serviceable expedient†."

The secular administration of Gregory XIII. was now become of paramount importance. It was already come to this, that both alienations and imposition of new taxes were regarded as impolitic; the dubious, nay pernicious, results of such a system were fully appreciated. Gregory imposed on the congregation the task of procuring him money, but that neither through ecclesiastical concessions, nor through new taxes, nor through the sale of ecclesiastical revenues.

But what other means than these remained to be tried? The measures devised, and the effects subsequently produced by them, are very deserving of attention.

Gregory, who always carried out to the utmost an absolute idea of right, thought he discovered that the papedom was endowed with many rights, which it had only to assert, to become possessed of new sources of revenue‡. It was not his disposition to respect the privileges that stood in his way. Amongst others, he unhesitatingly abolished that which the Venetians possessed, of exporting corn from the March and from Ravenna under certain advantages, saying it was just that foreigners should pay the same amount of dues as the natives§. Upon the Venetians failing to comply at once with his measures, he caused their warehouses at Vienna to be forcibly broken open, their contents sold by auction, and the owners imprisoned. This, however, was but a small matter; it is merely an indication of the course he was bent on pursuing. It was of much more moment that he thought he discovered a crowd of abuses among the aristocracy

of his own dominions, the abolition of which would be profitable to the papal treasury. Rudolfo Bonfiliuolo, the secretary of the treasury, proposed a sweeping extension and renewal of feudal rights, till then hardly thought of. He asserted that a large portion of the castles and estates of the barons had lapsed to the pope; some from the failure of the direct line of succession, some from the neglect to pay the rent due upon them\*. Nothing could be more acceptable to the pope, who had already acquired some such estates by escheat or purchase. He put the scheme forthwith into operation. He wrested, in the highlands of Romagna, Castelnovo from the Isei of Cesena, and Corcana from the Jassatelli of Imola. Lonzano, on its beautiful hill, and Savignano in the plain, were taken from the Rangoni of Modena. Alberto Pio voluntarily surrendered Bertinoro, to avoid the suit with which he was threatened by the treasury, which, however, was not content with that, but divested him likewise of Verucchio and other places. Thereupon he tendered his rent every Peter's-day, but it was never again accepted. All this happened in Romagna alone; and precisely the same course was pursued in the other provinces. Claim was laid not only to estates on which the feudal dues had not been discharged; there were others which had originally been only mortgaged to the barons, though this circumstance had long been forgotten, and they had passed as freehold from hand to hand, and been greatly improved: it was now the pleasure of the pope and his commissioners of the treasury to redeem them. In this way they got possession of the castle of Sitiano, by paying off the original incumbrance of 14,000 scudi, a sum far inferior to its actual value at that time.

The pope congratulated himself much on these proceedings. He thought he possessed a claim the more on the grace of heaven so soon as he had succeeded in raising the revenues of the church by but ten scudi; provided it were without imposition of new taxes. He reckoned with satisfaction that the income of the ecclesiastical dominions had by legal means, within a short space of time, received an augmentation of a hundred thousand scudi. How greatly would this increase his means of proceeding against heretics and infidels? The court for the most part approved his measures. "This pope is named the Watchful," (such is the etymological signification of Gregorius,) says cardinal Como; "he is resolved to watch and retrieve his own†."

Throughout the country, and among the aristocracy, these measures excited, on the contrary, a very different feeling.

Many great families found themselves suddenly ejected from properties they had considered their own by the most legitimated titles; others saw them-

\* Calculation of Baronius. Possevinus in Ciacconius, Vitæ Pontificum, iv. 37. Lorenzo Priuli reckons that he expended yearly 200,000 scudi on *opere pie*. The extracts given by Coqueelines, at the close of Maffei's Annals, from the reports of cardinals Como and Musotti, are most copious and authentic on this head.

† Dispaccio, 14 Marzo, 1573. It is a Congregatione deputata sopra la provisione di danari.

‡ Maffei, Annali di Gregorio XIII. l. p. 104. He calculates that the states of the church yielded a net income of 160,000 scudi only.

§ Dispaccio, Antonio Tiepolo, 12 April, 1577.

\* Dispaccio, A. Tiepolo, 12 Genn. 1579. Il commissario della camera attende con molta diligenza a ritrovare e rivedere scritture per ricuperare quanto dalli pontefici passati si è stato obligato, o data in pegno ad alcuno, e vendendo che S. S. gli assentisse volentieri, non la spargna o porta rispetto ad alcuno.

† Dispaccio, 21 Oct. 1581. Sono molti anni che la chiesa no ha havuto pontefice di questo nome Gregorio, che secondo la sua etimologia greca vuol dire vigilante: questo che è Gregorio è vigilante, vuol vigilare e ricuperare il suo, e li par di far un gran servizio quando ricupera alcuna cosa, benche minima.



selves threatened. Daily search into old papers was made in Rome, and every day new claims were extracted from them. Ere long no man thought himself secure, and many resolved to defend their possessions with the sword, rather than surrender them to the commissioners of the treasury. One of these feudatories once said to the pope, to his face, "What is lost, is lost; but a man has at least some satisfaction when he has stood out in his own defence."

In consequence of the influence of the aristocracy over their peasants and over the nobili of neighbouring towns, the pope's proceedings set the whole country in a ferment.

Moreover, the pope had by other injudicious measures inflicted very painful losses on some towns. He had raised the tolls of Ancona, for instance, on the principle that the advance would fall upon the merchants, and not upon the country. He thus inflicted a blow upon that town, from which it has never recovered. Its commerce suddenly departed, nor was it of much avail that the impost was repealed, and even that their old privileges were restored to the Ragusans.

The consequences that ensued were most unexpected and peculiar.

Obedience in every country, but especially in one so pacific, is founded on a voluntary subordination. The elements of discord were here not removed or suppressed, but merely concealed by the incumbent power of the government. As soon as the principle of subordination gave way in one place, all those elements burst out together, and appeared in full conflict. The country seemed suddenly to remember how warlike, how skilful in arms, how independent in its parties, it had been for centuries; it began to despise its government of priests and doctors, and relapsed into a condition congenial to its nature.

Not that the people directly opposed the government, or rebelled against it, but the old feuds broke out again on all sides.

All Romagna was once more divided by them. In Ravenna the Rasponi and the Leonardi were arrayed against each other; in Rimini, the Ricciardelli and the Tignoli; in Cesena, the Venturelli and the Bottini; in Furl, the Numai and the Sirugli; in Imola, the Vicini and the Sassatelli: the former of all these were Ghibellines; the others, Guelphs; for the old names survived, although the interests originally connected with them had been so wholly changed. The two parties had often distinct quarters and churches; they distinguished themselves by slight signs; the Guelphs wore the feather on the right side of the hat, the Ghibellines on the left\*. The division extended even to the pettiest village: no one would have spared the life of his own brother, had he belonged to the opposite faction. Some there were who put their wives out of the way, that they might marry into a family belonging to their own party. The *pacifici* were no longer serviceable, since favouritism had admitted unfit persons into their body. The factions took the administration of justice into their own

hands, and often declared those persons innocent who had been condemned by the papal tribunals. They broke open the prisons, to liberate their friends, and to assail their enemies, and the heads of the latter were sometimes seen the next day stuck up round the fountains\*.

Public authority being now so weak, the March, Campagna, and all the provinces were infested with troops of outlawed bandits, that swelled into small armies. At their head were Alfonso Piccolomini, Roberto Malatesta, and other young men of the first families. Piccolomini seized the town-house of Monte-abboddo, had all his enemies hunted out and executed before the eyes of their mothers and wives. He put to death nine of the single family of Gabuzio, his followers in the mean while dancing in the market-place. He marched through the country as lord of the land, nor was he even stopped by an attack of the ague, being carried on his bad days on a litter at the head of his troops. He sent a message to the inhabitants of Corneto, desiring them to hasten their harvest; for he was coming to burn up the crops of his enemy Latino Orsino. Personally, he was governed by a sort of principle of honour; he took away a courier's letters, but did not touch the money the man carried: his followers, however, were but the more brutally rapacious. From all sides delegates flocked to Rome, imploring help on behalf of the towns†. The pope augmented his forces, and gave cardinal Sforza more ample plenary powers than ever had been possessed by any one since cardinal Albornoz: he was to proceed not only without regard to any privilege, but even without being bound by any rule of law, or observing any form of process, *manu regia*‡. Giacomo Boncompagno took the field, and they succeeded indeed in dispersing the bands of robbers, and clearing the country of them; but as soon as their backs were turned, all the old mischiefs broke out as freshly as before.

A particular circumstance contributed greatly to make these incurable.

Gregory, who is often represented as good-natured to excess, had yet asserted his ecclesiastical as well as his secular rights with rigour§. He spared

\* In the MS. Sixtus V. Pontifex M. (Bibl. Altieri in Rome) is the most detailed description of this state of things. An extract is given in the Appendix, No. 52.

† Dispacci Donato, del 1582, passim.

‡ Brief for Sforza, given in the Dispacci: Omnimodam facultatem, potestatem, auctoritatem, et arbitrium, contra quoscunque bannitos facinorosos receptatores fautores complices et sequaces, etc. necnon contra communitates universitates et civitates terras et castra et alios cujuscunque dignitatis vel preeminentie, Barones Duces et quovis auctoritate fungentes, et extrajudicialiter et juris ordine non servato, etiam sine processu et scripturis et manu regia, illosque omnes et singulos puniendi tam in rebus in bonis quam in personis.

§ Already in 1576, P. Trepolo takes notice of this. Quanto piu cerca d'acquistarsi nome di guisto, tanto piu lo perde di gratuito, perche concede molto meno gratie extraordinarie di quel che ha fatto altro pontefice di molti anni in qua:—la qual cosa aggiunta al mancamento ch'è in lui di certi officii grati et accetti per la difficultà massimamente naturale che ha nel parlar, e per le pochissime parole che in ciascuna occasione usa, fa ch'egli in gran parte manca in quella gratia appresso le persone. [The more he strives to acquire the title of Just, the more he loses that of Gracious, because he grants much fewer extraordinary favours than any pope

\* The Relazione di Romagna points out the differences, 'nel tagliar del pane, nel cingersi, in portare il pennacchio, fiocco o fiore al capello o all'orecchio' [in cutting bread, wearing the belt, the feather, locks or flowers in the hair or in the ear].

neither the emperor nor the king of Spain, and paid no deference to his neighbours. He was involved in a thousand disputes with Venice with respect to the affairs of Aquileia, the visitation of their churches, and other points: the ambassadors cannot describe his violence, the intense bitterness he manifested whenever these subjects were touched upon. The same was the case as to Tuscany and Naples; Ferrara found no favour; Parma had shortly before lost considerable sums in litigation with him. All these neighbours exulted at seeing the pope involved in such unpleasant perplexities, and unhesitatingly gave shelter to the bandits, who then, as soon as opportunity offered, returned to the states of the Church. The pope entreated them, in vain, to desist from this conduct: they thought it curious that Rome should treat all others with indifference and contempt, and then lay claim to service and respect at the hands of every one\*.

Thus Gregory was never able to lay hold on the outlaws of his dominions. The taxes ceased to be paid, the sussidio was not collected. Universal discontent settled upon the country. Even cardinals asked themselves the question, whether it were not better to attach themselves to some other state.

Under these circumstances, the further prosecution of the treasury secretary's measures was not to be thought of. In December, 1581, the Venetian ambassador distinctly announced that the pope had put a stop to all proceedings in matters of confiscation.

He was forced to allow Piccolomini to come to Rome and present a petition to him†. A shudder crept over him as he read the long list of murders he was called on to forgive, and he laid it on the table: but he was told that one of three things was inevitable; either his son Giacomo must expect death at the hand of Piccolomini, or he must put Piccolomini to death, or extend forgiveness to him. The father confessors of St. John Lateran declared that, although they durst not violate the secrets of the confessional, thus much they were at liberty to say, if something was not done, a great calamity was at hand. Besides this, Piccolomini was openly favoured by the grand duke of Tuscany, and then inhabited the Medici palace. At last the pope consented, but with a deeply mortified heart, and signed the brief of absolution.

But the act did not restore tranquillity. His own capital was full of bandits. Things arrived

at such a pass, that the city magistracy of the "conservatori" were obliged to interpose, to procure obedience to the pope's police. A certain Marianazzo rejected the proffered pardon, saying it was more advantageous for him to live as a bandit, and safer too\*.

The aged pope, weak and weary of life, looked up to heaven, and cried, "Thou wilt arise, O Lord, and have mercy upon Zion!"

#### SIXTUS V.

It would seem at times as if there were in turbulence and disorder some secret virtue that brings forth the man who is fitted to control them.

Whilst throughout the world hereditary sovereignties or aristocracies transmitted their power from generation to generation, it was the distinguishing characteristic of the ecclesiastical sovereignty, that it offered the opportunity of rising from the lowest to the highest grade of human society. From the very humblest class the pope now arose, who possessed the power and every natural quality requisite for putting an end to all the disorders that prevailed.

On the first successful incursions of the Ottomans into the Illyrian and Dalmatian provinces, many of their inhabitants fled to Italy. They were seen arriving in groups, and sitting on the shore with their hands outstretched to heaven. It is probable that Zanetto Peretti, the ancestor of Sixtus V. and a Slavonian, was one of these refugees. As commonly happens with exiles, neither he nor his posterity, who settled in Montalto, could boast of much prosperity in the country of their adoption. Peretto Peretti, the father of Sixtus, was even forced by debt to leave that town; nor was it till after his marriage that he was in a condition to rent a garden in Grotto a Mare, near Fermo. This was a remarkable locality. Among the plants of the garden were discoverable the ruins of a temple of Cupra, the Etruscan Juno; there was no lack of the finest fruits of the South; Fermo, at that time, enjoying a milder climate than the rest of the Marchi. In this place a son was born to Peretti, on the 18th of Dec. 1521. It had shortly before appeared to him in a dream, that whilst he was bewailing his many vexations, a sacred voice had comforted him with the assurance that he was to have a son who should make the fortune of his house. He caught at this hope with all the alacrity of a visionary temperament, whose natural proneness to mysticism had been exalted by want, and he named the boy Felix†.

\* "Che il viver fuor uscito li torni plu a conio e di maggior securità." Gregory reigned from May 13, 1572, to April 10, 1585.

† Tempesti, Storia della vita e geste di Sisto V., 1754, has given the result of his investigations of the archives of Montalto respecting the descent of his hero. The Vita Sixti V., ipsius manu emendata, is also authentic. MS. in the Bibl. Altieri in Rome. Sixtus was born, "cum pater Ludovici Vecchii Firmani hortum excoleret, mater Dianæ nurri ejus peronestæ matrone domesticis ministeriis operam daret" [whilst his father cultivated the garden of Ludovico Vecchio of Fermo, and his mother aided his housekeeper, Diana, a very virtuous matron, in domestic duties]. This Diana lived to witness the pontificate of Sixtus, at a very advanced age. "Anus senio confecta Romanæ deferri voluit, cupida venerari

for many years past;—which circumstance, joined to his deficiency in certain winning arts, arising from the difficulty, chiefly natural, which he feels in expressing himself, and from the very few words he uses on every occasion, are the causes in a great measure that he is thus wanting in personal favour.]

\* Dispaccio, Donato, 10 Set. 1581. "E una cosa grande che con non dar mal satisfatione nissuna si pretende d' avere da altro in quello che tocca alla libertà dello stato suo correntemente ogni sorte d' ossequio."

† Donato, April 9, 1583. "Il sparagnar la spesa e l' assicurar il Signor Giacomo, che lo desiderava, et il fuggir l' occasione di disgustarsi ogn di piu per questo con Firenze, sì come ogni di avveniva, ha fatto venir S. S. in questa resolutione. [The saving of expense, and the security of Signor Giacomo, who desired it, and the wish to avoid further cause of quarrel with Florence, such as was every day arising, induced the pope to this step.]



What were the circumstances of the family, is plain enough, when we learn, for instance, that the child once fell into a pond, and was pulled out of it by his aunt who was washing there; that he was obliged to watch fruit, and even to tend swine. He learned his letters out of the primers which the other boys laid down beside him, as they passed through the fields on their way to and from school: his father could not muster the five bajocchi, demanded monthly by the nearest schoolmaster. Fortunately there was a member of the family in orders, Fra Salvatore, a Franciscan, who was at last prevailed on to pay the school-money. Young Felix now went to receive instruction with the rest, carrying with him a piece of bread, which he used to eat at noon, sitting by the fountain, with the water of which he washed down his meal. In spite of such cheerless circumstances, the father's hopes were soon shared by the son. When the latter entered the Franciscan order at the early age of twelve,—for as yet there was no decree of the council of Trent to forbid such premature vows,—he retained his name of Felix. Fra Salvatore treated him with great strictness, exercising the authority both of an uncle and a father; but he also sent him to school. Felix often studied supperless, by the light of a lantern in the cross-roads, or, when that had gone out, by a lamp burning before the host in the church. We do not find that he gave any direct indications of an original tendency to devotional feeling or to profound science: we only learn that he made rapid progress both in the school at Fermo, and in the schools and universities of Ferrara and Bologna: he took his degrees with very great credit. He displayed a particular talent for dialectics, and he made himself master in a high degree of the monkish accomplishment of treating intricate theological questions. In the general convention of the Franciscans in the year 1549, in which literary contests were also exhibited, he encountered with address and presence of mind a Telescan, Antonio Persico of Calabria, who was then in high repute in Perugia\*. This was the first thing that brought him somewhat into notice; from that time cardinal Pio of Carpi, the protector of the order, took a lively interest in him.

But his high fortune is ascribable more particularly to another incident.

In the year 1552, he preached the Lent sermons in the church of the Santi Apostoli in Rome, with

the greatest success. His style was considered animated, copious, and fluent; his language free from meretricious ornament, his matter well arranged, and his utterance distinct and pleasing. Once on this occasion, in presence of the whole congregation, as he paused in the midst of his discourse, according to the custom in Italy, and after taking breath, read the memorials presented, which usually contain entreaties and intercessions, he lighted on one which was found lying sealed on the pulpit, and the contents of which were of a widely different kind. All the main points of the sermons already preached by Peretti were set down in it, particularly those relating to predication, and beside each stood in large letters, "Thou liest." Peretti could not wholly conceal his surprise; he hastened to conclude his discourse, and immediately on reaching home sent the paper to the Inquisition\*. He very speedily saw the grand inquisitor Michele Ghislieri enter his room. The most searching examination began. Peretti used often afterwards to tell how much he had been frightened by the aspect of that man, with his stern brows, his deep set eyes, and his strongly marked features. He collected himself, however, answered satisfactorily, and without committing himself. When Ghislieri saw that the monk was not only guiltless, but so versed and so firmly rooted in catholic doctrine, he was like another man, embraced Peretti with tears, and became his second patron.

From that period Fra Felice Peretti adhered to the strict party, which was just then arisen in the church. He maintained an intimate intercourse with Ignatio, Telino, and Filippo Neri, who all three won the title of saints. The opposition he encountered in his order, which he sought to reform, and his expulsion once from Venice by the brethren, only increased his credit with the representatives of the dominant opinions. He was presented to Paul IV., and was often consulted by him on occasions of difficulty. He laboured as a theologian in the congregation for the council of Trent, and as consultor attached to the inquisition; and he had a considerable share in the condemnation of the archbishop Carranza, patiently undergoing the drudgery of searching out those passages in the writings of the protestants, which Carranza had adopted into his own. He won the implicit confidence of Pius V., who named him vicar-general of the Franciscans, expressly with a view to his reforming the order; and this, indeed, Peretti effected with a high hand. He deposed the commissioners-general, who had hitherto exercised the highest authority in the order, restored the ancient constitution, according to which the latter was vested in the provincials, and held the most rigid visitations. Pius saw his expectations not only fulfilled, but surpassed; he regarded the liking he entertained for Peretti, as a kind of divine inspiration; without heeding the calumnies with which he

*eum in summo rerum humanarum fastigio positum, quem olitoris sui filium paupere vietu domi suæ natum aluerat.*" [The decrepid old woman desired to be carried to Rome, that she might offer homage, in his topmost elevation, to him whom she had known as the son of her gardener, born, and humbly nurtured in her house.] Further, "*Pavise puerum pectus et Picentes memorant, et ipse adeo non diffidetur ut etiam præ se ferat.*" [The people of Piceno relate that the boy tended cattle, and he himself far from denying it, boasts that it was so.] In the Ambrosiana R. there is F. Radice dell' origine di Sisto V., an Information, dated Rome, May 4, 1585, which, however, does not contain much.

\* Sixtus V. Pontifex Maximus: MS. Bibl. Altieri. Eximia Persicus apud omnes late fama Perusie philosophiam ex Telesii placitis cum publice doceret, novitate doctrinæ tum primum nascentis nativum ingenii lumen mirifice illustrabat. Montaltus ex universa theologia excerptas positiones cardinali Carpeni inscriptas tanta cum ingenii laude defendit, ut omnibus admirationi fuerit.

\* Narrative in the same MS. Jam priorem orationis partem exegerat, cum oblatum libellum resignat, et tacitus, ut populo summam exponat, legere incipit. Quotquot ad eam diem catholicæ fidei dogmata Montaltus pro concione affirmarat, ordine collecta continebat, singulique id tantum addebat, literis grandioribus: Mentiris. Complicatum diligenter libellum, sed ita ut consternationis manifestus non esset, ad pectus dimittit, orationemque brevi præcelsione paucis absolvit.

was pursued, he named him bishop of St. Agatha, and cardinal in the year 1570.

He was also invested with the bishopric of Fermo. Felice Peretti returned in the church's purple to his native place, where he had once watched fruit and swine; still his father's prophecies, and his own hopes, were not yet fully accomplished.

It has been repeated, times without number, what crafty plans cardinal Montalto (so he was now called) employed to reach the tiara, how he affected humility, and tottered along with the help of his stick, bent and coughing:—but the critic will see the *a priori* improbability of all this; it is not by such means that men reach the highest dignities.

Montalto led a quiet, frugal, and diligent life of retirement. His pleasures consisted in planting trees and vines in his vineyard at Santa Maria Maggiore, which is still visited by strangers, and in doing some service to his native town. His more serious hours were occupied with the works of St. Ambrose, which he edited in 1580. With all the diligence he applied to that task, his treatment of his author was yet somewhat arbitrary. For the rest, it does not appear that his character was quite so inoffensive as it has been represented. A report of 1574 already designates Montalto as learned and prudent, but also crafty and malicious\*.

\* A "Discorso sopra i soggetti papabili" under Gregory XIII., says of Montalto: "La natura sua, tenuta terribile, imperiosa et arrogante, non li può punto conciliare la gratia." [His disposition, reputed ferocious, imperious, and arrogant, is by no means fitted to gain him regard.] We see that in his cardinalate he was the same man as he was when pope. Gregory XIII. used to say to those about him, "caveant magnum illum cinerarium." [They should beware of that great grey friar.] The author of Sixtus V. P. M. makes Farnese say, on seeing him between the two dominicans, Trani and Justinian, who also entertained hopes of the papacy: "Nae Picenum hoc jumentum magnifice olim exiliet, si duos illos, quos hinc atque illinc male fert, carbonis saccos excusserit." [That Picenian packhorse will assuredly come out grandly some time or other, if ever he shakes off those two sacks of coal, with which he is encumbered on either side.] He adds, that it was this very anticipation that induced Accorombuona to marry the nephew of Sixtus V. The grand duke Francis of Tuscany had a great part in the election of Sixtus. In a dispatch of Alberti, the Florentine ambassador, of the 11th May, 1585 (Roma Filza, n. 36), it is said, "Vra. Altezza sia sola quella che come conviene goda il frutto dell'opera che ella ha fatta (he means this election) per avere questo Pontefice e non altro, se ne faccia bello." [Your highness alone, as is right, enjoys the fruit of your own work, inasmuch as you alone will have the advantage of this pope's friendship in case of war.] Another Florentine dispatch says, "Il papa replica che il gran duca aveva molte ragioni di desiderargli bene, perché egli era come quel agricoltore che pianta un frutto che ha poi caro insieme di vederlo crescere et andare avanti lungo tempo, aggiugnendoli che egli era stato quello che dopo il Signor Iddio aveva condotta quest'opera, che a lui solo ne aveva ad aver obbligo, e che lo conosceva, se ben di queste cose non poteva parlar con ogn'uno." [The pope replied, that the grand duke had many reasons for wishing his prosperity, since his highness was like the husbandman, who plants a tree, and delights in seeing it long grow and thrive, adding that it was his highness, who under God had conducted this matter, that to him alone he, the pope, was bound in gratitude for the same; that he was aware of this, though he could not speak to every one on the subject.] We see from this that something very peculiar was transacted behind the scenes, of which we know little or nothing. The election took place on the 24th of April, 1585.

But he displayed extraordinary self-command. When his nephew, the husband of Vittoria Accorombuona, was murdered, he was the first who entreated the pope to let the investigation of the matter drop. It was probably this quality, which every one admired, that contributed most to his actual election, when the intrigues of the conclave of 1585 led to his nomination. It was also taken into account, as is stated in the genuine narratives of those proceedings, that all things considered he was still of hale years, his age being sixty-four; and that he was of a strong and healthy constitution. Every one confessed, that, under the circumstances of the times, a man of vigour was above all things necessary.

Thus Fra Felice saw his end attained; and it must have been with an honourable pride that he beheld the gratification of so exalted and so legitimate an ambition as that which had animated him. All those circumstances in which he had ever thought he recognized the indications of a higher destiny, now came before his mind. He chose for his motto: "From my mother's womb, thou, O God, hast been my defender."

And in all his undertakings he believed himself to be under the continual favour and protection of God. Immediately on his ascending the throne, he declared his intention of exterminating the bandits and malefactors. Should his own strength be insufficient thereto, he knew that God would send legions of angels to his aid\*.

He immediately entered on that difficult task with resolution and judgment.

#### *Extirpation of the Baulitti.*

Gregory's memory was repugnant to him, he had no inclination to follow out the measures of that pope. He dismissed the greater part of the troops, and reduced the number of the sbirri by one-half. On the other hand, he resolved on an unsparing punishment of the guilty who should fall into his hands.

The carrying short weapons, especially a kind of gun, had long been prohibited. Four young men of Cora, nearly related to each other, were taken with such weapons upon them. The following day was fixed for the coronation, and the auspicious opportunity was taken to intercede for the young men's pardon. Sixtus replied, "While I live, criminals must die †." That very day all the four were seen hanging on one gallows, by the bridge of St. Angelo.

\* Disparcio, Priuli, 11 Maggio, 1585. Speech of the pope in the consistory. Disse di due cose che lo travagliano la materia della giustizia e della abbondantia, alle quale voleva attendere con ogni cura, sperando in Dio che quando le man cassero li ajuti propri e forastieri, le manderà tante legioni di angeli per punir li malfattori e ribaldi, et esortò li cardinali di non usar le loro franchigie nel dar recapito a tristi, detestando il poco pensier del suo predecessore. [He spoke of two things that engaged his attention; the administration of justice, and the attainment of plenty; to which he would attend with all diligence, trusting in God, that should his own power and other help fail him, He would send him legions of angels to punish malefactors and reprobates; and he exhorted the cardinals not to employ their privileges in sheltering the wicked, expressing his detestation of his predecessor's inconsiderateness.]

† Se vivo facinorosis moriendum esse.

A young Transteverine was condemned to death for having resisted the sbirri who attempted to take away his ass. Every one was filled with pity for the poor lad as he was led weeping to the place of execution, for so small an offence: his youth was represented to the pope, who is said to have answered, "I will add a few years of my life to his," and he caused the sentence to be executed.

These first acts of Sixtus V. struck terror into every one, and gave great force to the orders he now issued.

Barons and communes were commanded to clear their castles and towns of bandits—the losses sustained at the hands of the bandits were to be made good by the lord or the commune in whose jurisdiction they occurred\*.

It had been usual to set a price on the head of a bandit. Sixtus enacted that this should no longer be paid by the treasury, but the bandit's relations, or, if they were insolvent, by the commune in which he was born.

Besides thus obviously engaging the interests of the lords of the soil, the communes, and the kindred, in favour of his purpose, he likewise sought to avail himself of the banditti's own interests. He promised every one who should deliver up a comrade alive or dead, pardon not only for himself, but also for some friends whom he might name, and a gratuity besides in money.

When these regulations had been adopted, and a few examples exhibited of their strict enforcement, the pursuit of the banditti presently assumed another appearance.

It was fortunate that at the very first he was successful with respect to certain captains of bands.

The pope could not rest for thinking that the priest Guercino, who called himself king of Campagna, and who had once forbidden the subjects of the bishop of Viterbo to obey their lord, was still carrying on his practices, and had just committed new acts of plunder. Sixtus prayed, says Galesius, that God would free the states of the church from that robber: on the following morning news arrived that Guercino was captured. His head was stuck upon the bridge of St. Angelo, decked with a gilded crown; the man who brought it received his reward, two thousand scudi; the people applauded his holiness's excellent administration of justice.

Della Fara, for all that, another of these banditti, dared one night to call up the watchmen at the Porta Salara, and desired them to give his respects to the pope and the governor. Thereupon Sixtus commanded his kinsmen, on pain of death, to deliver him up. Before a month was passed, Della Fara's head was brought in.

At times it was something else than justice that was exercised against the banditti.

Thirty of them had ensconced themselves on a hill near Urbino; the duke had mules laden with provisions driven by the place, which the robbers failed not to plunder. But the provisions were poisoned, every man of the thirty died. On being informed of this, says a historian of Sixtus V., the pope was greatly delighted†.

A father and son were led to death in Rome, although they persevered in asserting their inno-

cence. The mother placed herself in the way; she begged only for a short respite, when she could prove that her husband and her son were guiltless. The senator denied her request. "Since then you thirst for blood," she cried, "you shall have your fill of it," and she threw herself out of a window of the capitol. Meanwhile, the two victims reached the place of execution; each wished to be the first to die; the father could not bear to see the death of the son, the son that of the father: the people shrieked for pity; the savage executioner stormed at the useless delay.

No respect of persons was observed. The count Giovanni Pepoli, descended from one of the first families of Bologna, but who was deeply implicated in the deeds of the banditti, was strangled in prison: all his money and estates were confiscated to the treasury. Not a day passed without executions; every where in the woods and in the open fields, stakes were to be seen with the heads of banditti impaled on them. Those legates and governors alone received the pope's encomiums, who satisfied him in this respect, and sent him plenty of heads. There was something of oriental barbarism in this kind of justice.

If there were robbers unreachd by it, they fell by the hands of their own comrades. The pope's promises had sowed disunion among their bands; no one trusted a comrade; they murdered each other\*.

Thus, before a year had passed, the troubles of the Ecclesiastical States were suppressed in their open manifestation, if not stifled at their source. In 1586 it was announced that the last leaders, Monteblandano and Arara, had been put to death.

It was a source of great delight to the pope when ambassadors, as they now arrived at his court, remarked to him, that in every part of his territory they had passed through, they had beheld a country blessed with peace and security†.

#### *Characteristics of the Administration.*

Now as the abuses combated by the pope owed their origin to other causes besides the mere want of vigilant control, the success too of his efforts was connected with other steps that he adopted.

Sixtus is sometimes regarded as the sole founder of the internal system of the Ecclesiastical States: arrangements are attributed to him that had existed long before his day: he is extolled as an incomparable master of finance, a highly unprejudiced statesman, a restorer of antiquity. He possessed a character that stamped itself upon the memories of men, and gave credibility to fabulous and romantic stories.

\* Disp. Priuli, as early as the 29th of June, 1585. Li fuorusciti s'ammazzano l'un l'altro per la provision del novo breve.

† Vita Sixti V. i. m. em. Ea quies et tranquillitas, ut in urbe vasta, in hoc conventu nationum, in tanta peregrinorum adversarumque colluvie, ubi tot nobilium superbie eminent opes, nemo tam tenuis, tam abjectæ fortunæ sit qui se nunc sentiat ejusquam injuriæ obnoxium. [Such is the peace and tranquillity prevailing, that in this great city, in this assemblage of nations, this vast conflux of strangers and immigrants, amidst all the wealth and splendour of so many nobles, there is no one, however feeble, or however lowly his fortune, who need fear wrong or insult at the hand of any man.] According to Gualterius, Vita Sixti V., the latter applied the text, Fugit impius nemine persequente. [The wicked fleeth though no man pursueth.]

\* Bull. t. iv. p. iv. p. 137. Bando, in Tempesti i. ix. p. 14.

† Memorie del Ponteficato di Sisto V.: "Ragguagliato Sisto ne prese gran contento."

But if his administration was not all it has been declared to have been, it was assuredly very remarkable.

In one particular it was strongly contrasted with that of Gregory. The latter pope was severe, decisive, and partial in his general measures; special instances of disobedience he overlooked. The provocation he gave to individual interests on the one hand, and the unparalleled impunity he permitted on the other, were the very causes of the miserable perplexities he had to endure. Sixtus, on the contrary, was inexorable in special cases: he insisted upon the enforcement of his laws with a rigour that bordered upon cruelty; whereas in general measures we find him mild, indulgent, and conciliatory. Under Gregory's rule obedience would have profited nothing, nor resistance been attended with any disadvantage. Under Sixtus, men had every thing to fear the moment they offered to withstand him: on the other hand, they might reckon on proofs of his favour when they strove to please him. Nothing was more efficacious than this in promoting his views.

From the first he let all the bickerings drop in which his predecessor had been involved with his neighbours on account of his ecclesiastical pretensions, declaring that it was incumbent on the pope to uphold and extend the privileges that had been granted to sovereigns. He restored, for instance, to the Milanese the place in the rota which Gregory XIII. had attempted to take from them. When the Venetians at last brought to light a brief which appeared conclusive in favour of their rights in the affair of Aquileia, he expressed his satisfaction. He resolved to suppress the offensive clause in the bull *In Cena Domini*, and he totally abolished the congregation concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction, from which the greater number of disputes had originated\*. There is certainly something magnanimous in voluntarily foregoing contested rights. He forthwith reaped the most fortunate fruits of this conduct. The king of Spain announced to the pope, in an autograph letter, that he had enjoined his ministers in Naples and Milan to obey the commands of the pope no less strictly than his own. Sixtus was moved to tears that the greatest monarch in the world should, as he expressed himself, so honour a poor monk like him. Tuscany manifested its devotedness; Venice was satisfied. Those states now adopted a new line of policy. Banditti who had fled to the neighbouring frontiers were sent from all quarters to the pope. Venice hindered their return into the ecclesiastical states, and forbade her vessels to receive them when they touched at the Roman coasts. The pope was in raptures at this. He said he would remember it to the republic; he would, such were

\* Lorenzo Priuli, *Relatione*, 1586. E pontefice che non così leggermente abbraccia le querelle con principi, anzi per fuggirle ha levata la congregazione della giurisdittione ecclesiastica: (in another place he says, chiefly with reference to Spain.) E stima di potere per questa via concluder con maggior facilità le cose e di sopportare con meno indignità quelle che saranno trattate secretamente da lui solo. [He is a pope who does not readily embark in quarrels with princes; so to avoid these he has suppressed the congregation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, whereby he thinks he can more easily conduct his negotiations, and sustain with less discredit matters secretly managed by himself alone.]

his words, suffer himself to be flayed alive for her, he would give his blood for her. It was in this way he became complete master of the banditti, because they no longer found asylum and aid in any quarter.

In his own dominions likewise he kept far aloof from the severe measures adopted by Gregory in favour of the treasury. After he had banished the offending feudatories, he sought rather to conciliate the other barons and attach them to himself. He bound the two great families of Colonna and Orsini both to his own house and to each other by marriage. Gregory had seized the castles of the Colonnas; Sixtus himself regulated their household expenditure, and made them advances of money. He gave one of his grand-nieces to the constable M. A. Colonna; another, to the duke Virginio Orsini. He bestowed the like dowry on both, and very equal marks of favour; and he adjusted their contending claims for precedence by always according it to the elder of either house. Donna Camilla, the pope's sister, now enjoyed a position of exalted dignity, surrounded by her children, by sons-in-law of such high birth, and by her married grandchildren.

Sixtus took special pleasure in imparting privileges. The people of the March, in particular, had reason to regard him as a benevolent fellow-countryman. He restored some of their ancient immunities to the inhabitants of Ancona: he instituted a supreme tribunal in Macerata for the whole province, and distinguished the college of advocates in that province by the grant of new privileges. He erected Fermo into an archbishopric, Tolentino into a bishopric: the little village of Montalto, in which his ancestors had first taken up their abode, he raised by a special bull to the rank of an episcopal city; "for," said he, "it gave our race its fortunate origin." Already as cardinal he had founded a learned school there, and now as pope he established in the university of Bologna the college of Montalto for fifty students from the March, of whom Montalto alone had the nomination of eight, and even the little Grotto a Mare of two.

He resolved also to erect Loreto into a city. Fontana represented to him the difficulties of the attempt. "Don't give yourself any uneasiness, Fontana," said he, "I found it harder to make up my mind to it than I shall to accomplish it." A part of the land was bought from the inhabitants of Recana; valleys were filled up, hills levelled, lines of streets were marked out; the communes of the March were encouraged to build houses on the

\* *Dispaccio degli Ambasciatori straordinarii*, 15 Ott., 25 Nov. 1585.

† He included the neighbouring villages, too, as part of Montalto. *Vita Sixti V. ipsius manu emendata*. Porculum, Patrignorum, et Mintenorum, quia Montalto haud ferme longius absunt quam ad teli jactum, et crebris affinitatibus inter se et commercijs rerum omnium et agrorum quadam communitate conjunguntur, haud secus quam patrie partem Sixtus fovit semper atque dilexit, omniaque is in commune est elargitus, quo paulatim velut in unam coalescerent civitatem. [Porcula, Patrignoro, and Mintenoro being generally but a bow-shot from Montalto, and being all connected with it by frequent intermarriages, general traffic, and some community of lands, were always cherished and beloved by Sixtus as portions of his native place, and he bestowed all favours on them in common, to the end that they might gradually coalesce as it were into one city.]

spot; cardinal Gallo placed new civil authorities in the holy chapel. By this measure the pope gratified at once his patriotism and his devotion to the blessed Virgin.

The several towns of all the other provinces were likewise objects of his care. He adopted means for controlling the increase of their debts, and set limits to their alienations and mortgages; he caused a strict inquiry to be made into their finances, and to his regulations was ascribable the gradual revival of prosperity among the communities.\*

He every where encouraged agriculture. He undertook to drain the Chiana of Orvieto and the Pontine marshes. The latter he visited in person: the Fiume Sisto, the most useful contrivance with regard to them until the days of Pius VI., owed its origin to him.

The promotion of manufactures was equally an object of his solicitude. A certain Peter of Valencia, a citizen of Rome, had proposed to establish the silk trade. The high-handed measure by which the pope sought to aid him was highly characteristic. He gave orders that throughout his whole dominions, in every garden and vineyard, meadow and grove, hill and valley where no corn grew, mulberry-trees should be planted: he fixed the number at five for every rubbio of land, threatening each commune with a heavy fine in case of non-compliance†. He also sought to promote the woollen manufacture, "so that the poor," as he said, "might have the means of earning something." He aided the first person who undertook the business with funds from the treasury, in return for which he was to deliver a certain number of pieces of cloth.

It would be unjust to the predecessors of Sixtus V. to attribute to him alone projects of this kind. Pius V. and Gregory XIII. likewise favoured agriculture and manufactures. Sixtus distinguished himself not so much by entering on a new course,

\* Gualterius: Ad ipsarum (universitatum) statum cognoscendum, corrigendum, constituendum, quinque camera apostolicæ clericos misit. [He sent five members of the apostolic chamber to inquire into the state of the universities, and to amend and organize them.] The Memoire also afford evidence of the utility of these measures. Con le quali provisioni si diede principio a rehaversi le comunità dello stato ecclesiastico: le quali poi de tutto ritornarono in piedi: con quanto l'istesso provvedimento perfezionò Clemente VIII. [These arrangements were the beginning of a better condition of things in the communities of the Italian states, which subsequently recovered themselves in general; so much did Clement VIII. complete the same judicious measures.]

† Cum silent accepimus, 28 Maii, 1586. Bull. Cocq. Jv. 4, 218. Gualterius: Bombicinam, sericam, lanificiam, vitreamque artes in urbem vel induxit vel amplificavit. Ut vero serica res frequentior esset, mororum arborum seminaria et plantaria per universam ecclesiasticam ditionem fieri precepit, ob eamque rem Maino, cuidam Hebræo, ex bombicibus bis in anno fructum et sericam amplificatorem sedulo pollicenti ac recipienti, maxima privilegia impertivit. [He introduced into the city, or extended, the culture of silk-worms, and the silk, woollen, and glass-making arts. But the silk trade being the most in vogue, he caused nurseries and plantations of mulberry-trees to be made throughout all the ecclesiastical states, and for the same reason bestowed vast privileges on a certain Jew, named Maino, who produced two sets of cocoons annually from silk-worms, and promised sedulously to enlarge the manufacture of silk.]

as by the more rapid and successful impetus he gave to one already begun. This it was that fixed his name in the memory of men.

The assertion that he founded the congregations of cardinals must not be taken in an unequalled sense. The seven most important, those regarding the inquisition, the index, the affairs of councils, the bishops, the monks, the segnatura, and the consulta, were already established. Nor was the state wholly neglected in their constitution; the last two named embraced matters of justice and administration. Sixtus now resolved to add eight new congregations to those already existing, of which, however, only two were to occupy themselves with ecclesiastical matters; the one with the establishment of new bishoprics, the other with the maintenance and renovation of church usages\*: the other six were intended to apply to special branches of the administration,—corn laws, roads, repeal of oppressive taxes, building of ships-of-war, the Vatican press, and the university of Rome†. It is obvious with how little regard to system the pope proceeded in this; how much alike he dealt with permanent and transient interests: nevertheless his arrangements worked well, and have, with slight modifications, endured for centuries.

He fixed a high standard for the personal character of the cardinals. They were all to be distinguished men, their morals exemplary, their words oracles, their judgments rules of life and opinion for other men; they were to be the salt of the earth, the lights set on the candlestick‡. It must not be imagined, for all that, that on every occasion he exercised the right of nomination very conscientiously. In favour of Gallo, whom he raised to that dignity, he had nothing to allege but that he was his servant, for whom he had much reason to feel regard, and who had once entertained him well on a journey§. But even in this department he set an example, which, if subsequently not always followed, has yet been generally kept in view. He limited the number of cardinals to seventy, "as Moses," he said, "chose out seventy elders from the whole people to take counsel with them."

The abolition of nepotism has not unfrequently been ascribed to this pope: but on more close examination the facts of the case will appear otherwise. Already, as we have seen under Pius IV.,

\* Congregation de' sacri riti e ceremonie ecclesiastiche, delle provisioni consistoriali: a questa volle appartenesse la cognizione delle cause dell' erezione di nove cathedrali.

† "Sopra alla grascia et annona—sopra alla fabrica, armamento, e mantenimento delle galere—sopra gli aggravi del popolo—sopra le strade, acque, ponti e confini—sopra alla stamperia Vaticana" (he gave the first manager of the ecclesiastical press a residence in the Vatican, and 20,000 scudi, for ten years); "sopra l'università dello studio Romano."

‡ Bulla: Postquam verus ille, 3 Dec. 1586. Bullar. M. Iv. 4, 279.

§ Though Sixtus would not endure any other form of contradiction, he had to bear with that of the pulpit. The Jesuit Francis Toledo said in a sermon, in allusion to this subject, that it was sinful to bestow a public appointment in requital for private services. "Non perche," he went on to say, "una sia buon coppiere o scalco, gli si commette senza nota d'imprudenza o un vescovo o un cardinalato." [It is not because a man is a good cupbearer or carver, that he may be safely entrusted with a bishopric or a cardinalate.] Gallo had been head-cook. (Memorie della vita di Sisto V.)

Pius V., and Gregory XIII., the privileges of the papal families had become very insignificant. If special praise is at all due to any of them in this respect, it is to Pius V., who expressly forbade the alienation of church lands. As we have already said, the old system of nepotism had ceased before the reign of Sixtus V., but another form grew up under the popes of the succeeding century. There were always two favoured nephews or kinsmen, of whom the one, being raised to the cardinalate, was entrusted with the supreme administration of ecclesiastical and political affairs; the other a layman, contracting a wealthy marriage, endowed with lands and "luoghi di monte," established a majorat, and laid the foundation of a princely house. If we inquire when this form of nepotism first arose, we find that it grew up gradually, but that it reached its maturity under Sixtus V. Cardinal Montalto, whom the pope tenderly loved, so that he even bridled his natural impetuosity with regard to him, was admitted into the consulta, and had at least a share in foreign affairs: his brother Michele was made a marquis, and founded a wealthy house.

It would, however, be a capital mistake to suppose that Sixtus had thus introduced a system of governing by nepotism. The marquis had no influence whatever, and the cardinal none at least of any importance\*. It would have been quite at variance with the habits of mind of Sixtus to have allowed them any. There was something cordial and unaffected in his marks of favour; they laid a foundation of good-will for him in the minds of the public and of individuals: but he never surrendered the helm to another hand, he always governed for himself. Much as he seemed to favour the congregations, much as he even invited to freedom of speech, he nevertheless always betrayed impatience and petulance the moment any one availed himself of the permission†. He always obstinately carried out his own will. "With him," says Giov. Gritti, "hardly any one has a counselling, not to say a deciding voice‡." Even in all those acts of favour to individuals and provinces to which we have alluded, his administration maintained a determined, rigid, and arbitrary character.

This was no where more strongly exhibited than in the department of finance.

#### Finances.

The Chigi family in Rome are in possession of a small autograph memorandum-book of Sixtus V. which he kept when a monk§. This document possesses great interest. The writer has carefully

\* Bentivoglio, Memorie, p. 90. Non aveva quasi alcuna partecipazione nel governo.

† Gualterius: Tametsi congregationibus aliisque negotia mandaret, illa tamen ipse cognoscere atque conficere consuevit. Diligentia incredibilis sciendi cognoscendique omnia que a rectoribus urbis, provinciarum, populorum omnium, a ceteris magistratibus sedis apostolicæ agebantur. [Although he referred matters to the congregations and to others, it was nevertheless his custom to take cognizance of them, and to execute them himself. It is incredible with what zeal he investigated all the proceedings of the administrators of the city, the provinces, and of all the nations, as well as that of the other magistrates of the apostolic see.]

‡ Gritti, Relazione: Non c'è chi abbi con lui voto decisivo, ma quasi ne anche consultivo.

§ Memorie autografe di papa Sisto V.

noted down in it every thing of moment that occurred to him during his life, the places he preached in every Lent, the commissions he received and discharged, even the books he possessed, which of them were single, which bound up together, and, finally, all the petty details of his monkish economy. We read in it, for instance, how his brother-in-law, Baptista, bought twelve sheep for him; how he, the friar, paid for them, first twelve, then again two florins twenty bolognins, so that they became his own property: his brother-in-law kept them by him upon the terms, usual in Montalto, of half profits. In this way it goes on throughout. We see how he nursed his little savings, how carefully he kept account of them, and how they gradually grew into an amount of some two hundred florins. We trace this little history with pleasure and sympathy; it exhibits the same economical temper which this Franciscan shortly afterwards brought to bear on the administration of the papedom. His frugality was a quality of which he boasted in every bull that allowed him any opportunity thereto, and in many inscriptions. In truth, no pope before or since his times administered the revenues of his states with so much success.

On ascending the throne he found the treasury utterly exhausted: he complains bitterly of pope Gregory, who had squandered a considerable part of the revenues both of his predecessor and his successor\*. He conceived so bad an opinion of him, that he once ordered masses to be said for his soul, having dreamed that he beheld his punishment in the other world. The revenues were pledged in advance up to the following October.

He therefore applied himself the more sedulously to the task of replenishing the public coffers, and in this he succeeded beyond all expectation. By the close of his first year in the papacy, in April 1586, he had already amassed a million of gold scudi, a second in November 1587, and in April 1588 a third; an amount in all equivalent to upwards of four and a half millions of silver scudi. When he had got together the first million, he deposited it in the castle of St. Angelo, dedicating it, as he expressed himself, to the holy virgin Mary, the mother of God, and to the holy apostles Peter and Paul. "He casts his eyes," he says in one of his bulls, "not alone over the billows on which Peter's little bark is now sometimes tossed, but upon the storms, likewise, that threaten from afar. The rancour of the heretics is implacable; the powerful Turk, Assur, the rod of God's wrath, threatens the faithful. By that God on whom he relies in these perils, he is also taught that the father of the household must watch by night. He follows the example of the Old Testament fathers,

\* Vita e successi del cardinal di Santaseverina. MS. Bibl. Alb. Mentre gli parlavo del collegio de' neofiti e di quel degli Armeni, che avevano bisogno di soccorso, mi rispose con qualche alteratione, che in castello non vi erano danari e che non vi erano entrate: che il papa passato haveva mangiato il pontificato di Pio V. e suo, dolendosi acerbamente dello stato nel quale haveva trovato la sede apostolica. [When I spoke to him of the college of the neophytes, and of that of the Armenians, which were in want of assistance, he answered with some irritation, that there was no money in the castle, and that there was no revenue: for the last pope had squandered the income of Pius V.'s pontificate and his too; and he complained bitterly of the condition in which he had found the apostolic see.]

by whom a large sum of money was always kept in the temple of the Lord." He fixed, as is well known, the contingencies under which alone it should be allowable to have recourse to that fund. They are as follows: the undertaking of war for the conquest of the Holy Land, or of a general campaign against the Turks; the occurrence of famine or pestilence; manifest danger of losing a province of catholic christendom; hostile invasion of the states of the church; the possibility of reconquering a city belonging to the Roman see. He pledged his successors to these terms, under penalty of God's wrath, and that of the holy apostles Peter and Paul\*.

We will leave the utility of these regulations for the present untouched, and inquire into the means Sixtus employed to gather together wealth so prodigious for those days.

It was not the product of the direct revenue of the papal see. Sixtus himself often said that this did not exceed 200,000 scudi†.

Neither is it to be considered as the immediate fruit of his savings. He did practise retrenchment indeed, limited the expenses of his table to six paoli a day, abolished many useless places at court, and reduced the number of his troops; but we have the testimony of Delfino the Venetian, that all this did not reduce the outgoings of the treasury by more than 150,000 scudi. Sixtus himself once calculated the retrenchments for which the treasury was indebted to him at only 146,000 scudi‡.

And thus, by his own declaration, with all his economy, his direct income amounted only to 350,000 scudi. This was hardly enough for the buildings he erected, much less for amassing so enormous a treasure.

We have already considered the singular system of finance established in this state, the continual increase of taxes and burdens without any augmentation in the net revenue, the multiplicity of loans by sale of offices and by monti, the growing incumbrances of the state for sake of the church. The many evils attending this system are manifest and glaring; and when we hear of the praises so liberally bestowed on Sixtus V., we are naturally disposed to conjecture that he put an end to these mischiefs. What is our astonishment, then, to find that, on the contrary, he actually pursued the self-same course in the most reckless manner, and established this system on such a basis as put it for ever beyond the reach of control!

One of his most considerable sources of profit was the sale of places. In the first place, he raised the price of many that were already used to be sold. The price, for instance, of a treasurership of the camera had been fixed at 15,000 scudi; he sold this, first, to a Giustiniani for 50,000 scudi; then on the latter being made cardinal, he sold it to a Pepoli

for 72,000 scudi; and on the advance of Pepoli to the purple, he lopped off a full half, 5000 scudi, from the income of the office, which he applied to a monti; the office thus shorn he still disposed of for 50,000 gold scudi. In the second place, he began the practice of selling offices that before had always been conferred gratuitously, such as notariates, fiscalates, the places of commissioner-general, of solicitor to the camera, and advocate of the poor, often for considerable sums; the post of commissioner-general for 20,000 scudi, the notariate for 30,000 scudi. Lastly, he created a multitude of new offices, some of them very considerable; a treasurership of the dataria, a prefecture of the prisons, twenty-four refendaryships, two hundred cavalier-ships, and notariates in the chief places of the states,—every one of these he sold.

Undoubtedly he amassed large sums in this way: the sale of offices brought him in 608,510 gold scudi, and 401,805 silver, making together near a million and a half silver scudi\*: but if the sale of places had been already a fruitful source of mischief to the state, occasioning, as we have shown, a portioning out, on the principle of a loan, of the rights of government,—rights which were for that very reason enforced with the utmost rigour against those who were liable to pay, while the duties of these several offices were quite neglected,—how vastly was the evil now increased! It came, as we have said, wholly to this, that every office was regarded as a property which conferred rights, not as an obligation which exacted labour.

But, furthermore, Sixtus made an extraordinary augmentation of the number of monti, instituting three more monti non vacabili, and eight more monti vacabili, than any one of his predecessors.

We have seen that the monti were always founded of necessity on new taxes. Sixtus V., too, found no other means of effecting them, though he was averse to it at first. The first time he spoke in the consistory of an investment, cardinal Farnese remarked, in objection to his proposal, that his grandfather, Paul III., had entertained the same intention, but had seen that it could not be effected without an augmentation of imposts, and had therefore abandoned it. Sixtus turned fiercely upon him; the hint that a former pope had been wiser than himself set him in a rage. "That was," he retorted, "because in the days of pope Paul III. there were certain great spendthrifts, who, thank God, do not exist in ours." Farnese coloured up, and held his peace†. Things turned out, however, as he had predicted. In the year 1587, Sixtus threw aside all considerations of prudence. He imposed new taxes on the most laborious callings, such, for instance, as that of towing vessels up the Tiber with oxen and horses, and on the most indispensable necessities of life, as firewood and the

\* Ad clavum: 21 Apr. 1586. Coeq. iv. iv. 206.

† Dispaecio, Gritti, 7 Giugno, 1586. The pope finds fault with Henry III. because with fourteen millions of revenue he saved nothing. Con addur l'esempio di se medesimo nel governo del pontificato, che dice non haver di netto piu di 200,000 sc. all' anno, battuti li interessi de' pontifici passati e le spese che convien fare. [Adducing his own example in the administration of the popedom, the net annual income of which was no more, he said, than 200,000 scudi, deducting the interests payable on account of former popes, and the incidental expenses.]

‡ Dispaecio, Badoer, 2 Giugno, 1589.

\* Calculation in a circumstantial MS. on the Roman finances under Clement VIII. (Bibl. Barberina in Rome.)

† Memorie del Pontificato di Sisto V. Mutatosi per tanto nel volto mentre Farnese parlava, irato piu tosto che grave gli rispose: Non è maraviglia, Monsignore, che a tempo di vostro avo non si potesse mettere in opera il disegno di far tesoro per lo chiesa con l'entrate a proventi ordinari, perche vi erano di molti e grandi scialaquatori (a word he was very fond of), i quali non sono, Dio gratia, a tempi nostri; notando amaramente la moltitudine di figli e figlie e nepoti d'ogni sorte di questo pontefice. Atrossi alquanto a quel dire Farnese e tacque.



pint of wine in retail, and immediately founded new monti with the proceeds. He debased the coinage, and as a petty money-changing trade started up in consequence at every corner of the streets, he turned even that to account, by selling licences to carry it on\*. Much as he favoured the March, he nevertheless burdened the commerce of Ancona with an additional two per cent. on its imposts. He forced the infant manufactures of his states to afford him at least an indirect advantage†. In these and other similar operations, his constant adviser was a Portuguese Jew named Lopez, who had fled his country to escape the inquisition, and who succeeded in ingratiating himself with the datary, with Signora Camilla, and at last with the pope himself. After the manner in which Farnese had been so summarily put down, not a cardinal dared to offer a word of objection. When the tax on wine was talked of, Albano of Bergamo said, "I approve of all your holiness proposes; but my approbation would be still greater if your holiness disliked this tax."

In this way Sixtus contrived so great an addition to his revenues, that he was able to take up a loan on monti of two and a half millions of scudi (accurately 2,424,725) and to pay interest thereon.

It must be owned, however, that there is something incomprehensible in such a system of political economy.

New and doubtless very oppressive burdens were imposed on the country by the new taxes and by the multitude of places; the emoluments of the latter were made to depend on perquisites, a system most fitted to embarrass the course of justice and of the administration; the taxes were imposed on trade, wholesale and retail, and could not but impair its activity. And to what end, after all, was the money thus raised applied?

If we reckon up the total proceeds of monti and offices, we shall find them amount to about the sum that was locked up in the castle of St. Angelo, four and a half million scudi, not much more. All the undertakings by which this pope acquired renown, he might have accomplished out of the amount of his savings.

To collect and hoard up superfluous revenues is an intelligible proceeding: to raise loans, in order to meet present necessities, is in the common course of things; but to raise loans, and impose burdens, in order to lock up funds for future necessities in a fortified castle, is in the highest degree extraordinary.

Yet this is the very thing which posterity have always most admired in Sixtus V.

\* For an old giulio, besides ten bajocchi of the coin of Sixtus, there was given a premium of from four to six quattrini.

† A good example of his administration. *Le stesse Memorie: Ordine non si vendesse seta o sciolta o tessuta in drappi, né lana o panni, se non approvati da ufficiali creati a tal effetto, né si estraessero senza licenza degli stessi: invenzione utile contro alle frodi, ma molto più in pro della camera, perché pagandosi i seguiti le licenze se n'imborsava gran danaro dal pontefice.* [He enacted that no silk, raw or woven, nor wool or cloths, should be sold without the approval of officers appointed to that end, nor be admitted to market without licence from them; an expedient serviceable against fraud, but still more so in favour of the treasury, because the fees on stamps and licences brought the pope in a great deal of money.] This could not have been very beneficial to trade.

It is true there was something odious and tyrannical in the measures of Gregory XIII., and their reaction was very pernicious. Nevertheless, I am inclined to think, that had he succeeded in rendering the papal treasury independent for the future both of new taxes and of loans, the result would have been highly beneficial, and the condition of the ecclesiastical states would probably have become much more prosperous.

But Gregory lacked, especially in his latter years, the strength to carry out his projects.

That practical and effective strength was precisely the distinguishing quality of Sixtus. His accumulation of treasure, by loans, sales of offices, and new taxes, heaped burden upon burden; we shall see the consequences to which this led; but its success dazzled the world, and for the moment did really give the papacy new importance.

Surrounded by states that for the most part were scant of money, the popes enjoyed through their possession of treasure a great confidence in themselves, and a higher consequence in the eyes of others.

In fact, this scheme of administration was essentially part of the catholic system of those times.

That system, by committing all the financial power of the state to the head of the church, first made it completely an organ of spiritual power. For to what other purpose could this money be applied than to the defence and dissemination of the catholic faith?

Sixtus V. passed his whole life in projects to that end; sometimes directed against the East and the Turks, more frequently against the West and the Protestants. A war broke out between the two systems, the catholic and the protestant, in which the popes took the most earnest part.

We shall treat of this in the following book. For the present we shall dwell a little longer on Rome, which once more made her influence felt by the whole world.

#### *Architectural Enterprises of Sixtus V.*

For the third time, Rome now assumed in external appearance, as well as intrinsically, the aspect of a capital of the world.

We know the pomp and magnitude of ancient Rome; its ruins and its history have been explored in every direction, to bring its image before our imagination. The Rome of the middle ages, too, might well be the object of a similar diligence. It, too, was a noble city, with its majestic basilicæ; its grotto and catacomb worship; its patriarchal temples of the popes, in which were preserved the monuments of the earliest Christianity; the still splendid imperial palace, which belonged to the German kings; and the fortresses erected by independent races in defiance of the numerous powers around them.

During the absence of the popes in Avignon, this Rome of the middle ages fell equally into decay with the long-ruined Rome of antiquity.

When Eugenius IV. returned thither in 1443, it was become a town of cowherds: its inhabitants differed in nothing from the peasants and herds of the surrounding country. The hills had long been abandoned, the dwellings were all accumulated in the plain along the windings of the Tiber; there was no pavement in the narrow streets, which

were further darkened by the projecting balconies and bowed windows, that almost met from side to side ; cattle were seen strolling about as in a village. From San Silvestro to the Porta del Popolo there was nothing but gardens and morasses, the resort of wild ducks. The very memory of antiquity had almost vanished. The capitol was become the Goat's Mountain, the Forum Romanum the Cowfield ; the strangest legends were attached to some monuments that still remained. St. Peter's church was in danger of falling down.

When at last Nicholas once more commanded the allegiance of all Christendom, and had become rich through the contributions of the pilgrims that flocked in shoals to Rome on the occasion of the jubilee, he conceived the idea of so adorning Rome with buildings, that every one who beheld it should be impressed with the feeling that it was indeed the capital of the world.

To bring this about was not, however, a work for one man. The succeeding popes laboured at it for centuries.

I will not recapitulate all their exertions, accounts of which may be found in their several biographies. The most remarkable, both for their consequences and their mutual contrasts, were the epochs of Julius II. and Sixtus V.

Under Julius II. the lower city on the banks of the Tiber, whither it had withdrawn itself, was completely renovated. After Sixtus IV. had made a better connexion between the two opposite banks of the river by that simple and substantial bridge of travertine, which to this day bears his name, building was carried on on both sides with great spirit. On the southern side Julius did not content himself with undertaking the church of St. Peter, which rose majestically under his direction, but also renewed the Vatican palace. In the depression between the old edifice and the country-seat of Innocent VIII., the Belvedere, he laid the foundation of the Loggie, one of the best-designed works in existence. Not far from thence his kinsmen the Riari, and his treasurer Agostino Chigi, vied for the fame of erecting the more beautiful dwelling. Chigi undoubtedly deserves the palm : his building was the Farnesina, admirable indeed in its construction, but incomparably enhanced by the beauties bestowed on it by Raphael's hand. On the north side we owe to Julius II. the completion of the Cancellaria, with its cortile, constructed in elaste and happily conceived proportions, the most beautiful court in the world. His cardinals and barons emulated his example : Farnese, whose palace has been regarded for its magnificent entrance as the most perfect in Rome ; Francesco di Rio, who boasted of his own, that it would stand till tortoises crawled over the face of the earth ; the Medici, whose house was filled with treasures of art and literature of all kinds ; and the Orsini, adorned their palace on Campofiore with statues and pictures within and without\*. The remains of that interesting period, when men so boldly rivalled antiquity, all round Campofiore and the Piazza Farnese, do not always meet from the stranger the attention they deserve. Here all was emulation, genius, fertility ; a period of universal prosperity.

\* *Opusculum de Mirabilibus novæ et veteris urbis Romæ editum a Francisco Albertino, 1515, especially in the second part, De nova Urbe.*

As the population augmented, buildings were erected on the Campo Marzo, round the mausoleum of Augustus. These increased still more under Leo, but even Julius found occasion to lay out the Lungara on the south side, and opposite it, on the north, the Strada Julia. The inscription is still to be seen, in which the Conservatori publish to his fame, that he had laid out and opened new streets "proportioned to the majesty of his newly-acquired sovereignty."

The plague, and the sack of the city, again diminished the population ; the commotions under Paul IV. also did great damage : it did not recover for some time after, when the number of the inhabitants began to keep pace with the augmenting obedience of the Catholic world.

Already Pius IV. contemplated building again on the abandoned hills. He laid the foundation of the palace of the Conservatori on the Capitoline ; on the Viminal, Michael Angelo erected for him the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli out of the ruins of the baths of Dioclesian ; the Porta Pia on the Quirinal bears his mark to this day\*. Gregory XIII. also built on this spot.

But these were all vain efforts so long as the hills were destitute of water.

Here it was that Sixtus V. achieved for himself a fame surpassing that of all other popes, rivalling the old Cæsars in supplying the city's want of water by means of colossal aqueducts. He did so, he said, "that those hills, adorned in early Christian times with basilicas, distinguished for the salubrity of their air, their pleasing situation and agreeable prospects, might again become inhabited." "Therefore," he adds, "we have not suffered ourselves to be deterred by any difficulty or any cost." Indeed, he told the architects from the first, that he desired to have a work that should bear comparison with the splendour of imperial Rome. He brought the Aqua Marcia from the Agro Colonna to Rome, a distance of two-and-twenty miles, in defiance of all obstacles, carrying it partly underground, partly on lofty arches. With great satisfaction the pope at last saw a stream of this water gush into his own vineyard : he carried it still further to the Quirinal ; he called it after his own name Aqua Felice ; and it was with no little self-complacency he had a statue set up by the fountain representing Moses in the act of striking water from the rock with his staff†.

This work was of vast advantage to the neighbourhood, and to the whole city. The Aqua Fontana furnishes 20,537 cubic metres of water every twenty-four hours, and feeds twenty-seven fountains.

Building was now actively resumed on the hills, and enterprise was encouraged by the grant of peculiar privileges. He levelled the ground about Trinità de' Monti, and laid the foundation of the steps to the Piazza di Spagna, which affords the nearest communication between the lower town and that

\* Luigi Contarini, *Antichità di Roma*, p. 76, bestows the highest praise on the efforts of Pius IV. *S'egli viveva ancora 4 anni Roma sarebbe d'edificii un'altra Roma. (Had he lived four years longer, Rome would have been a different city for its buildings.)*

† Tasso has left us "*Stanze all'acqua felice di Roma*" (*Rime*, ii. 311.), describing how the water at first rolls along a gloomy path, and then bursts joyfully into the light of day, to look on Rome as Augustus beheld it.

height\*. Here he laid out the Via Felice and the Borgo Felice, and opened those streets that to the present day lead from all sides to the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, purposing to connect all the basilicas with that church by spacious roads. The poets boast that Rome almost doubled herself, and sought again her old abodes.

These architectural works on the hills were not, however, the only ones by which Sixtus V. distinguished himself from former popes. He entertained projects directly opposed to those of his more remote predecessors.

The ruins of ancient Rome were regarded with sort of religious veneration under Leo X.; the divine sparks of ancient genius were discovered in them with feelings of rapture: that pope lent a ready ear to the recommendation to preserve them, "the all that yet remains to us of the ancient mother of Italy's greatness and renown†."

Such a spirit as this was as remote from the conception of Sixtus V. as earth from heaven. The Franciscan was utterly insensible to the beauty of the remains of antiquity. The Septizonium of Severus, a most remarkable work, that had survived the storms of so many centuries, found no favour in his eyes; he demolished it to the very foundation, and carried away some of its pillars to the church of St. Peter's‡. His rage for destroying was fully equal to his zeal in building; every one feared that he would carry it beyond all bounds of moderation. Let us hear what Cardinal Santa Severina relates: it would appear incredible, had he not spoken of his own personal knowledge. "It being perceived," he says, "that the pope was wholly bent on the demolition of the Roman antiquities, a number of Roman nobles came to me

one day, and begged me to exert my efforts to dissuade his holiness from so extravagant a design." They applied to that cardinal, who was undoubtedly to be regarded as the greatest bigot of the day. Cardinal Colonna coincided with their views. The pope replied to them, that he would clear away the ugly antiquities, but restore such of the others as stood in need of it. Imagine what he was pleased to consider ugly! He thought of utterly demolishing the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, an admirable sublime monument, even then the only important relic of the republican times. How much may have perished under his hand!

It went hard with him to endure the presence of the Laocoon and the Belvedere Apollo in the Vatican; nor would he suffer the ancient statues, with which the Roman citizens had adorned the capitol, to remain even there, but declared he would pull down the capitol itself if they were not removed. They were a Jupiter Tonans, and on either side a Minerva and an Apollo. The two former were actually removed, but the Minerva was tolerated in its place. As Sixtus would have it, however, the statue was to represent Rome—Christian Rome; to which end he took away the spear of the goddess, and put a huge cross in her hand\*.

In the same style he restored the columns of Trajan and Antoninus, taking from the former the urn which was said to contain the ashes of the emperor. He dedicated it to St. Peter, and Antonine's column to St. Paul; and ever since the statues of the two apostles have stood perched opposite each other upon those airy sites above the dwellings of men. This he considered bestowing a triumph upon Christianity over paganism†.

He had set his heart on erecting the obelisk before St. Peter's, the more because he wished to see the monuments of infidelity subjected to the cross on the very spot where the Christians once suffered crucifixion‡.

A magnificent design, indeed, but one which he carried out wholly after his own fashion, with a singular mixture of despotism, greatness, pomp, and bigotry.

He threatened even with punishment the architect, Domenico Fontana, who had worked his way up under his own eyes from the condition of a mason's boy, if he failed in the attempt, or damaged the obelisk.

It was a task of extreme difficulty to upheave it from its basis by the sacristy of the old church of St. Peter, to let it down again, transport it to another site, and there finally set it up again.

It was entered upon with the feeling that the work in hand was one that would claim renown throughout all ages. The workmen, nine hundred in number, began by hearing mass, confessing, and receiving the communion. They then entered the space that was marked off for their operations by a barrier, the

\* Gualterius. Ut viam a frequentioribus urbis locis per Pincium collem ad Esquilias commodè strueret, Pincium ipsum collem ante sanctissimæ Trinitatis templum humiliorē fecit, et carpentis rhedisque pervium reddidit, scalasque ad templum illud ab utroque portæ latere commodas perpulchrasque ad modum extruxit, e quibus jucundissimus in totam urbem prospectus est.

† Passages from Castiglione's well-known letter to Leo X., *Lettere di Castiglione*, Padova, 1796, p. 149. I can find nothing, however, in the letter hinting at a plan for a regular excavation of the ancient city. It seems obvious to me, that it is a preface to a description of Rome, with a plan, to both of which there is constant reference made. It is highly probable that it was even Raphael's works to which this preface was to serve as an introduction. This appears particularly from the coincidences of expression between the well-known epigram on Raphael's death and this letter. For instance, "Vedendo quasi il cadavero di quella nobil patria così miseramente lacerato;"

"urbis lacerum ferro, igni, annisque cadaver  
Ad vitam revocas."

This, indeed, betokens a restoration, but only in idea and description. This opinion is not essentially at variance with the views heretofore expressed, but only confirms them. I think we may conclude that the labour on which Raphael employed the latter years of his life was already far advanced, since a dedication of it was already composed in his name. What a name to add to those of the astyographers! The papers and the plan may have fallen into the hands of Fulvius, who probably had a considerable share in the researches.

‡ Gualterius. Præcipue Severi Septizonii, quod incredibili Romanorum dolore demolendum curavit, columnis marmoribusque usus est, passimque per urbem cavæ videbantur unde lapides omnis generis effodiebantur.

\* A passage from the *Vita Sixti V.* ipsius manu emendata, extracted in Bunsen's *Beschreibung von Rom*, I. S. 702.

† So thinks, among others, J. P. Maffei, *Historiarum ab excessu Gregorii XIII.* lib. i. p. 5.

‡ Sixti V. i. m. e.: Ut ubi grassatum olim supplicis in Christianos et passim fixæ cruces, in quas innoxia natio sublata terrissimis cruciatibus necaretur, ibi supposita cruci, et in crucis versa honorem cultumque, ipsa impietatis monumenta cernerentur.

master of the works being raised on an elevated platform. The obelisk was sheathed in straw mats and planks, which were embraced by iron rings. Thirty-five windlasses were employed to put the enormous machine in motion that was to lift it up with strong hempen ropes; each windlass was worked by two horses and ten men. At last the signal was given by sound of trumpet. The very first strain succeeded admirably; the obelisk rose from the base on which it had rested one thousand five hundred years; at the twelfth it had been raised two and three quarter palms, at which height it was made fast: the architect saw the huge mass with its coating, weighing upwards of a million of Roman pounds, in his power. This, it has been recorded with scrupulous care, took place on the 30th of April, 1586, about the twentieth hour (towards three in the afternoon). A salvo was fired from the castle of St. Angelo, all the bells of the city pealed, and the workmen carried their architect in triumph round the barrier with never-ending hurrahs.

Seven days afterwards, the obelisk was let down with no less dexterity; after which it was conveyed on rollers to its new site. It was not till the hot months were passed that its re-erection was attempted.

The pope chose the 10th of September for this enterprise, the day being Wednesday, which had been always found lucky, and the eve of the Elevation of the Cross, to which the obelisk was to be dedicated. On this occasion, too, the workmen began with commending themselves and their work to God, falling on their knees as they entered the enclosure. Fontana had made his arrangements, not without reference to the last elevation of an obelisk described by Ammianus Marcellinus, but he had provided himself with a force of one hundred and forty horses. It was likewise regarded as a special piece of good fortune that the sky was overcast on that day. Every thing proceeded just as was desired. The obelisk was moved in three great efforts; an hour before sunset it sank on its pedestal on the backs of the four bronze lions that served to support it. The exultation of the people was indescribable; the pope's satisfaction was complete: many a predecessor of his had longed to effect this task, many a writer had recommended it; now had he accomplished it. He set it down in his diary, that he had achieved the greatest and most difficult work it was possible for the human mind to conceive. He caused medals commemorative of it to be struck, received congratulatory poems in every language, and sent official announcements of the event to foreign powers\*.

\* The despatches of Gritti, May 3, 10, July 12, and Oct. 11, treat of this elevation of the obelisk. The effect is not badly described in the *Vita Sixti V. ipsius manu emendata*. *Tenuitque universæ civitatis oculos novæ et post 1500 amplius annos relatæ rei spectaculo, cum aut sedibus suis avulsam tolleret molem, uno tempore et duodenis vectibus impulsam et quinis tricenis ergatis quas equi bini, homines deni, agebant in sublime elatam, aut cum suspensam inde sensim deponeret extenderetque humi, junctis trabibus atque ex his ingenti composita traha que jacentem exiperet, aut cum suppositis cylindris (sunt hæ lignæ columnæ teretes et volubiles) quaternis ergatis protracta paulatim per editum et ad altitudinem basis cui imponenda erat excitatum aggerem atque undique egregie munitionum incederet, denique cum iterum erecta librataque suis reposita sedibus est.*

It was a strange inscription which he set up, boasting that he had wrested this monument from the emperors Augustus and Tiberius, and dedicated it to the holy cross. He had a cross erected upon it, in which was enclosed a piece of the supposed true cross. This is expressive of his whole tone of thought. Even the monuments of paganism were to minister to the glorification of the cross.

He devoted himself with his whole soul to these his architectural pursuits. The herdboy, who had grown up among gardens and open fields, was a lover of the town; he would never hear of a *villégiatura*, saying, "his recreation was to look upon many roofs." I can well imagine that his building-projects afforded him the highest gratification.

Many thousand hands were constantly employed: he was not deterred by any difficulty.

The cupola of St. Peter's was still wanting, and the architects required ten years for its completion. Sixtus was willing to expend his money on the work, but so that his own eyes might be gratified with beholding it. He set six hundred men to work, who wrought day and night, and in the twenty-second month the cupola was completed. He did not live, however, to see the leaden casing placed on the roof.

Even in such works as these he set no bounds to his arbitrary disposition. He pulled down without pity the remains of the Patriarchium of the popes near the Lateran, which were by no means inconsiderable, and were of singular interest, - antiquities belonging to the dignity he himself filled; and in their place he erected his Lateran palace, which was not at all wanted, and which has acquired a very ambiguous reputation, merely as one of the earliest examples of the monotonous regularity of modern architecture.

What a complete revolution had taken place in the relation of the age to antiquity! Both in former times and now, men vied with the ancients; but the earlier efforts were directed towards equaling them in beauty and grace of form, now men strove to match, or even surpass them in undertakings of vast magnitude. Formerly, the most trifling monument was revered as a relic of the antique spirit; now there was much greater proneness to destroy those relics. Men followed a single idea, which claimed sole predominance, and would tolerate none other by its side, - that same, namely, which had acquired sovereignty in the church, and had made the state an instrument of the latter. This ruling idea of modern catholicism permeates every vein of society in its most diversified directions.

#### *General changes in the intellectual tendency of the age.*

It would be a mistake to suppose that the pope alone was under the dominion of this spirit: towards the close of the sixteenth century a tendency manifested itself in every department of mind, opposed to that which had prevailed at its commencement.

A leading circumstance of the times was, that the study of the ancients, which had been the main-spring of every thing in the first part of the century, had now vastly declined. Even now an Aldus Manutius appeared in Rome as professor of eloquence; but he found no admirers of his Greek

nor yet of his Latin. In the hours appointed for his lectures he was seen walking up and down before the portal of the university with one or two hearers, the only persons who evinced any interest in his erudition. How incredible was the progress of Greek learning in the beginning of the century ! At its close there did not exist a single distinguished Hellenist in Italy.

Now I am not disposed to represent this change altogether in the light of an intellectual decline : in a certain respect it was connected with the necessary progress of literature and science.

For whereas these had formerly been derived immediately from the ancients, this was now no longer possible. On the one hand, materials had enormously accumulated. For instance, how vastly did the mass of knowledge pertaining to natural history collected by Ulysse Aldrovandi, by the ceaseless efforts of a long life and during numerous journeys, surpass that possessed by any of the ancients. In the construction of his museum he had aimed at a real completeness of the science ; and what was wanting in actual specimens, he supplied by means of drawings, and each specimen was described in detail. How had the science of geography been extended beyond every conception of antiquity !—On the other hand, a more profound system of inquiry had arisen. The mathematicians sought at first only to fill up the omissions of the ancients. Commandin, for instance, imagined that Archimedes must have either read, or even composed, something on gravitation, which was subsequently lost ; and this notion served as a motive to induce him personally to investigate the subject. But this very process led to very enlarged results : helped forward even by the ancients, men acquired strength to emancipate themselves from their tutelage. Discoveries were made that led far beyond the circle they had traced, and that opened new paths for further exploration.

The study of nature was especially prosecuted with zeal and self-reliance. For a moment, men wavered between the admission of mystic virtues in natural things, and the bold deep-searching investigation of phenomena. But the latter, the more scientific course, presently prevailed. Ere long an attempt was made after a rational classification of the vegetable kingdom : in Padua there lived a professor who was called the "Columbus of the human body." Inquiry was pushed forward continually in every direction ; science was no longer lodged alone within the works of antiquity.

It followed as a matter of course, if I am not mistaken, that the study of antiquity, when it could no longer claim such engrossing attention for the matter's sake, could neither with regard to the form produce the effect it had hitherto done.

Men began, in the composition of learned works, to aim chiefly at the accumulation of matter. In the beginning of the century, Cortesius had conveyed the essence of the scholastic philosophy, untractable as it might seem, in a well-written classical work, full of talent and wit : now, on the other hand, a Natal Conte compiled a dry uninteresting quarto upon an antique subject, that invited the most genial and exalted treatment, namely, mythology. The same author wrote a history too : his book is tricked out with sentences, almost all of which he took immediately from the ancients, citing the passages from which they are

borrowed ; but he does not appear to have possessed the least notion of genuine description. The mere crude compilation of facts was enough for his contemporaries. It may be safely asserted that a work like the *Annals* of Baronius, so destitute of form—written in Latin, yet without a trace of elegance even in detached phrases—could not once have been thought of in the beginning of the century.

Whilst the track of the ancients was thus abandoned not only in scientific pursuits, but still more in form and expression, changes took place in the social habits of the nation, that exercised an incalculable influence on all literary and artistical efforts.

Republican, independent Italy, on whose peculiar circumstances the earlier developments, those even of the mind included, had depended, now fell for ever. All the freedom and simplicity of intellectual intercourse disappeared. It is worthy of note, that the use of titles began to prevail. As early as the year 1520, some persons remarked with disgust that every one claimed to be called "sir ;" this was ascribed to the influence of the Spaniards. By the year 1550, cumbrous ceremonious designations had supplanted the simple form of address, both in discourse and epistolary correspondence. Towards the end of the century, the titles of "marchese" and "duca" came generally into vogue. Every one would have them ; every one would be "excellency." It is idle to say that this was of small moment ; if it has its effect even now, when the system is become a mere habit, the meaning of which has grown obsolete, how much more must that have been the case when it was first introduced ! But, besides this, in every other respect society was become more rigid, fixed, and exclusive ; its former cheerful, easy tone, the frank and simple intercourse of man with man were by-gone things.

Be the cause what it may,—be it, if you will, a change incident to the constitution of the human soul,—thus much is manifest, that already, about the middle of the century, a different spirit pervaded all its productions ; and that society, both in its essence and its outward character, became conscious of new wants.

Of all the phenomena that betoken this change, the most striking, perhaps, is the recast of Boiardo's "*Orlando Innamorato*," by Berni. It is the same work, yet altogether different. All the charm, all the freshness of the original poem are obliterated. If we examine somewhat more closely, we shall find that the author has every where substituted general for individual notions, and for the unfettered expression of a lovely and loving nature, a sort of conventional decorum suited to the demands of Italian manners in his own and in later times \*. His success was complete. His work was received with incredible approbation ; the *rifacimento* entirely exploded the original poem. How suddenly, too, was this revolution effected ! Fifty years had not elapsed since the publication of Boiardo's work.

We may trace this altered key-note, this infusion of another spirit, through most of the productions of those days.

It is not downright want of talent that makes the poems of Alamanni and Bernardo Tasso so

\* I have endeavoured to pursue this more in detail in the academical essay before mentioned.

tedious and uninteresting; at least, it is not so with those of the latter. But the very conception of both authors is cold. In accordance with the tastes of a public by no means remarkable for virtue, but one that had grown serious and staid, they selected immaculate heroes. Bernardo chose Amadis de Gaule, of whom the younger Tasso says, "Dante would have recalled the condemnation he pronounced on romances of chivalry, if he had known the Amadis de Gaule or de Grèce; so full are their characters of nobleness and constancy." Alamanni took for his subject Giron le Courtoys, the mirror of all knightly virtues. His declared object was to hold up to youth an example how to endure hunger and vigils, cold and sunshine,—how to practise arms, to display justice and courtesy to every one, and to forgive enemies. As both authors carried out their moral and didactic designs exactly in the manner of Berni, and deliberately tore away the poetic groundwork from their fables, their works, as might naturally have been expected, turned out intolerably prolix and insipid.

It seemed, if we may so speak, as though the nation had used up the stock of poetic conceptions that had descended to it from its past history, from the ideas of the middle ages, and that it retained not even the capacity to understand them. It cast about for something new: but neither would creative genius arise, nor did the existing state of society offer any fresh material. Till towards the middle of the century, Italian prose, though naturally didactic, was still imaginative, warm, pliant, and graceful. Gradually it, too, grew stiff and frigid.

It fared with art as with poetry. It lost the inspiration that had formerly given it its religious subjects, and, soon after, that which had suggested its profane works. It was only in the Venetian school that some traces of this remained. With one single exception, how completely did Raffaele's scholars fall off from their master's example! Aping him, they fell into artificial beauty, theatrical posture-making, and affected graces; and their works speak plainly of the coldness and insensibility to beauty in which they were conceived. The followers of Michael Angelo did no better. Art was no longer conscious of its true objects; it had abandoned the ideas it had once strained all its powers to embody; nothing remained to it but the externals of method.

In this state of things, when men had already deserted antiquity, no longer imitated its forms, and had outgrown its science,—when the old national poetry and all religious colouring were scorned both by literature and art,—the new exaltation of the church occurred; it seized voluntary or involuntary hold of every mind, and produced a thorough change in the whole system of literature and art.

The church, however, if I am not mistaken, exercised a far different influence over science from that it manifested upon art.

Philosophy and science in general now passed through a very important epoch. After the genuine Aristotle had been restored, men began in philosophy, too, (as well as in other departments and with other ancient writers) to cast themselves loose from his authority, and to enter upon a free investigation of the highest problems. It was not in the nature of things that the church should favour this tendency. She herself had prescribed the

highest principles in a manner that forbade all doubt. Now, whereas Aristotle's adherents had frequently owned opinions at variance with the church and savouring of naturalism, something similar might be apprehended on the part of his opponents. They wished, as one of them expressed himself, to compare the dogmas of the existing race of teachers with God's original handwriting, the world and nature; a project the issue of which could not be foreseen, though whether it led to discoveries or to errors, it could not fail to be highly perilous; the church, therefore, set its veto upon it. Telesius, though he never ventured beyond the strict domain of science, was nevertheless all his life confined to his little native town; Campanella was forced to live an exile, and, finally, to endure the torture; the profoundest of them all, Giordano Bruno, a true philosopher, after many persecutions and long wanderings, fell at last under the censure of the inquisition, was arrested, carried to Rome, and sentenced to be burned, "not only," as the original document states, "as a heretic, but as a heresiarch, who had written some things that affected religion, and that were not seemly\*." After such examples

\* In a Venetian MS. in the Vienna archives, under the rubric Roma, Expositioni, 1592, 28 Sett., is contained the original of a protocol respecting the surrender of Giordano Bruno. The patriarch's vicar, the father inquisitor, and Tommaso Morosini, the assistant of the inquisition, appeared before the college. The vicar stated, "li giorni passati esser stato ritenuto, e tuttavia ritrovarsi nelle prigioni di questa città deputate al servizio del santo ufficio, Giordano Bruno da Nola, imputato non solo di heretica, ma anco di heresiarcha, havendo composto diversi libri nei quali laudando assai la regina d'Inghilterra et altri principi heretici, scriveva alcune cose concernenti il particular della religione che non convenivano, sebene egli parlava filosoficamente; e che costui era apostata, essendo stato prima frate Dominicano, che era vissuto molti anni in Ginevra et Inghilterra, e che in Napoli et altri luoghi era stato inquisito della medesima imputazione: e che essendosi saputa a Roma la prigionia di costui, lo ilmo. Santa Severina supremo inquisitore aveva scritto e dato ordine che fusse inviato a Roma . . . con prima sicura occasione." [That within the last few days had been arrested, and was still retained in the prisons of this city destined to the service of the holy office, Giordano Bruno da Nola, charged not only as a heretic, but as a heresiarch; he having composed divers books in which, besides praising not a little the queen of England and other heretic sovereigns, he had written things concerning religion which were not becoming, even though he spoke philosophically: moreover, that he was an apostate, having been originally a Dominican friar, who had lived many years in Geneva and in England, and had been an object of inquisition upon the same charge in Naples and other places; and that the imprisonment of the said Giordano Bruno having been made known at Rome, the most illustrious Santa Severina, supreme inquisitor, had written to give orders that he should be sent to Rome . . . by the first safe opportunity.] Vicar an opportunity, the vicar stated, now presented itself. The answer was not immediately given. After dinner, the father inquisitor appeared again, and was very urgent, for the boat was about to depart. The savi, however, answered, "Che essendo la cosa di momento e considerazione e le occupazioni di questo stato molte e gravi non si haveva per allhora potuto fare resolutione." [That the matter being of weight and demanding consideration, and the concerns of the state being numerous and serious, it had not been possible to come to any resolution for the present.] This time, therefore, the boat departed without the prisoner. I have not been able to ascertain whether his subsequent surrender was occasioned or not by new negotiations.

where was the man would venture upon the free exercise of his understanding. Of all the innovators of the century only one, Francesco Patrizi, found favour in Rome. He, too, attacked Aristotle, but only on the ground that his principles were opposed to the church and to Christianity. In opposition to the Aristotelic notions, he sought to indicate a genuine philosophical tradition, handed down through successive ages from the supposed Hermes Trismegistus, and in which he affected to find a clearer exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity than even in the writings of Moses. This tradition he strove to revive and restore, and to substitute it in the place of the Aristotelic philosophy. In all his dedications he sets forth this purpose of his, and the utility and necessity of its execution. He was a man of singularly constituted mind, not without critical discernment, but that only as regarded what he rejected, not what he adopted. He was called to Rome, and there maintained a high credit through the peculiar spirit of subserviency to the church displayed in his works, but not by reason of the effects they produced, which were inconsiderable.

The investigations of physics and of natural history were in those times almost inseparably connected with those of philosophy. The whole system of opinion that had hitherto prevailed was called in question. In fact, the Italians of that epoch manifested a grand tendency to searching thought, to vigorous prosecution of truth, and lofty forecasting speculation. Who shall say at what they might have arrived? But the Church marked out a line for them they were not to overstep. Woe to him who ventured beyond it.

If, as was unquestionably the case, the renovation of catholicism operated thus repressively on science, the contrary was rather the case as regarded poetry and art. These lacked a copious material, a living object, and this the Church afforded them.

Torquato Tasso presents an example of the dominion exercised over men's minds by the renovation of religion. His father had sought him out a morally spotless hero; the son went a step further. As another poet of that age chose the crusades for his subject, "because it was better to treat a true argument in Christian style, than to seek a little Christian fame in a fictitious one," so likewise did Torquato Tasso; he adopted a hero not from fable, but from history, a Christian hero. Godfrey is more than *Aneas*; he is like a saint sated with the world and its fleeting fame. The poet would, however, have produced a very insipid work, if he had contented himself with portraying such an individual: but Tasso seized at once on the sentimental and enthusiastic part of religion, which happily harmonized with that fairy imagery whose rainbow hues he wrought into the web of his story. The poem is here and there somewhat prolix; the style is not always finished; still the work is full of fancy and feeling, of national spirit, and truth of character, and it has upheld Tasso's name high in the favour and admiration of his countrymen to the present day. But what a contrast between him and Ariosto! The poetic art had fallen off from the Church; it now renewed its allegiance to the renovated might of religion.

In Bologna, not far from Ferrara, where Tasso composed his poem, the school of the Caracci arose

immediately after, and its rise marked a general revolution in painting.

If we ask what were the causes of this change, we are told of the anatomical studies of the Bolognese academy, their eclectic imitation, and the erudition of their manner in art; and certainly the zeal with which they sought in their way to seize upon the appearances of nature, was highly meritorious. But the problems they proposed to themselves, and their manner of treating them, appear to me no less important considerations.

Ludovico Caracci employed himself much upon the ideal of Christ. He is not always, though occasionally, successful (as in his picture of the calling of Matthew) in depicting the mild and earnest man, full of truth and fervour, of benignity, and majesty, under a form that has so often been the model for succeeding painters. It is true he imitates preceding masters, but his manner of doing so is characteristic. He evidently had Raphael's Transfiguration before his eyes; but even in appropriating it, he makes his Christ raise his hand towards Moses with the gesture of a teacher. Agostino Caracci's masterpiece is unquestionably his St. Jerome, an old man at the point of death, no longer capable of motion, but who to his last gasp gazes in fervent longing upon the host presented to him. Annibal's *Eccce Homo*, in the Borghese palace, a figure strongly shaded, with delicate transparent skin, and in tears, is Ludovico's ideal exalted to a higher pitch. That ideal is admirably embodied, with all the fulness of youth, even in the rigidity of death, in the *Pieta*, a work in which the dismal event is conceived and expressed with original feeling. In the lunette in the Doria palace, the landscape is strikingly enlivened by the simple expression of human events in the sacred histories.

We see, that although these masters applied themselves occasionally to profane subjects, they wrought upon sacred ones with peculiar zeal. It is not, therefore, wholly to their external technical merits they owe the rank they occupy; their grand distinction is, that they once more caught the full inspiration of their subjects; that the religious conceptions they set before us, had for themselves once more some significance.

This same tendency distinguishes their pupils. Domenichino elaborated the idea of St. Jerome conceived by Agostino, with such happy diligence, that in variety of grouping, and fulness of expression, he perhaps surpassed his master. His head of St. Nilus appears to me a noble work, from its mingled expression of anguish and reflection: his prophetesses are full of youth, innocence, and deep meditation. He loved, above all, to contrast the joys of heaven with the woes of earth; in like manner has he, in the *Madonna del Rosario*, most strikingly contrasted the divine Mother, full of grace, with the needy and wretched son of earth.

Guido Reni, too, may be said sometimes to adopt this system, though it be only in placing the Virgin, glowing in eternal loveliness, in juxtaposition with emaciated monkish saints. Guido has racy vigour and original conception. How noble is his Judith, towering in the consciousness of the deed she has accomplished, and of the gratitude she owes for Heaven's aid! Who is there that knows not his enraptured *Madonnas*, almost dissolving in their



raptures! Even in his saints he embodies an ideal of sentimental reverie.

We have not yet, however, indicated all the peculiarities of this epoch of art: it has another less attractive side. There is sometimes a tone of quaint incongruity in the conceptions of these painters. The lovely group of the holy family, for instance, is figured with a St. John ceremoniously kissing the foot of the infant Jesus, or the apostles come to condole, as the phrase is, with the Virgin, deliberately prepared to wipe away their tears. How often too is the horrible represented without the least mitigation! In the St. Agnes of Domenichino, we see the blood spouting out under the sword. Guido portrays the murder of the infants in Bethlehem in all its horrors: the women are all screaming, open-mouthed, while the blood-thirsty soldiers are butchering the children.

Religion had resumed its former empire over men's minds, but its influence over art was very different from that it exercised in former times. Then art was sensuous, simple, and true: now it often exhibited something fantastic and constrained.

No one will withhold his admiration from the talent of Guercino: but what a John is that from his hand, preserved in the Sciarra gallery! With brawny arms, huge naked knees, gloomy, and inspired assuredly, but who can say whether the inspiration be of a heavenly or an earthly nature. His St. Thomas lays his hand so forcibly on the wound in the Redeemer's side, that his rude touch must give it pain. Guercino depicts Peter Martyr, precisely at the moment the sword cleaves his head. By the side of that duke of Aquitaine, whom St. Bernard is investing with the cowl, he introduces a monk in the art of converting an esquire, and the spectator sees himself inexorably condemned to witness a scene of premeditated devotion.

We will not here inquire how far the bounds of art were overpassed by this mode of treatment, sometimes unsubstantially ideal, sometimes hard and unnatural; suffice it to say, that the church acquired complete dominion over painting in its renovated state. It animated the art with the breath of poetry, and with the principles of positive religion, but it gave it at the same time an ecclesiastical, sacerdotal, and modern dogmatic character.

Such a consummation must have been still easier for the Church with regard to architecture, which was engaged in her immediate service. I am not aware that any one has investigated the progression in modern constructions, from the imitation of the ancients to the canon for the building of churches devised by Barozzi, and since his day, continually observed in Rome and throughout the catholic world. The lightness and general freedom that characterized the beginning of the century, here too became transformed into gravity, and pomp, and religious magnificence.

As regarded one art alone, it long remained questionable, whether or not it would render itself subservient to the purposes of the church.

About the middle of the sixteenth century, music had merged into the most intricate technicality. Variations, proportions, imitations, riddles, and fugues, constituted the glory of the composer. The meaning of the words was utterly disregarded: wo

meet with a whole host of masses of that period, the themes for which were furnished by profane melodies. The human voice was treated as a mere instrument\*.

It is no wonder that the council of Trent took offence at the introduction of such music into the churches. In the course of the proceedings, Pius IV. instituted a commission for the express purpose of inquiring, whether music should be tolerated in the churches, or not. The question was very doubtful. The church required that the words sung should be intelligible; and that there should be an accordance between them and the expression of the music: this the musicians asserted was unattainable by the laws of their art. Cardinal Borromeo was one of the commissioners, and his austerity might easily have led to the adoption of a harsh resolution.

Happily, the right man once more presented himself at the right moment.

Among the Roman composers of that day, was Pier Luigi Palestrina.

The rigid Paul IV. had expelled him from the papal chapel, because he was married; since which event he had lived retired and forgotten, in a sorry cottage among the vineyards of Monte Celio. His was a mind incapable of succumbing to adverse fortune. Even in his solitude he devoted himself to his art with an ardour that rewarded his creative powers with freedom, and originality of production. Here he wrote the *improperia*, that to this day ennoble the solemnities of Good Friday in the Sistine chapel. Never, perhaps, has any musician seized with more genius on the profound meaning of a scriptural text, its symbolical significance, and its bearing on the human soul and on religion.

If any man were especially qualified to make the experiment, whether it was possible to apply that method to the whole complicated work of a mass, that man was Palestrina; and to him the commission referred the subject.

He was thoroughly sensible that on the result of his experiment rested, so to speak, the life or death of the grand music of the mass, and he entered on it with the deliberate resolution to strain all his powers for its success. On his manuscript were found the words, "Lord, enlighten my eyes!"

He did not immediately succeed; his first two works were failures; but at last, in happy hour, he completed the mass which is known by the name of "The mass of Pope Marcellus," and which surpassed all expectation. It is full of simple melody, and yet will bear comparison, in point of richness and variety, with any that preceded it; its chorusses separate and meet again; the meaning of the text is incomparably expressed; the Kyrie is all prostration, the Agnus is very lowliness, the Credo majesty. Pope Pius IV., before whom it was performed, was delighted, and compared it with the heavenly melodies, such as the apostle John may have heard in his ecstasy.

By this one great example the question was set at rest for ever, and a course was opened, in which have been produced the most beautiful works, and the most touching too, even to those who do not own the Romish faith. Who can listen to them

\* Giuseppe Baini: *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pier Luigi di Palestrina*, Roma, 1828, convey the information of which I have made use.

and not feel his spirit stir within him? It is as though nature became endowed with tone and voice, as though the elements spoke, and the sounds of universal life mingled in spontaneous harmony to hallow and adore, now undulating like the sea, now soaring heavenward in exulting bursts of jubilee. The soul is borne aloft to the regions of religious ecstasy, on the wings of universal sympathy.

This art, which had perhaps most widely alienated itself from the church, was now, above all others, that which became most closely attached to it. Nothing could have been of more moment for catholicism. Even in its dogmas, if we mistake not, it had admitted something of reverie and enthusiasm; and in its most impressive penitential and didactic books, these constituted a leading characteristic. Spiritual sentimentality and rapture were the favourite subjects of poetry and painting, whilst music, more direct, more penetrating and irresistible in its appeals than any other exponent or any other art, embodied those feelings in all the abundance of a more kindred and more purely ideal language, and spell-bound every mind.

#### *The Curia.*

Whilst all the elements of society and mental activity were thus seized and transformed by the ecclesiastical spirit, the court of Rome, in which they all met and mingled, was likewise greatly changed.

This change was already noticed under Paul IV.; the example of Pius V. was of extraordinary influence upon it; under Gregory XIII. it became palpable to every one. "It has contributed immeasurably to the welfare of the church," says P. Tiepolo, in 1576, "that several successive popes have been men of irreproachable lives. This has induced other men too to become better, or at least to put on that appearance. Cardinals and prelates are diligent in their attendance on mass; in their households every thing that would give scandal is sedulously avoided; the whole city has laid aside its old disregard to morality, and is become much more Christian than before in its manners and habits. We may venture to assert, that in matters of religion Rome is not far from such a degree of perfection as it is given to man to attain."

Not that the papal court was all made up of puritans and canters: it consisted unquestionably of distinguished men, but who had committed themselves in a high degree to a rigorous tone of sentiment in ecclesiastical matters.

If we picture it to ourselves as it existed under Sixtus V., we shall find in it no few cardinals who played a considerable part in the politics of the world:—Gallio of Como, first minister during two pontificates, who possessed the art of ruling by complacency; he now further distinguished himself by the application of his great income to ecclesiastical endowments;—Rusticacci, already powerful under Pius V., and not without great influence under Sixtus, a man full of penetration and goodness of heart, industrious, and the more circumspect and irreproachable, inasmuch as he aimed at the papacy;—Salviati, who had acquired reputation by his well-ordered government of Bologna, a man of blameless life and simple habits, and not serious merely, but even austere;—Santorio, cardinal of

San Severina, the man of the inquisition, long in the command of paramount influence in all spiritual affairs; obstinate in his opinions, severe with his servants, full of harshness even towards his own relations, much more so towards others, inaccessible to every one;—contrasted with him Madruzzi, who always possessed the secret of the policy of the house of Austria, both of the Spanish and the German line, and who was called the Cato of the college, only however for his learning and his blameless virtue, not his censorious pretensions, for he was modesty itself. Sirletto was still living, of all the cardinals of his times, unquestionably the most versed in science and in languages, a living library, as Muret said; yet when he rose up from his books, he would call the boys to him as they carried their fagots to market in winter, instruct them in the mysteries of faith, and then buy their wood of them: he was, in truth, a cordially good-natured and compassionate man\*. The example of Carlo Borromeo, whose memory gradually ripened into the glory of sainthood, had great influence. Federico Borromeo was by nature irritable and impetuous, but, following the pattern set before him by his uncle, he led a religious life, and suffered not the mortifications he not unfrequently endured to disturb his composure. But the truest copy of that exemplary man was Agostino Valiere, a man of a nature as noble and pure as his erudition was rare, who followed the voice of his conscience alone, and who now, at an advanced age, seemed to present the type of a bishop of the primitive times.

The rest of the prelates followed the example of the cardinals, whose associates they were in the congregation, and whose places they were one day to occupy.

Among the members of the highest tribunal of Rome, the Auditori di Rota, two in particular distinguished themselves at this period; they being at the same time men of opposite characters. The one was Mantica, who lived only among books and legal documents, who served the forum and the schools by his judicial works, and was in the habit of expressing himself briefly, and without much ceremony. The other was Arigone, who gave himself up not so much to books as to the world, the court, and politics, and who was remarkable for judgment and for suppleness of character. Both, however, strove alike to maintain a reputation for purity of conduct and religious fervour. Of the bishops about the court, those were particularly noticed who had been engaged in nunciatures: Torres, who had had a great part in the conclusion of Pius V.'s league against the Turks; Malaspina, who had watched over the interests of the catholic church in Germany and the North; Bolognetti, to whom had been committed the laborious visitation of the Venetian churches; all of them men who had risen by their talents and their zeal for religion.

The learned men of the court occupied a distinguished rank:—Bellarmine, professor, grammarian, the greatest controversialist of the catholic church, who left behind him the reputation of an apostolic

\* Ciaconius, *Vite Paparum*, iii. p. 978, where also is given the epitaph on Sirletto, in which he is described as "eruditorum pauperumque patronus" [patron of the learned and of the poor]. Cardella's *Memorie Storiche de' Cardinali* contain no more than the notices of Ciaconius put into Italian.

life; another jesuit, Maffei, who wrote the history of the Portuguese conquests in India, particularly as they regarded the propagation of Christianity in the South and in the East, and who also composed the life of Loyola, a work in which phrase follows phrase with deliberate diffuseness and nicely poised elegance\*. Sometimes there were strangers, such as the German Clavius, who combined profound science with blamelessness of life, and enjoyed the esteem of every one; or Muret, a Frenchman, the best latinist of that day, who after he had long expounded the pandects in an original and classic manner (he was as witty as he was eloquent), became a priest in his old age, applied himself to theological studies, and read mass every day; or the Spanish canonist Azpilcueta, whose responsa were regarded as oracles by the court, and the whole catholic world: Pope Gregory XIII. was often seen to stop for hours before his house to converse with him; yet he humbled himself to the lowest offices in the hospitals.

Among these remarkable personages, Filippo Neri, founder of the congregation of the Oratory, an eminent confessor and guide of souls, obtained great and extensive influence. He was good-natured, playful, strict in essentials, indulgent in trifles. He never commanded, but only gave counsels: he even seemed to request: he did not dissertate, but conversed: he possessed the requisite penetration to distinguish the peculiar bent of every mind. The Oratory he founded grew up out of the visits made him, and the attachment of some young men, who looked on themselves as his disciples, and wished to live with him. The most famous among them is Cesar Baronius, the annalist of the church. Filippo Neri recognized his talent, and persuaded him to set forth the history of the church in the meetings of the Oratory, though at first he showed no inclination to the task†. Baronius applied himself for thirty years continuously to his historical labours, and even when he had become cardinal he used to rise before day to pursue them. He regularly ate at the same table with his household; nor was anything ever observable in his character inconsistent with humility and godliness. Both in the Oratory and as cardinal, he maintained a strict intimacy with Tarugi, who was in high consideration as a confessor and preacher, and who was like himself remarkable for guileless piety. Their friendship lasted till death, and was a source of happiness to both: they were buried side by side. A third disciple of San Filippo's was Silvio Antoniano, whose inclinations indeed tended rather to literature and poetic labours, and who subsequently displayed extraordinary literary skill in the composition of papal briefs, when that duty was consigned to him. He was a man of the gentlest manners, humble and affable, all goodness and piety.

All the prominent features of this court, politics, administration, poetry, art, and learning, wore the same complexion.

What a change from the curia of the beginning of the century, when the cardinals were at open war with the popes; when the latter buckled on the sword, and in court and in person repudiated

every thing that called to mind their Christian vocation. Now, on the other hand, how still and conventlike were the habits of the cardinals. The failure of Cardinal Tosco, who once had the nearest prospect of the papacy, was chiefly owing to his habitual use of two or three Lombard proverbs that were considered objectionable. So punctilious and so easily offended was public opinion.

But we must not conceal, that in social habits too, as well as in literature and art, another, and to our feelings less agreeable, aspect of things, unfolded itself. Miracles, that had not been seen for a long time, were renewed. An image of the Virgin at San Silvestro began to speak, an event that produced such an impression upon the people, that the waste district round the church was very soon put under cultivation. In Rione de' Monti a miraculous image of the Virgin appeared in a hayrick, and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood looked on this as such a special token of Divine favour, that they rose in arms to resist its removal. We hear of similar phenomena in Narni, Lodi, and San Severino; and from the States of the Church they spread over the whole Catholic world. The popes, too, resumed the practice of canonization, which had been disused for a considerable time. All confessors were not so judicious as Filippo Neri: a barren workseeking pietism was encouraged, and the conception of Divine things was mingled with fantastic superstition.

Would we could, at least, cherish the belief, that even with these false notions, the multitude had imbibed a thorough devotion to the precepts of religion!

But it resulted from the very nature of the court, that along with its religious efforts those of the most vehemently secular tendency manifested themselves likewise.

The curia was not exclusively an ecclesiastical institution, it had a state, and indirectly a great portion of the world to rule. In proportion as any individual acquired a share in that power, he won consequence, the gifts of fortune, influence, and every thing that man is prone to covet. Human nature could not have so changed, that men should have struggled only by spiritual means for the prizes offered by society and politics. The same courses were here adopted as at other courts, but with very peculiar modifications, consonant with the nature of the arena.

Of all cities in the world, Rome probably possessed in those days the most fluctuating population. Under Leo X. it had swelled to more than eighty thousand souls, and it had sunk again to forty-five thousand under Paul IV., from whose rigour every one fled. Immediately after his days it rose again in a few years to seventy thousand, and to upwards of one hundred thousand under Sixtus V. The most remarkable circumstance was, that the fixed residents bore no proportion to these numbers. The city was peopled rather by long sojourners than by natives; it might be compared to a fair or a diet, without continuance or stability, without the cement of blood. Numbers flocked to Rome, because they could not find any preferment in the land of their birth. Wounded pride drove some thither, wayward ambition others. Many thought there was more liberty there than elsewhere. Every man sought to rise in his own way.

The heterogeneous elements were still far from

\* Vita J. P. Maffei Serassio auctore. In the edition of Maffei's works, Berg. 1747.

† Gallonius, Vita Phil. Nerii. Mog. 1602. p. 163.

coalescing into one compact body; the various races were still numerous, and so distinct, that the diversities of national and provincial character were easily to be seen. The courteous docile Lombard was distinguished from the Genoese, who thought to carry all before him by the force of his money, and the Venetian, alert to discover the secrets of others. There might be seen the frugal loquacious Florentine, the Romagnese with his instinctive staunchness in the chase of his own interest, and the assuming and ceremonious Neapolitan. The men from the north were simple in their habits, and fond of comfort, even Clavius the German was the butt of many a joke, for his two very substantial breakfasts. The French kept apart, and had the most difficulty in relinquishing their national habits. The Spaniard stalked about wrapped in his sottana and his cloak, full of pretension and ambitious schemes, and despised all the rest.

There was nothing which an individual in the multitude might not venture to set his heart on. People were fond of the recollection, that John XXIII., when he was asked why he was going to Rome, answered, he wished to become pope,—and pope he was. In like manner Pius V. and Sixtus V. had risen from the lowest grade to supreme dignity. Every man deemed himself capable of every thing, and hoped for every thing.

It was a frequent remark in those days, and a perfectly just one, that there was something of a republican character in the prelacy and the curia; this consisted in the circumstance that all might pretend to all, and that individuals continually rose from humble origin to the highest dignities. Nevertheless, that republic was one of the most singular constitution: on the one hand was the universal qualification of individuals for public honours, on the other the absolute power of a single man, upon whose arbitrary decision depended every endowment and every promotion. And who was that man? He on whom an utterly incalculable combination bestowed the victory in the elective contest. Previously of little weight, he suddenly became invested with the fulness of authority. Going under the conviction that he had been raised by the operation of the Holy Ghost to the highest dignity, he had so much the less motive to forego any of his personal inclinations. He usually began forthwith, with a thorough alteration of existing arrangements. The legates and governors were changed in all the provinces: in the capital there were places that, as a matter of course, always fell to the pope's kinsmen and nephews. Even when nepotism was restricted, as it was in the period under our immediate consideration, still every pope favoured his old confidants and retainers. It was quite natural that he should not break off his habitual intercourse with them. Thus the secretary, who had long served the Cardinal Montalto, was also the most acceptable to Pope Sixtus V. Each pope, of necessity, brought forward with himself the partisans of the opinions to which he himself inclined. Thus did every new accession to the papal chair bring about a kind of revolution in all prospects and expectations, in the approaches to power, and in ecclesiastical and temporal dignities. "It is," says Commendone, "as though the site of the princely castle in a city were changed, and all the streets were made to run towards the new edifice: how many houses must be pulled

down, how often must the road be carried through a palace, while new lanes and passages begin to be thronged." This comparison does not unaptly depict the violent changes occurring on each occasion, and the degree of stability of the consequent arrangements.

A circumstance of a most peculiar kind rose inevitably out of this.

From the frequent recurrence of these mutations, the accession of the popes at so much a more advanced age than usual with other sovereigns, and the momentarily impending possibility of a transition of power into other hands, every man's life was, as it were, a continuous game of chance; no man could calculate the upshot, but his hopes were kept continually alive by the uncertainty.

Each individual's hopes of fortune and promotion depended especially on personal favour; and where all personal influence was in such a continual state of fluctuation, the calculations of ambition must necessarily have assumed a corresponding tone, and cast themselves upon very peculiar devices.

In our manuscript collections are to be found a multitude of directions respecting the behaviour expedient to be observed at the papal court\*. The manner in which each man plies his schemes, and seeks to make his fortune, appears to me no uninteresting object of notice. Human nature is inexhaustible in its plastic capacity for adaptation to circumstances; the more rigidly defined the data imposed on it, the more unexpected are the forms into which it throws itself.

All cannot adopt the same course: he who possesses nothing must be content to take service. A liberal domestication in the houses of cardinals and princes was still open to literary men. If a man felt compelled to place himself in such a position, it became the object of his chief solicitude to ingratiate himself with the head of the house, to acquire merit in his eyes, to penetrate his secrets, and to become indispensable to him. Every thing was patiently endured at his hands, even injustice was borne with cheerfulness; for how soon, on a change in the papacy, might his star too rise in the ascendant, and his retainers partake of its splendour. Fortune ebbs and flows: the man remains the same.

Others, perhaps, directed their efforts to the attainment of a little place, that with zeal and activity might open a certain field to their ambition. But in truth, it is always an irksome thing—and so it was then and there as much as in any other city and other times—to be obliged to look to necessary wants in the first place, and to honour afterwards.

How much more fortunate was the condition of those who had a competence! The monti, in which they purchased shares, yielded them a certain income every month: they bought a place, in right of which they entered directly into the prelacy, and

\* For instance.—*Istruzione al signor cardinale di Medici del modo como si deve governare nella corte di Roma.*—*Avvertimenti all'illmo. cardinal Montalto sopra il modo col quale si possa e debba ben governare come cardinale e nepote del papa.* *Informi xii.*—*Avvertimenti politici et utilissimi per la corte di Roma.* seventy-eight very questionable maxims. *Informi xxv.* The most important of all. *Discorso over ritratto della corte di Roma di Mr. Illmo. Commendone.* Cold. Rang at Vienna.

not only attained an independence, but also an opportunity of brilliantly displaying their talents. Whoso has to him shall be given. At this court it was doubly advantageous to possess something, because the possession reverted to the camera, so that the pope himself had an interest in its increase.

In such a situation there was no more need of so slavishly attaching oneself to a great man; so strongly pronounced partisanship would rather, indeed, have stood in the way of a man's promotion, if it ran counter to the caprices of fortune. The most essential precaution to be observed was, to avoid giving offence to any one; a precaution most sensitively and watchfully attended to in the slightest and most superficial intercourses of life. Care was taken, for instance, not to treat any man with more honour than he was exactly entitled to: equality of comportment towards persons of different degrees would be inequality, and might produce an unfavourable impression. Even of the absent nothing but good was to be spoken, not only because words once uttered are no longer in our power, they fly one knows not whither, but also because very few love a keen scrutinizer. It behoved a man to make a moderate use of his knowledge, and to avoid rendering it tedious to any one. It was not advisable to be the bearer of bad news, a part of the unfavourable impression always recoiling upon the bearer of the tidings. The only difficulty on the other hand was, to avoid so strict a silence as would render one's purpose apparent.

Elevation to higher dignities, even to that of cardinal, conferred no exemption from these duties; it only obliged the individual to be more assiduous of observance of them in his own sphere. Who should venture to betray his belief that any member of the college of cardinals was unfit for the papal dignity? There was not one of them so insignificant on whom the choice might not possibly fall.

A cardinal's first concern was to cultivate the favourable opinion of the reigning pope: on it depended fortune and dignity, universal deference and obsequiousness. Great discretion, however, was necessary in the manner of paying his court. Profound silence was to be observed as to all the personal concerns of the pope, whilst, at the same time, no pains were to be spared to come at the bottom of them, so as secretly to shape one's proceedings accordingly. The pope might, indeed, now and then be addressed in praise of his nephews, their fidelity and their talents: such topics were usually welcome. To learn the secrets of the papal house, use might be made of the monks, who under the pretence of religion penetrate further than any one imagines.

The importance and the rapid vicissitude of personal relations, imposes especially on ambassadors a necessity for extraordinary vigilance. Like a skilful pilot, the envoy observes how the wind blows: he spares no money to get hold of persons who may give him information; all his outlay is well repaid by a single valuable intelligence, which may indicate to him the seasonable moment for pushing forward his negotiations. If he has a request to make of the pope, he makes it his business insensibly to interweave its purport with the pope's own interests, however remote from each other the two may really be. Above all, he strains every effort to win over the favourite kinsman, and to convince him that from no court, so much as his own, has the

latter reason to expect wealth and permanent greatness. He also endeavours to secure the good will of the cardinals. To none will he absolutely promise the papacy, but he flatters the hopes of all. He will not commit himself wholly to any of them, but he will occasionally bestow marks of his favour even on those who are hostilely disposed. He does like the falconer, who slews the piece of meat to the hawk, but only gives him a little of it from time to time.

So lived and moved among each other, cardinals, ambassadors, princes, public and private possessors of power; full of ceremony, of which Rome was the classic ground, of obsequiousness and submissiveness, but egotists all to the very core; ever craving only to accomplish some private end, and to overreach others.

Curious it is to note how the struggle for what all covet, power, honour, wealth, and enjoyment, elsewhere the fruitful source of rancour and feud, here took the shape of courtesy and officiousness; how, the better to gratify his own passions, each flattered in others those of which he was in some measure conscious in himself. Here self-denial was full of greed, and passion stole onward with wary step.

We have seen the dignity, the earnestness, the religion, that prevailed at this court; we now see its worldly side likewise, ambition, covetousness, dissimulation, and craft.

Were it our purpose to pronounce an eulogy on the Roman court, we need select only the former of these its constituent elements; were we inclined to inveigh against it, we might look exclusively to the latter. But when we rise to the heights of clear and unprejudiced observation, we take both into our contemplation, nay, admit the necessary derivation of both from the nature of man and the force of circumstances.

That phase in the world's history which we have been considering, gave more vivid coerciveness than ever to the demand for decorum, purity of life, and religion; it coincided with the principle of the court, whose position with regard to the world rested on the maintenance of those qualities. It followed, of necessity, that those men rose to most eminence whose characters most amply accorded with that demand: had it been otherwise, public opinion would not only have been untrue to itself, but suicidal. The happening however, as it did, that the goods of fortune were so immediately connected with spiritual qualities, was an enormous provocative of the spirit of this world.

We cannot doubt the genuine nature of the temper and sentiments not unfrequently depicted to us by our observant and discreet authorities. But how many a man may yet have sought to secure his fortunes by mere outward show? Into how many other minds may mere worldly tendencies have forced their way along with those of religion, in the misty dimness of half-developed motives.

It was with the curia as with literature and art. All alike had fallen off from the church, and rushed upon paths verging almost upon paganism. Yonder march of events awoke the dormant principle of the church, moved all the energies of society as with a new breath of life, and gave a new colouring to the whole body of the times. How broadly marked the difference between Ariosto and Tasso, between Giulio Romano and Guercino, between Pomponazzo

and Patrizi ! A great epoch lies between them. Yet is there something common to the former and the latter, and they have a mutual point of contact. The curia, too, retained its old form, and preserved many other particulars of its old nature. Yet this did not prevent its being swayed by a new spirit ; what the latter could not wholly transform and assimilate to itself, it animated, at least, with its own impulse.

As I contemplate the mingling of the various elements, I call to mind a natural spectacle, that may, perhaps, serve as a sort of type and similitude to aid our conception of this state of things.

• Near Terni, the Nera is seen approaching through the lengthened valley, between woods and meadows, in calm unruffled flow. On the other side, the Velino, pent up between rocks, rushes on with

giant speed, till at last it dashes headlong from the cliffs in splendid cascades, that foam and sparkle with a thousand hues. Meeting immediately with the Nera, in an instant it communicates to it its own commotion. Roaring and surging, the mingled waters sweep torrent-like along.

Thus did the newly-awakened spirit of the catholic church give a new impetus to all the organs of literature and art, to the whole being of society. The curia was at once devout and restless, spiritual and warlike ; on the one hand full of dignity, pomp, and ceremony ; on the other, unparalleled for calculating subtilty, and unwearied lust of sway. Its piety and its ambitious projects, both reposing on the idea of an exclusive orthodoxy, coalesced into one system. Thus constituted, it once more essayed to subdue the world.

## BOOK THE FIFTH.

### COUNTER REFORMATIONS. FIRST PERIOD. 1563-1589.

#### *Introduction.*

It is one of the most difficult problems in the history of a nation or of a power, to appreciate the connexion of its special relations with those of the world at large.

It is true the individual life of the body politic grows in obedience to inherent laws assorted to its peculiar moral constitution, and displays a characteristic consistency throughout the progress of ages. Still it is incessantly under the operation of general influences, that powerfully affect the course of its development.

We may lay it down as a maxim, that the character of modern Europe is founded on this contrast of forces. Its states and races are for ever parted from each other, but at the same time they are knit together in an inseparable system of community. There are no national annals in which universal history does not play an important part. So bound by the laws of necessity, so all-embracing is the consecutive series of ages, that even the mightiest state often appears but as a member of the great commonwealth, involved in, and ruled by, its destinies. Whoever has once attempted to consider the history of a people in the whole, and to survey its course, without arbitrarily straining truth, and without illusion, will have experienced the difficulty arising from this source. In the several phases of a nation's progressive existence, we discern the various currents of the world's general destiny.

But this difficulty becomes double when, as sometimes occurs, a power sets on foot a movement that involves the whole world, and of the principle of which it is itself the peculiar representative. Such a power then takes so potent a share in the collective operations of the age, it enters into such vivid relations with all the active forces of the world, that its history expands in a certain sense into universal history.

On such a phase as this, the papacy entered after the council of Trent.

Shaken to its very centre, perilled in the very ground-work of its being, it had yet been able to bide the brunt, and to arm itself with renovated vigour. In both peninsulas it had promptly swept aside all the hostile efforts by which it had been assailed, and had once more gathered to itself and pervaded all the elements of life. It now conceived the project of re-subduing the revolted in all other parts of the world. Rome became once more a conquering power, it formed projects, and engaged in enterprises, such as in ancient times and in the middle ages had issued from the seven-hilled city.

We should make but little progress in the history of the renovated papacy, were we to limit our observation till its centre only. Its actual significance is perfectly to be seen but in its operation upon the world in general.

Let us begin with contemplating the strength and position of its rival.

#### *Situation of Protestantism about the year 1563.*

North of the Alps and the Pyrenees, the Protestant opinions had been in vigorous and incessant progress till the period of the council of Trent : their dominion extended far and wide over German, Slavonian, and Latin nations.

In the Scandinavian realms they had established themselves the more impregably, because there their introduction was coincident with the establishment of new dynasties, and the re-modelling of all political institutions. From the very first they were hailed with joy, as though there was in their nature a primitive affinity to the national feelings. Bugenhagen, the founder of Lutheranism in Denmark, cannot find words enough to describe the zeal with which his preaching was listened to in that country, "even on work-days,"

as he expresses himself, "even before day, on holidays and all day long.\*" The Protestant doctrines had now spread to the very remotest boundaries of Scandinavia. How the Faro Isles became Protestant is unknown, so easy and spontaneous was the change †. In the year 1552, the last representatives of catholicism in Iceland succumbed: a Lutheran bishopric was founded in Wiborg in 1554: evangelic preachers travelled to far Lapland in company with the Swedish governors. In 1560, Gustavus Vasa earnestly enjoined his heir in his will, that he and all his posterity should hold fast by the evangelical doctrine, and tolerate no false teachers. He made this almost a condition to the inheritance of the throne ‡.

On the Southern shores too of the Baltic, Lutheranism had achieved complete predominance, at least among the population of German tongue. Prussia had set the first example of secularization on a grand scale: this having been followed by Livonia in 1561, the first condition stipulated for by that province on its submission to Poland, was, that it should be at liberty to abide by the Augsburg confession. Their connexion with those countries, whose subjection was based on the Protestant principle, operated as a check upon the Jagellon kings, to prevent their opposing the progress of the new faith. The great cities of Polish Prussia were, in the years 1557, 1558, confirmed in the exercise of their religion according to the Lutheran ritual by express charters; and the privileges soon after acquired by the smaller towns, which had previously been exposed to the attacks of powerful bishops, were still more explicit. In fact, even in Poland Proper a considerable part of the nobility had been gained over to the Protestant opinions, grateful as these were to the feelings of independence nurtured by the constitution of the state. It was a common saying, "A Polish nobleman is not subject to the king; is he to be so to the pope?" So far were matters carried, that Protestants made their way even into the episcopal sees, and even constituted the majority of the senate under Sigismund Augustus. That sovereign was unquestionably catholic; he heard mass daily, and catholic preaching every Sunday; he joined the singers of his choir in the Benedictus; observed the seasons of confession and communion, which latter he received in one kind: still he seemed to give himself little concern about the creed of his court or his subjects, and was not disposed to embitter the last years of his life, by a contest against so vigorously progressive a system of belief §.

\* Narrative of D. Pomerani, 1539. Sabb. p. visit. in Müllers Entdeckten Staatscabinet 4te Eröffn. p. 365.

† Münster: Kirchengeschichte von Dänemark, iii. 429.

‡ Testamentum religiosum Gustavi I. in Baaz: Inventarium Ecclesie Sueogoth p. 282.

§ Lengnich: Nachricht von der Religionsänderung in Preussen vor dem 1ten Theil der Geschichte der Preussischen Lande, § 20.

|| Relazione di Polonia del vescovo di Camerino, about 1555. MS. in the Chigi library. A molti di questi (who reside at court) comporta che vivano come li piace, perche si vede che S. Maestà è tanto benigna che non vorria mai far cosa che dispiacesse ad alcuno, ed io vorrei che nelle cose della religione fosse un poco piu severa. [Many of those who reside at court, are at liberty to live as they please,

Such an attempt at resistance had, to say the least of it, not been beneficial to the government in the neighbouring dominions of Hungary. Ferdinand I. could never force the diet to any resolutions unfavourable to Protestantism. In the year 1554, a Lutheran was elected palatine of the empire, and soon after concessions were extorted in favour of the Helvetic confession in the vale of Erian. Transylvania separated itself altogether; the ecclesiastical possessions in that country were confiscated by a formal decree of the diet, in the year 1556, the princess even appropriating to herself the greater part of the tithes.

We come now to Germany, where the new form of the church had first unfolded itself spontaneously out of the national mind, upheld itself throughout a long and formidable war, achieved a legalized existence, and was now in the act of taking full possession of the several states. In this it had already made extensive progress. Protestantism not only reigned paramount in Northern Germany, where it had originated, and in those districts of Upper Germany where it had always maintained itself; its grasp had been extended much more widely in every direction.

In Franconia, the bishoprics vainly opposed it. In Wurzburg, and Bamberg, by far the greater part of the nobility and of the episcopal functionaries, the magistrates, and the burghers of the towns, at least the majority of them, and the bulk of the rural population, had passed over to the reforming party. In the territories of Bamberg, we trace the name of a Lutheran pastor attached to almost every single parish\*. Such was the tone prevailing in the administration, which moreover was principally in the hands of the estates, regularly constituted bodies corporate, invested even with the right of imposing taxes and duties: such too was the tone prevailing in the tribunals, and the observation was commonly made, that the greater number of decisions were hostile to the catholic interests †. The bishop ‡ had little weight; those even who, "with Teutonic and Frankish fidelity," revered them as princes, could not yet endure to see them parade, mitred and decked in their clerical trappings.

The movement had not been much less energetic in Bavaria. The great majority of the nobility had adopted the protestant doctrine, and a considerable portion of the towns was decidedly inclined to it: the duke was compelled in his diets, for instance, in the year 1556, to grant concessions, such as elsewhere led to the complete introduction of the Augsburg confession, and which here seemed to promise the same result. The duke himself was not so inveterately opposed to that confession as not occasionally to listen to a protestant sermon §.

Far more than this, however, had been done in Austria. The nobility of that country studied in Wittenberg: all the colleges of the land were

because it is evident his majesty is so benignant, he could never consent to molest any one. For my part I could wish that in matters of religion he was a little more severe.]

\* Jäck has specially occupied himself with this matter, in the second and third parts of his Geschichte von Bamberg.

† Gropp, Dissertatio de Statu Religionis in Franconia Lutheranism infecta. Scriptores Wirceb. i. p. 42.

‡ Sitzinger in Strobel: Beiträge zur Literatur, i. 313.



filled with Protestants; it was said to be ascertained, that not more perhaps than the thirtieth part of the population had remained catholic: step by step, a national constitution unfolded itself, formed upon the principle of Protestantism.

The archbishops of Salzburg too, encompassed by Bavaria and Austria, had been unable to keep their dominions steadfast to the ancient faith. True, they admitted no protestant preacher, but the disposition of the population was not the less decidedly pronounced. The mass was no longer frequented in the capital; nor fasts nor holidays observed. Those who were too remote to attend the preachers in Austrian localities, edified themselves at home with Spangenberg's postiles. The people of the mountains were not content with this. In the Rauris and the Gastein, in St. Veit, Tamsweg, and Radstadt, the inhabitants loudly demanded the sacramental cup, and this being refused them, they ceased altogether to attend the sacrament: they withheld their children too from the schools; and it actually occurred in the church, that a peasant rose and cried out to the preacher, "Thou liest." The peasants preached to each other\*. We need not be surprised, if under the suppression of all worship accordant with their newly adopted convictions, notions of a visionary and romantic character grew up among those inhabitants of the lonely Alps.

How advantageously contrasted with this picture, is that which presents itself to us in the dominions of the spiritual electors on the Rhine, where the nobility had independence enough to procure for their vassals a freedom, which could hardly be granted by the spiritual lord. The Rhenish nobility had early embraced protestantism; they allowed no encroachments of the sovereigns upon their domains, not even of a religious kind. In all the towns there existed already a protestant party. It showed its activity by reiterated petitions in Cologne; in Trier it was already so strong as to reject a preacher from Geneva, and to maintain him in defiance of the elector: in Aix la Chapelle it strove for absolute supremacy; the inhabitants of Mainz too did not hesitate to send their children to protestant schools, for instance to Nürnberg. Commendone, who was in Germany in the year 1561, cannot express the dependence of the prelates upon the Lutheran princes, and their complaisance towards protestantism†. He declares he has known protestants of the most violent opinions in their very privy councils‡. He is amazed that time had so utterly failed to bring relief to catholicism.

It was the same in Westphalia as elsewhere. The whole rural population was busy with the harvest on St. Peter's day: the appointed festivals were generally no longer observed. The town-council of Paderborn watched with a kind of jealousy over its protestant confession. In Münster more than one bishop had the reputation of Lutheran sentiments, and most of the priests were formally married: duke Wilhelm of Cleves adhered

indeed on the whole to catholicism; in his private chapel, nevertheless, he received the sacrament in both kinds; the greater part of his council were avowed protestants; no essential obstacle was offered to the evangelical ritual in his dominions\*.

In short, from west to east, and from north to south, throughout all Germany, protestantism had unquestionably the preponderance. The nobility were attached to it from the very first: the body of public functionaries, already in those days numerous and important, was trained up in the new doctrine: the common people would hear no more of certain articles, such for instance as purgatory, or of certain ceremonies, such as pilgrimages: not a convent could maintain itself, not a man durst come forward with holy relics. A Venetian ambassador calculates, in the year 1558, that but a tenth part of the inhabitants of Germany still clung to the ancient faith.

It is not surprising if the losses sustained by catholicism in power and property, kept pace with the continual decay of its spiritual influence. The canons in most of the ecclesiastical foundations were either devoted to the reformed doctrine, or were lukewarm and indifferent. What was to hinder them then from proposing protestant bishops when opportunity occurred, should that seem to them advantageous in other respects? True, it was ordained by the treaty of Augsburg, that a spiritual prince should lose both his rank and his revenues if he abandoned the old faith; this it was thought, however, by no means aimed at preventing a chapter already protestant, from choosing an evangelical bishop; all that could be insisted on was, that the endowments should not be made hereditary. Thus it occurred, that a Brandenburg prince received the archbishopric of Magdeburg, a Lauenburg prince that of Bremen, and a prince of Brunswick that of Halberstadt. The bishoprics too of Lübeck, Verden, and Minden, and the abbey of Quedlinburg, fell into protestant hands†.

Nor was the confiscation of church property less energetically carried on. How great were the losses sustained, for instance, within a few years by the bishopric of Augsburg. In the year 1537 all the convents in Württemberg were wrested from it: these were followed in 1558 by the convents and parishes of the county of Oettingen. It was not till after the peace of Augsburg, that the protestants rose to an equality with their rivals in Dinkelsbühl and Donauwerth, and to supremacy in Nördlingen and Memmingen. Thereupon the convents in those towns, among them the rich preceptory of St. Anthony in Memmingen, and the parochial livings, were irretrievably lost‡.

\* Tempesti, Vita di Sisto V. from the Anonymo di Cam-pidoglio, l. xliii. Da molti anni si comunicava con ambe le specie, quantunque il suo capellano gliel' avesse parlato, inducendolo a comunicarsi così nella sua capella segreta, per non dar mal esempio a' sudditi. In a letter given in Niesert's Münstersche Urkundensammlung, l. xxi. it is said with similar significance of the bishop of Münster and the court of Cleves: Wilhelmus episcopus (W. v. Rettler) religionem semilutheranam hausit in aula Juliacensi. [Bishop Wilhelm imbibed a semilutheran religion at the court of Cleves.]

† See also my Hist. Pol. Zeitschrift, l. ii. 269 et seq.

‡ Placidus Braun: Geschichte der Bischöfe von Augsburg, Band iii. 533, 535 et seq., on this head from authentic sources.

\* Extract from a report by the canon Wilh. v. Trautmannsdorf of the year 1555, in Zauners, Chronik von Salzburg, vi. 327.

† Gratiani, Vie de Commendon, p. 116.

‡ De' più arrabbiati heretici. Mi e' parso che il tempo non habbia apportato alcun giovamento. Commendone, Relazione della stato della religione in Germania. MS. Vallicell.

In addition to all this, there was but little of a cheering nature in the future prospects of catholicism.

Protestant opinions had triumphed in the universities and educational establishments. Those old champions of catholicism who had withstood Luther were dead, or in advanced years: young men capable of supplying their places had not yet arisen. Twenty years had elapsed in Vienna since a single student of the university had taken priest's orders. Even in Ingoldstadt, pre-eminently catholic as it was, no competent candidates of the faculty of theology presented themselves to fill the places that had hitherto been always occupied by ecclesiastics\*. The city of Cologne founded an endowed school; but when all the arrangements for it had been made, it was found that the regent was a protestant†. Cardinal Otto Truchsess established a new university in his city of Dillingen, with the express design of resisting the progress of protestantism. The credit of this institution was maintained for some years by a few distinguished Spanish theologians, but as soon as these left it, not a single scholar could be found in all Germany to succeed to their places; and even these were likewise filled with protestants. About this period the teachers in Germany were all, almost without exception, protestants; the whole body of the rising generation sat at their feet, and imbibed a hatred of the pope with the first rudiments of learning.

Such was the state of things in the north and east of Europe: in many places catholicism was entirely exploded, in all it was subdued and despoiled. While it was struggling to defend itself, enemies still more formidable arose against it in the west and south.

For assuredly the Calvinistic system was still more pointedly opposed to the Romish doctrines than was Lutheranism: just at the epoch before us, Calvinism took possession of men's minds with resistless force.

It had arisen on the frontiers of Italy, Germany, and France, and had spread thence in all directions. Eastward, in Germany, Hungary, and Poland, it constituted a subordinate but still very important element of the protestant movement; in western Europe it had already risen to independent power.

Whereas the Scandinavian kingdoms had become Lutheran, the British had adopted the Calvinistic faith: in the latter, the new church had assumed two opposite aspects. In Scotland, where its power had been won during its struggles with the government, it was poor, popular, and democratic: so much the more resistless was the fervour with which it animated its votaries. In England, where it had risen to eminence in league with the government of the day, it was rich, monarchical, and magnificent; and it declared itself content with mere forbearance from opposition to its ritual. The church of Scotland naturally approximated infinitely more to the model of Geneva, and was infinitely more in accordance with the spirit of Calvin.

The French had embraced the doctrines of their countryman Calvin, with all their characteristic

vivacity. In defiance of every persecution, the French churches modelled themselves on the type of that of Geneva: they held a synod as early as the year 1559. In the year 1561, the Venetian ambassador Micheli finds not one province free from protestantism, and three-fourths of the realm filled with it.—Bretagne and Normandy, Gascony and Languedoc, Poitou, Touraine, Provence, and Dauphiné. "In many places in these provinces," he says, "meetings and preachings are held, and rules of life laid down, exactly after the pattern set by Geneva, without the least regard to the royal prohibitions. Every one has adopted these opinions, even, what is most remarkable, the clergy; not only priests, monks, and nuns—there may possibly be a few convents uninfected by them—but the very bishops, and many of the more eminent prelates." "Your highness:" he says to the doge,—"with the exception of the common people, that is still zealous in frequenting the churches, all the rest of the nation are fallen away, especially the nobles, and the younger men under forty years of age, almost without exception. For although many of them still go to mass, they do so only for appearance sake, and out of fear: when they think themselves unobserved, they turn their backs on mass and church." When Micheli arrived in Geneva, he learned that immediately after the death of Francis II. fifty preachers had set out from that city to different towns in France. He was amazed to see the consideration in which Calvin was held, and the quantity of money that poured in upon him in aid of the multitudes that had fled for refuge to Geneva\*. He finds it unavoidable that religious freedom should be accorded to the French protestants, at least for an interim, as he expressed himself, if a deluge of blood was to be avoided. In fact, this report was soon followed by the edict of Jan. 1562, which granted a recognized and legal existence to protestantism in France, and is the basis of the privileges it has since enjoyed there.

All these changes on every side, in Germany, France, and England, could not fail of affecting the Netherlands. The German influence had first prevailed there. One of the most cogent motives that impelled Charles V. to the war of Schmalkalde was, that the sympathy the German protestants

\* Micheli, *Relazione delle cose di Francia, l'anno 1561*. Da poi che fu conosciuto che col mettere in prigioni e con castigare e con l'abbruciare non solo non si emendavano, ma si disordinavano piu, fu deliberato che non si procedesse piu contra alcuno, eccetto che contra quelli che andavano predicando, seducendo e facendo publicamente le congregazioni e le assemblee, e gli altri si lassassero vivere: onde ne furono liberati e cavati di prigioni di Parigi e di tutti le altre terre del regno un grandissimo numero, che rimasero poi nel regno praticando liberamente e parlando con ogn'uno e gloriandosi che avevano guadagnato la lite contra i Papisti: cost chiamavano e chiamano li loro adversarii. [After it was ascertained that imprisonment, chastisement, and burning did not mend them, but made them more disorderly, it was determined to proceed no more against any one, except those who persisted in preaching, misleading, and publicly holding meetings, and that all others should be left unharmed. Accordingly, a great number of them were let loose from the prisons of Paris, and a vast multitude from all the other parts of the kingdom, who continued in it freely exercising their religion, talking to every one, and boasting that they had been victorious over the Papists. So they called, and still call their adversaries.]

\* Agricola, *Historia provincie societatis Jesu Germanie superioris*, i. p. 29.

† Orlandinus, *Historia Societatis Jesu*, tom. i. lib. xvi. n. 25. Hujus novae burse regens, quem primum præfecerat, Jacobus Lichius, Lutheranus tandem apparuit.

excited in the Netherlands, daily increased the difficulty of governing those provinces, which constituted so important a part of his dominions. By putting down the German princes, he guarded himself at the same time from insurrection on the part of his Flemish subjects\*. All his laws, however, though he enforced them with extraordinary rigour, all the executions inflicted in almost incredible number, particularly in the early part of his successor's reign (it was calculated at the time, that up to 1562 thirty thousand protestants, men and women, had been put to death †), were unable to stop the progress of the new opinions. The only result was, that in the Netherlands these assumed rather the French Calvinistic tone than the German Lutheran. In this country, too, in defiance of all persecution, a formal confession was put forward so early as in the year 1561: churches were established on the Genevese model; and the protestants, connecting themselves with local rights and their defenders, acquired a political basis, from which they might expect not only safety and support, but even political importance for the time to come.

Under these circumstances new energies were also infused into the older oppositions to Rome. The Moravian brethren had been formally recognized in the year 1562 by Maximilian II., and they availed themselves of that fortunate event to elect that very same year in their synod a great number of new clergy, as many, it is said, as one hundred and eighty-eight ‡. In the year 1561, the duke of Savoy, too, saw himself compelled to accord new privileges to the poor congregations of Waldenses in the mountains§. The protestant notions extended their vivifying energies to the most remote and most forgotten corners of Europe. What an immense domain had they conquered within the space of forty years! From Iceland to the Pyrenees, from Finland to the heights of the Italian Alps. Even beyond the latter mountains opinions analogous had once, as we are aware, prevailed. Protestantism embraced the whole range of the Latin church: it had laid hold on a vast majority of the higher classes, and of the minds that took part in public life: whole nations clung to it with enthusiasm, and states had been remodelled by it ||.

\* A view taken by the then Florentine resident at the imperial court, on very good grounds as I think.

† In a report concerning Spain in 1562, apparently by Paolo Ticipolo, to be found in the Venetian archives, it is said: Una grandissima parte di quei paesi bassi e guasta e corrotta da queste nuove opinioni ..... e per tutte le provisioni che si abbiano fatte e per la morte data a molte migliaia de homeni (che da sette anni o poco più in qua per quel che mi è stato affermato da persone principali di que' paesi, sono stati morti di giustitia più di 36<sup>m</sup>. fra homine e donne) no solamente (non) si è rimediato, ma, etc.

‡ Regenvolschi Ecclesiaz Slavonicæ, l. p. 63.

§ Leger: Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises, li. p. 38, gives the treaty.

|| In this light the loss was regarded in Rome itself. Ticipolo, Relazione di Pio IV. e V. Parlando solamente di quelli (popoli) d'Europa che non sole obediavano lui (al papa) ma ancora seguivano in tutto i riti e le consuetudini della chiesa romana, celebrando ancora li officii nella lingua Latina, si sa che l'Inghilterra, la Scotia, la Dania, la Norvegia, la Suetia, e finalmente tutti i paesi settentrionali, si sono alienati da lei: la Germania e quasi tutta perduta, la Boemia e la Polonia si trovano in gran parte infette, li paesi bassi della Fiandra sono così corrotti che per rimedio che vi

This is the more deserving of our wonder, inasmuch as protestantism was by no means a mere antithesis, a negation of the papacy, or an emancipation from its rule: it was in the highest degree positive; a renovation of Christian notions and principles, that sway human life even to the profoundest mysteries of the soul.

### *Capacities of the Papacy for Contest.*

The papacy and catholicism had for a long time maintained a defensive attitude against the progress of their foe, but passively only, and without power to offer it any effectual resistance.

Now, however, matters assumed a different aspect.

We have seen the inward evolutions through which catholicism began the work of self-regeneration. On the whole we may say, that it again manifested a living power, regenerated its creed in the spirit of the age, and created reforms in general accordance with the demands of the times. It did not suffer the religious tendencies existing in southern Europe to grow up there also into hostile demonstrations, but adopted and governed them, and so infused new vigour into its own system. Hitherto the spirit of protestantism alone had successfully filled the theatre of the world, and captivated the minds of men; another spirit, equally, perhaps, deserving of esteem, when regarded from a loftier point of contemplation, though of the most decidedly opposite character, now entered the lists against the former, skilled likewise to win and sway the minds of men, and to kindle them to activity.

The restored catholic system first obtained mastery over the two southern peninsulas. This it did not accomplish without extraordinary rigour: the Spanish inquisition was seconded by that which had been revived in Rome, and all demonstrations of protestantism were violently suppressed. But at the same time those inward sentiments and promptings which renovated catholicism especially addressed and claimed as her own, were peculiarly powerful in those countries. The sovereigns, too, attached themselves to the interests of the church.

It was a circumstance of singular moment, that Philip II., the mightiest of them all, so decidedly adhered to the papacy. He repudiated all opinions opposed to catholicism with the pride of a Spaniard,

si sforzi dar loro il duca d'Alva difficilmente ritorneranno alla prima sanità, e finalmente la Francia per rispetto di questi mal humori e tutta ripiena di confusioni, in modo che non pare che sia restato altro di sano e di sicuro al pontefice che la Spagna e l'Italia, con alcune poche isole e con quel paese che o dalla Sersa. Vra in Dalmatia et in Grecia posseduto. (Speaking only of those nations of Europe, which not only used to obey the pope, but also followed in every particular the rites and usages of the Roman church, celebrating public worship too in the Latin language, it is notorious that England, Scotland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and in a word all the countries of the North, are alienated from it. Germany is almost wholly lost, Bohemia and Poland are in a great degree infected, the Low Countries of Flanders are so corrupted, that notwithstanding all the efforts of the duke of Alva to remedy the evil, they will hardly ever return to their original healthy condition; and lastly France, by means of these morbid humours, is all replete with confusion, so that it appears nothing remains to the pope intact and secure but Spain and Italy, with some few islands, and with those countries possessed by your Serenity in Dalmatia and in Greece.

by whom immaculate catholicism was regarded as the token of purity of blood and noble descent. Nor was it, after all, his personal inclinations only that stamped the character of his policy. From remote times, and especially since the measures instituted by Isabella, the kingly dignity had worn an ecclesiastical complexion in Spain: in every province the royal authority was strengthened by a supplement of spiritual power; its rule would have been at an end had it been deprived of the inquisition: even in his American possessions, the king appeared above all in the light of a disseminator of the Christian and catholic faith: this was the thought that combined all his territories in allegiance to him, nor could he have abandoned it without real danger. The spread of the Huguenots in the south of France excited the greatest anxiety in Spain: the inquisition deemed itself bound to double vigilance. "I assure your highness," the Venetian ambassador says in a letter to his sovereign, Aug. 25, 1562, "no great religious excitement is to be wished for, for this country: there are many in it who long for a change of religion \*." The papal nuncio was of opinion, that the progress of the council then sitting was a matter that no less concerned the royal than the papal authority. "For," said he, "the obedience paid to the king and his whole government depend upon the inquisition. Should this lose its consideration, insurrections would be the immediate consequence."

The southern system would have acquired immediate influence upon the affairs of Europe collectively, from the mere circumstance that Philip was master of the Netherlands; but besides this, all was far from having been lost in the other kingdoms. The emperor, the kings of France and of Poland, and the dukes of Bavaria, still adhered to the catholic church. There were on all sides spiritual princes, whose extinguished zeal might yet be rekindled; and in many places protestantism had not yet seized upon the mass of the population. The majority of the rural inhabitants of France, and likewise of Hungary† and Poland, were still catholic; Paris, which already in those days exercised a great influence over the other French cities, had not been tainted with innovation. In England a great part of the nobles and commons, and in Ireland the whole of the primitive stock, had remained catholic. Protestantism had gained no admission into the Tyrolese or the Swiss Alps. Among the rural population of Bavaria, too, it had made no great progress. At all events, Canisius compared the Tyrolese and the Bavarians with the

two tribes of Israel, "who alone remained faithful to the Lord." It would be well worth while to enquire more closely what were the internal causes of this pertinacity, this imperturbable attachment to tradition evidenced by so many various and dissimilar races. The same phenomenon was likewise presented in the Walloon provinces of the Netherlands.

And now the papacy resumed a position in which it could once more command all these inclinations, and knit them indissolubly to itself. Though it too had to undergo mutations, it still enjoyed the inestimable advantage of having on its side the externals of the past, and the habit of obedience. In the council they had brought to a happy termination, the popes had even succeeded in enlarging their own authority, which there had been an intention of curtailing, and in acquiring augmented influence over the national churches. Furthermore, they abandoned that temporal policy by which they had previously involved Italy and Europe in confusion; they attached themselves confidentially and without reserve to Spain, and reciprocated her devotion to the church of Rome. The Italian sovereignty, the extended dominions of the pope, were pre-eminently subservient to the promotion of ecclesiastical enterprises: for awhile the whole surplus revenue was devoted to the interests of the entire body of the catholic church.

Thus intrinsically strong, and backed by powerful adherents, and by the might of an idea associated with their names, the popes passed from the defensive system, to which they had hitherto been forced to confine themselves, and became assailants. The attack they made, its course and consequences, it is the principal object of this work to consider.

A boundless theatre opens before us. The action began simultaneously in several places; we are called on to direct our attention to the most remote and distinct parts of the world.

The religious action is most intimately connected with political impulses; combinations arise embracing the whole world, under the influence of which the scheme of conquest succeeds or fails: we shall keep in view the great changes manifested in the events of general politics the more steadily, because they often immediately coincided with the results of the religious contest.

We must not, however, confine ourselves to generalities. Religious conquests can still less than temporal be accomplished without some native sympathies of the conquered with the conquerors. We must fathom the interests of the several countries, in order to comprehend the inward movements by which the designs of Rome were favoured.

Such is the abundance and diversity of occurrences and of aspects of life here presented to us, that we have almost reason to fear they can hardly be comprehended in one view. A great plastic movement is before us, actuated throughout by kindred principles, and sometimes combining grand universal crises, but which offers an infinite diversity of phenomena.

Let us begin with Germany, where the papacy first sustained its great losses, and where now, too, the strife between the two principles was chiefly fought out.

Here pre-eminently good service was rendered

\* Dispacio, Soranzo: Perpignan, 28 Maggio. Essendo in questa provincia (Spagna) molti Ugonotti quasi non osano mostrarsi per la severissima dimostrazione che qui fanno contra. Dubitano che non si mettano insieme essendone molti per tutta la Spagna. [Whereas there are many Huguenots in Spain, they scarcely dare to show themselves, on account of the very severe demonstrations against them. They waver about combining, there being many of them throughout all Spain.]

† If it were not ignorance in this case, as, at least, is asserted by Lazarus Schwendi: "En Ungarie tout est confusion et misère: ils sont de la plus part Huguenots, mais avec une extrême ignorance du peuple." [In Hungary all is confusion and wretchedness: the majority are Huguenots, but the common people are extremely ignorant.] Schwendi au prince d'Orange. Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, t. p. 288.

the church of Rome by the society of the Jesuits, which combined worldly prudence with religious zeal, and was penetrated by the spirit of modern catholicism. Let us first bestow our attention on the effective power of this body.

*The first Jesuit Schools in Germany.*

Ferdinand I. had with him his confessor Bishop Urban of Laibach at the diet of Augsburg, in the year 1550. The latter was one of those few prelates who had not suffered themselves to be shaken in their faith. At home he often mounted the pulpit to exhort the people in the local dialect to stand fast by the faith of their fathers, preaching to them of the one fold, and the one Shepherd\*. The Jesuit Le Jay was also present in Augsburg on that occasion, and gained consideration by some conversions. Bishop Urban became acquainted with him, and heard from him, for the first time, of the colleges the Jesuits had founded in several universities. Upon this the bishop advised his imperial master to found a similar college in Vienna, seeing how great was the decay of catholic theology in Germany. Ferdinand warmly embraced the suggestion; in a letter he wrote to Loyola on the subject, he declares his conviction, that the only means to uphold the declining cause of catholicism in Germany, was to give the rising generation learned and pious catholics for teachers†. The preliminaries were easily arranged. In the year 1551 thirteen Jesuits, among them Le Jay himself, arrived in Vienna, and were, in the first instance, granted a dwelling, chapel, and pension, by Ferdinand, until shortly after he incorporated them with the university, and even assigned to them the visitation of it.

Soon after this they rose to consideration in Cologne, where they had already resided for two years, but had met with so little success, that they had even been compelled to live separate. It was not till the year 1556 that the endowed school we have spoken of, governed by a protestant regent, gave them an opportunity of gaining a firmer footing. For since there was a party in the city bent above all things on maintaining the catholic character of the university, the advice given by the patrons of the Jesuits, to hand over the establishment to that order‡, met with attention. Their chief supporters were the prior of the Carthusians, the provincial of the Carmelites, and especially Doctor John Gropper, who now and then gave an entertainment, to which he invited the most influential citizens, that he might have an opportunity of helping forward the cause he had most at heart in good old German fashion, over a glass of wine. Fortunately for the Jesuits, there was among the members of the order a native of Cologne, John Rhetius, a man of patrician family, to whom the endowed school could be more particularly entrusted. But this was not done without strict limitations. The Jesuits were rigorously forbidden to introduce into the school the monastic rules of life usual in their colleges§.

At this same period they also gained a firm

footing in Ingoldstadt. Their previous attempts had been frustrated by the resistance of the younger members of the university, who were unwilling that any privileged school should interfere with the private instruction they were in the habit of giving. In the year 1556, however, when, as we have said, the duke had been forced to large concessions in favour of the protestants, his catholic counsellors deemed it imperatively necessary to adopt some substantial measures for upholding the ancient faith. The foremost among these men were the chancellor Wiguleus Hund, equally remarkable for his zeal in supporting the church, as in investigating all the particulars of its ancient history, and Heinrich Schwigger, the duke's private secretary. Through their instrumentality the Jesuits were all recalled. Eighteen of them entered Ingoldstadt on St. Wilibald's day, 1556, having selected that day because St. Wilibald was regarded as the first bishop of that diocese. They had still many difficulties to encounter in the city and the university, but they were gradually enabled to overcome them by the aid of the same patronage to which they owed their establishment.

From these three metropolitan centres, the Jesuits now spread out in every direction.

From Vienna they extended immediately over the Austrian territories. Ferdinand I. introduced them in 1556 into Prague, where he founded for them a school, destined chiefly for the education of sons of the nobility. He himself sent his pages thither, and the order met with countenance and support, at least, at the hands of the catholic part of the Bohemian nobility, particularly the Rosenbergs and Lobkowitz. One of the most eminent men in Hungary at that time was Nicolaus Olahus, archbishop of Gran, a Wallachian by descent, as his name testifies. His father, in his horror at the murder of a waiwode of his house, had dedicated him to the church, and in that career the son had made the most auspicious progress. He had already filled the important post of private secretary under the last native kings; and, subsequently, he had risen still higher in the service of the Austrian party. Contemplating the general decay of catholicism in Hungary, he saw that the last hope left for it, was that of maintaining its hold on the common people, who had not yet wholly lapsed from its rule. To this end, however, there lacked teachers of catholic principles, to form whom, he founded a college of Jesuits at Tyrnau in the year 1561, bestowing on them a pension out of his own revenues, to which the emperor Ferdinand added the gift of an abbey. Just at the period the Jesuits arrived, there was an assembly of the diocesan clergy convened: the first efforts of the Jesuits were directed towards recalling those Hungarian priests and pastors from the heterodox doctrine to which they inclined. By this time, too, there was a call for the Jesuits in Moravia. Wilhelm Prusinowski, bishop of Olmütz, who had become acquainted with the order whilst pursuing his studies in Italy, invited them thither. Hurtado Perez, a Spaniard, was the first rector in Olmütz. Soon after, we meet with members of the society in Briinn likewise.

From Cologne the society spread over the whole territory of the Rhine. Protestantism had found adherents, as already noticed, in Trier too, and occasioned ferments there. John von Stein, the

\* Valvassor: *Ehre des Herzogthums Krain*, Theil ii. Buch vii. p. 133.

† Printed in Socher's *Historia Provincie Austrie Societatis Jesu*, l. 21.

‡ Saechnius, *Hist. Societatis Jesu*, pars ii. lib. l. n. 103.

archbishop, resolved to inflict only slight punishments on the refractory, and to rely chiefly on doctrinal means for counteracting the movements of their party. He invited to Coblenz the two heads of the Jesuit school of Cologne, and stated to them that he wished for some members of their order, "to the end," as he expressed himself, "that he might maintain the discipline of the flock entrusted to him rather by admonition and friendly instruction, than by weapons and threats." He also turned to Rome, and an agreement was speedily concluded. Six Jesuits were sent from Rome; Cologne furnished the rest. They opened their college on the 3rd of February, 1561, and undertook to preach during the ensuing Lent\*.

Two privy councillors of the elector Daniel of Mainz, namely, Peter Echter and Simon Bagen, conceived likewise that the admission of the Jesuits was the only means that promised the recovery of the decayed university of Mainz. In despite of the opposition made by the canons and feudal proprietors, they founded a college of the order in Mainz, and a preparatory school in Aschaffenburg.

The society continued to advance continually up the Rhine. They particularly coveted a settlement at Spire, both because amongst the assessors of the Kammergericht assembled there, there were so many distinguished men, over whom it would be of extraordinary moment to possess influence; and also in order to be placed near the Heidelberg university, which at that day enjoyed the highest repute for its protestant professors†. They gradually carried their point.

They tried their fortune also along the Maine, and that without delay. Though Frankfurt was wholly protestant, they had hopes of accomplishing something there too during the fair. This, however, was a perilous experiment; and, to avoid discovery, they were obliged to change their lodgings every night‡. But equal to the difficulties they encountered here, were the security and the welcome they experienced at Würzburg. It would seem as though the admonition addressed to the bishops by the emperor Ferdinand, in the diet of 1559, that they too should, at length, put out their strength for the maintenance of the catholic church, had greatly contributed to the brilliant success of the order in the ecclesiastical principalities. From Würzburg they spread through Franconia.

Meanwhile the Tyrol had been opened to them from another quarter. At the desire of the emperor's daughter they seated themselves in Innsbruck, and, afterwards, in Halle in its vicinity. In Bavaria their progress was continual. At Munich, where they had arrived in 1559, they were even better satisfied than at Ingoldstadt; they declared it the Rome of Germany. And already a new great colony had been planted not far from Ingoldstadt. In order to bring back his university of Dillingen to its original purpose, cardinal Truchsess resolved to dismiss all the professors who still taught there, and to commit the establishment en-

tirely to the Jesuits. A formal convention on this subject was agreed to at Rotzen between German and Italian commissioners, on the part of the cardinal and of the order. The Jesuits arrived in Dillingen in 1563, and took possession of their professorships. They relate with much complacency how the cardinal, who shortly after, on his return from a journey, entered Dillingen in state, turned with marked preference to the Jesuits amongst all those who had gone out to receive him, offered them his hand to kiss, greeted them as his brethren, visited their cells in person, and dined with them. He promoted their interests to the utmost of his power, and soon established a mission for them in Augsburg.

This was an extraordinary progress made by the society in so brief a space of time. In the year 1551 they had not yet any fixed position in Germany; in 1556 they had extended over Bavaria and the Tyrol, Franconia, and Swabia, a great part of Rhineland, and Austria, and they had penetrated into Hungary, Bohemia, and Moravia. The effects of their proceedings had already become manifest. In the year 1561 the papal nuncio asserts, that "they are winning many souls, and doing great service to the holy see." This was the first enduring anti-protestant impression made on Germany.

Their labours were above all devoted to the universities. They were ambitious of rivalling the fame of those of the protestants. The whole learned education of those times was based on the study of the ancient languages. This they prosecuted with lively zeal, and ere long it was thought, here and there at least, that the Jesuit teachers deserved a place beside the restorers of classical learning. They likewise cultivated the sciences: Franz Kosta expounded astronomy at Cologne, in a manner as attractive as it was instructive. But their main concern was, of course, theological discipline. The Jesuits lectured with the greatest industry even during the holidays; they revived the practice of disputation, without which, as they said, all instruction was a dead letter. Their disputations, which were held in public, were conducted with dignity and decorum, were full of matter, and the most brilliant that had ever been witnessed. In Ingoldstadt they soon persuaded themselves that they had made such good speed, that the university could compete with any other in Germany, at least, in the faculty of theology. Ingoldstadt acquired, though in an opposite direction, an influence parallel to that possessed by Wittenberg and Geneva.

The Jesuits displayed no less assiduity in the conduct of their Latin schools. It was one of the leading maxims of Lainez, that the lower grammatical classes should be supplied with good teachers, since first impressions exercise the greatest influence over the whole future life of the individual. He sought with just discernment for men, who having once adopted that more limited department of education, were content to devote themselves to it for their whole lives; for time alone could enable the teacher to learn so difficult a business, or to acquire the becoming authority. In this the Jesuits succeeded to admiration. It was found that young persons learned more under them in half a year than with others in two years: even protestants called back their children from distant schools, and put them under the care of the Jesuits.

Schools for the poor, modes of instruction adapted

\* Browerus: *Annales Trevirenses*, tom. ii. lib. xxi. 106-125.

† E. g. Neuser says in his famous letter to the sultan, that he was a teacher and a preacher at Heidelberg, "to which place the most learned of the whole German people now-a-days resort." Arnold, *Ketzerhist.* ii. 1133.

‡ Gropp, *Würzburgische Chronik der letzteren Zeiten*, Th. i. p. 237.



for children, and catechizing followed. Canisius composed a catechism, that satisfied the wants of the learner by its well-connected questions and its apposite answers.

The instruction of the Jesuits was conveyed wholly in the spirit of that enthusiastic devotion, which had from the first so peculiarly characterized their order. The first rector in Vienna was a Spaniard named John Vittoria, a man who had once, in Rome, marked his admission into the order, by going about the Corso during the festivities of the carnival clad in sackcloth, scourging himself all the while till the blood ran down in streams. Ere long the children, who frequented the schools of the Jesuits in Vienna, were distinguished for their resolute refusal to partake on fast days of forbidden meats, which their parents ate without scruple. In Cologne it was once more regarded as an honour to wear the rosary. Relics began to be honoured in Trier, where for many years no one had ventured to exhibit them. Already, in the year 1560, the youth of Ingoldstadt went in procession two and two from the Jesuit school to Eichstätt, in order to be strengthened at their confirmation "with the dew that distilled from the tomb of St. Walpurgi." The feelings thus engendered in the schools were propagated throughout the mass of the population by preaching and confession.

This is a case for which, perhaps, the world has never exhibited an exact parallel.

Whenever a new intellectual movement has seized mankind, it has always been effected by grand personal qualities, or by the captivating force of new ideas. The effects produced in this case were accomplished independently of any remarkable original conceptions. The Jesuits may have been learned and pious in their way; but no one will pretend that their science was the fruit of spontaneous genius, or that their piety arose out of the depth and the impassionedness of a single heart. They were learned enough to acquire reputation, to excite confidence, to form and attach scholars: more than this they did not aspire to. Their piety not merely shunned all moral taint, but was positively conspicuous, and so much the less questionable: this was enough for them. Neither their piety nor their learning ventured upon undefined or untrodden paths: but they had one quality that particularly distinguished them—strict method. With them every thing was subject of calculation, for every thing had its special end. Such a combination of competent knowledge and indefatigable zeal, of study and persuasiveness, of pomp and asceticism, of world-wide influence and of unity in the governing principle, was never beheld before or since. They were assiduous and visionary, worldly-wise and filled with enthusiasm; well-comported men, whose society was gladly courted; devoid of personal interests, each labouring for the advancement of the rest. No wonder that they were successful.

Another consideration connected with this subject forces itself upon a German writer. Papal theology had, as we have said, all but perished in Germany: the Jesuits arose to revive it. Who were those Jesuits who first arrived in that country? they were Spaniards, Italians, and Flemings; the name of their order was long unknown: they were called Spanish priests. They occupied the professors' chairs, and found pupils who attached themselves

to their doctrines. They received nothing from the Germans; their doctrines and their constitution were complete before they appeared among them. The general progress of their institution in Germany may be regarded as a new instance of the influence of the Latin portion of Europe on the Germanic. They conquered the Germans on their own soil, in their very home, and wrested from them a part of their native land. Undoubtedly the cause of this was, that the German theologians were neither agreed among themselves, nor were magnanimous enough to mutually tolerate minor discrepancies. Extreme points of opinion were seized upon; opponents attacked each other with reckless fierceness, so that those who were not yet fully convinced were perplexed, and a path was opened to those foreigners who now seized on men's minds with a shrewdly constructed doctrine, finished to its meanest details, and leaving not a shadow of cause for doubt.

#### *Beginning of the Counter-Reformation in Germany.*

Notwithstanding all this, it is manifest that the Jesuits could not have succeeded so easily, had it not been for the aid of the secular arm, and the favour of the princes of the empire.

For it had fared with theological as with political questions: no measure had been brought about by which the intrinsically hierarchical constitution of the empire might have been made to harmonize with the new circumstances of religion. The sum and substance of the peace of Augsburg, as it was understood from the first, and was subsequently interpreted, was a new extension of the civil sovereignty. The several principalities, too, acquired a degree of independence in respect of religion. Thenceforth it depended solely on the creed of the prince, and on the understanding between him and his estates, what ecclesiastical position any territory should assume.

This was a consummation that seemed to have been devised in favour of protestantism, but which has actually served only to promote catholicism. The former was already established when the principle was laid down; the latter re-established itself only by resting upon it.

This occurred first in Bavaria; and the manner in which it took place there is worth notice, from the immense influence it exercised.

The Bavarian diet presents us, during a considerable period, with a series of struggles between the sovereign and the estates. We see the duke continually in want of money, loaded with debt, forced to the imposition of new taxes, and incessantly constrained to solicit the aid of his estates. In return for this the latter demanded concessions, chiefly of a religious kind. A similar state of things to that which had long prevailed in Austria seemed inevitable in Bavaria; a legitimate opposition of the estates against the sovereign, grounded at once on religion and on privileges, unless the prince himself should become a convert to protestantism.

Undoubtedly, it was this state of things through which the introduction of the Jesuits, as we have mentioned, was mainly prompted. It may possibly be true, that their preaching made a personal impression on duke Albert V.; he subsequently declared, that whatever he knew of God's law he



had learned from Hoffäus and Canisius, both of them Jesuits. But another agency co-operated. Pius IV. not only set before the duke that every religious concession would diminish the obedience of his subjects \*, (which in the actual condition of German sovereignties was hardly to be denied,) but he gave force to his admonitions by marks of favour; he abandoned to him a tenth of the property of his clergy. Thus rendering him independent of the pleasure of his estates, he showed him at the same time what advantages he had to expect from a connexion with the Roman church.

The main question now was, whether the duke would be able to put down the religious opposition actually constituted among his estates.

He entered on the task in a diet at Ingolstadt, in the year 1563. The prelates were already well-inclined to him: he next wrought upon the cities. Whether it were that the doctrines of reviving catholicism, and the activity of the Jesuits, who insinuated themselves every where, had gained ground with the cities, and especially with the leading members of their assemblies, or that other considerations swayed them, it is enough to say, that the cities desisted from the demands of new religious concessions they had always hitherto urged with earnestness, and proceeded to grant supplies without stipulating for new privileges. Now then the nobles alone remained to be dealt with. They left the diet in discontent, nay bitterness; threatening expressions that had dropped from various members of the body were reported to the duke †; at last, the foremost of them all, the count of Ortenburg, who claimed for his county an immediate position disputed by the duke, resolved forthwith to introduce the evangelical confession into that territory. But by that very means the duke found the best weapons placed in his hands. Above all, when he discovered in one of the castles he seized, a correspondence between the Bavarian lords, containing violently acrimonious language, in which he was designated as a hardened Pharaoh, and his council as thirsting for the blood of poor Christians, besides other expressions which seemed to indicate the existence of a conspiracy, he had now a fair pretext for calling to account all the members of the nobility that were opposed to him ‡. The punishments he inflicted upon them cannot be called rigorous, but they effected his purpose. He excluded all the individuals compromised from the Bavarian diet, and as they constituted the only remaining opposition in that body, he thus became complete master of his estates, which from that time forth never stirred any question of religion.

The great importance of this result was forthwith made apparent. For a long time duke Albert had been urgent in his demands to the pope and the council for permission to the laity to partake of the cup; he seemed to set the whole

fortune of his dominions on that point: at last his suit was granted, in April 1564. Could it be believed? he did not even make the fact known. Circumstances were altered: a privilege departing from the strict tenour of catholicism, now seemed to him rather hurtful than advantageous; he put down by force some communities in Lower Bavaria that boisterously renewed their former demands \*.

In a short time there was not in Germany a more decidedly catholic prince than duke Albert. He set himself with the utmost earnestness to the task of making his country once more wholly catholic.

The professors in Ingolstadt were compelled to subscribe the confession of faith that had been published in pursuance of the decrees of the council of Trent. All the officers in the duke's employ were obliged to pledge themselves by oath to an unambiguous catholic confession: if any refused to do so, they were dismissed. Even among the common people, duke Albert gave no toleration to protestantism. In Lower Bavaria, in the first instance, whither he had sent some Jesuits for the conversion of the inhabitants, not only were the protestant preachers, but every individual who adhered to their doctrine, compelled to sell their property and quit the country †. The same course was afterwards pursued in all other parts of the duke's dominions. It would not have been advisable for any magistrate to tolerate protestants; he would thereby have drawn down the severest punishment on himself.

Now with this renovation of catholicism, all its modern forms passed over from Italy into Germany. An index of prohibited books was drawn up: they were picked out from the libraries, and burned in heaps: on the other hand, books of rigidly catholic principles were treated with marked favour; the duke failed not to encourage their authors. He caused the Sacred History of Surius to be translated into German, and printed at his own cost. The utmost veneration was paid to relics; St. Benno, of whom in another part of Germany (Meissen) they would no longer hear, was solemnly declared the patron saint of Bavaria. Architecture and music, in accordance with the taste of the revived church, were first introduced in Munich: above all, the Jesuit institutions were encouraged, by means of which the rising generation was thoroughly educated in the orthodox spirit.

The Jesuits on their part could never sufficiently extol the duke, that second Josias, as they said, another Theodosius.

Only one question remains for consideration.

• The more considerable the augmentation of sovereign authority, which accrued to the Protestant princes from their agency in the affairs of religion, the more glaring would it have been, had the catholic sovereigns found their own power shackled by the restoration of the ecclesiastical authority.

This, however, was provided against. The popes saw plainly that they could not succeed in upholding their declining power, or in renewing that they had lost, through the aid of the sovereigns; they practised no illusion on themselves on this score;

\* *Legationes paparum ad duces Bavarie*. MS. In the library of Munich. "Quod si Sua Celsitudo Illma absque sedis apostolicæ autoritate usum calicis concedat, ipsi principi etiam plurimum deederet de ejus apud subditos autoritate." They complained in the Bavarian diet that the prince had let himself be dazzled by the decimation-grant.

† Private inquiry and report respecting the unbecoming seditious speeches, in Freiburg: *Geschichte der bairischen Landstände*, ii. 352.

‡ Huschberg: *Geschichte des Hauses Ortenburg*, S. 390.

• Adzbreiter, *Annales Boicæ gentis*, ii. xl. n. 22. Albertus eam indulgentiam juris publici in Boica esse noluist.

† Agricola: *P's*. i. Dec. iii. 116—120.

accordingly they made it the essence of their policy to knit themselves to the reigning princes.

In the instruction addressed by Gregory to the very first nuncio he sent to Bavaria, this purpose is declared without any circumlocution. He says, "the most ardent wish of his holiness, is to restore the fallen discipline of the Church; at the same time he sees that to attain so important an end, he must enter into combination with the sovereigns: by their piety has religion been upheld; with their help alone can Church discipline and morals be restored \*." Accordingly, the pope endows the duke with authority to stimulate the negligent bishops; to carry into effect the resolutions of a synod that had been held in Salzburg; to constrain the bishop of Ratisbon and his chapter to erect a seminary; in short, he confers on him a sort of ecclesiastical supervision, and he takes counsel with him as to whether it were not advisable to institute seminaries for monastic clergy, in addition to those already existing for the secular clergy. To this the duke very cheerfully assents; he only demands that the bishops should not be allowed to trespass too far on the rights of the sovereign, whether traditional or newly bestowed, and that the clergy should be kept in discipline and subordination by their superiors. There exist edicts, in which the prince treats convents as state property, and subjects them to secular administration.

If protestant princes in the course of the reformation appropriated clerical attributes, the same thing was now accomplished by the catholic princes likewise. What in the one case was done in opposition to the papacy, in the other took place in union with it. If the protestant princes placed their younger sons as administrators of the neighbouring evangelical foundations, in the countries that had remained catholic the sons of catholic princes were directly advanced to episcopal dignities. Gregory had promised duke Albert from the very first, "to neglect nothing that might be for the advantage of himself or his sons." We soon find two of the latter in possession of the most sumptuous preferments; one of them gradually rose to the highest dignities of the empire †.

\* *Legatio Gregorii XIII. 1573. "S.S. in eam curam incumbit quæ ecclesiastica disciplina jam ferme in Germania collapsa aliquo modo instauretur, quod cum antecessores sui aut neglexerint aut leviter attigerint non tam bene quam par erat de republica christiana meritis esse animadvertit: adiungendos sibi ad tale tantumque opus catholicos principes sapientissime statuit."* [His Holiness is intent upon the consideration how ecclesiastical discipline, now generally decayed in Germany, may be restored, and he remarks that his predecessors in neglecting this, or treating it with but slight attention, have not done their duty by the Christian commonwealth:—he has most wisely determined on conjoining the catholic princes with him in so excellent, and so great a work.] The ambassador Bartolomeo, count of Porzia, expressly promises, "*Suam Sanctitatem nihil unquam prætermitturum esse quod est e re sua (ducis Bavarie) aut filiorum.*"

† Even Pius V. moderated the rigour of his principles in favour of the duke of Bavaria. Tiepolo: *Relazione di Pio IV. e V. "D'altri principi secolari di Germania, non si sa che altro veramente sia cattolico che il duca di Baviera: però in gratificazione sua il pontefice ha concesso che il figliuolo, che di gran lunga non ha ancora l'età determinato dal concilio, habbia il vescovato Frisingense; cosa che non è*

But besides all this, Bavaria acquired a high degree of intrinsic importance from the position it took up. It championed a great principle, which was in the act of rising to new power. The inferior German princes of the same persuasion for some time regarded Bavaria as their chief.

For as far as ever the duke could stretch his power, he exercised it zealously for the restoration of the catholic doctrine. No sooner had the county of Haag passed into his hands, than he expelled the Protestants, who had been tolerated by the last count, and caused the catholic faith and ritual to be reinstated. Margrave Philip of Baden-Baden, having fallen in the battle of Moncontour, his son Philip, a boy ten years of age, was placed under the guardianship of Albert, and brought up in Munich, of course in the catholic creed. But the duke did not wait to see what the young Margrave would do, when he took the reins of government into his hands, but instantly sent his grand steward, count Schwarzenberg, and the Jesuit, George Schorich, who had already wrought together in the conversion of Lower Bavaria, into the Baden territory, to convert it to catholicism by the same means. True, the Protestant inhabitants adduced imperial edicts in opposition to those practices, but no heed was paid to them: "the plenipotentiaries proceeded," as the historian of the Jesuits complacently says, "to clear the ears and the minds of the simple multitude for the reception of heavenly doctrine." That is to say, they removed the protestant preachers, compelled the monks who had not continued quite orthodox to abjure all dissenting doctrines, filled the schools and colleges with catholic teachers, and banished such of the laity as would not conform to the ordinances of the Church. Within two years, 1570, 1571, the whole country had once more become catholic \*.

While these transactions were taking place in the secular principalities, a similar movement arose by a still more inevitable necessity in the ecclesiastical.

The German spiritual princes were above all things bishops, and the popes lost not a moment in exerting in Germany too, the augmented power over the episcopal office, accorded to them by the decisions come to in Trent.

Canisius was sent in the first place to the several spiritual courts, with copies of the resolutions of the council. He conveyed them to Mainz, Trier,

di lui stata concessa ad altri." [Of the other secular princes of Germany, hardly one seems really catholic, with the exception of the duke of Bavaria: accordingly for his sake the pope has allowed that his son, who is very far from having attained the age fixed by the council, shall have the bishopric of Frisingen: such a concession he has never made to any one else.]

\* Sacchini, pars iii. lib. vi. n. 88. lib. vii. n. 67. Agricola, i. iv. 17, 18. The pope duly valued the duke for this. "*Mira perfunditur lætitia,*" it is said in the account of that embassy, "*cum audit ill. Sæ Vræ opera et industria marchionem Badensem in religione catholica educari, ad quod accedit cura ingens quam adhibuit in comitatu de Haag ut catholica fides, a qua turpiter defecerant, restitueretur."* [He is filled with exceeding joy at hearing, that by the care and application of your serene highness, the Margrave of Baden is trained in the catholic faith, besides the great care your serene highness has taken in the county of Haag, that the catholic faith, from which it had shamefully lapsed, should be restored.]

Cologne, Osnabrück, and Würzburg\*. He gave force and meaning to the official courtesies with which he was received, by his activity and address. The matter then came under discussion in the diet of Augsburg of 1566.

Pope Pius V. had feared that protestantism would make new demands, and obtain new concessions in that assembly. He had already instructed his nuncio, in case of urgency, to come forward with a protest, threatening the emperor and the princes with privation of all their rights, nay, he even thought the moment for this was now come†. The nuncio, who saw more closely into the state of things, did not hold this expedient. He perceived there was nothing more to be feared. The protestants were divided, the catholics held together. They often assembled at the house of the nuncio, to concert measures in common; Canisius, by his irreproachable life, his perfect orthodoxy, and his prudence, possessed great personal influence among them: no concession was to be thought of; on the contrary, this diet was the first in which the catholic princes set up a successful resistance. The pope's admonitions received attention; the resolutions of the council of Trent were preliminarily adopted in a special assembly of spiritual princes. From this moment begins a new life in the catholic church in Germany. The decrees in question were successively published in the several provincial synods; seminaries were erected in the episcopal sees, the first who complied with this order being, as well as I can ascertain, the bishop of Eichstädt, who founded the collegium Wilibaldinum‡: the *professio fidei* was subscribed by all classes, high and low. It is a very important fact, that subscription to this document was also imposed on the universities. This was a regulation proposed by Lainez, approved of by the pope, and now generally carried into effect throughout Germany, through the zeal of Canisius. Not only were no appointments, but not even were degrees, though it were but in the faculty of medicine, to be granted without a subscription of the *professio fidei*. The first university where the regulation was enforced, was to the best of my knowledge that of Dillingen: the others followed in their turn. The most rigid visitation of the churches was begun. The bishops, who hitherto had been very remiss, now displayed zeal and devotion.

One of the most zealous among them was doubtless Jacob von Eltz, from the year 1567 to 1581 elector of Trier. He had been educated in the old Louvain discipline, and had long devoted his literary powers to the cause of catholicism: he had himself compiled a martyrology, and composed prayers for the hours: he had already, under the reign of his predecessor, taken very great part in the introduction of the Jesuits, and he now, on his own accession, committed to them the visitation of his diocese. Even schoolmasters were obliged to subscribe the *professio fidei*. Rigid discipline and subordination after the methodic spirit of the Jesuits was introduced among the

clergy: the parish priests were required to report monthly to the dean, the dean quarterly to the bishops: all who refused obedience were dismissed without delay. A part of the Trent decrees were printed for the dioceses, and published for every body's behoof, and a new edition of the missal was published, in order to put an end to all discrepancies in the ritual. The spiritual tribunals received a new rigorous organization, to which Bartholomew Bodeghem of Delft, principally contributed. Nothing seemed to afford the archbishop such high delight, as the discovery of any one who was ready to cast off protestantism: on such returning penitents he never failed personally to bestow the benediction\*.

But other motives, besides those of connection with Rome, now further prompted to these duties of the spiritual electorate. The spiritual princes were urged by the same motives as the secular, to bring back their dominions to their own faith, nay, perhaps it was more imperative upon them, since a population inclined to protestantism would necessarily evince a more decided opposition to them, on account of their priestly character.

This important aspect of the German history first presents itself to us at Trier. The archbishops, like the rest of the spiritual princes, had long been at strife with their capital. In the sixteenth century, protestantism added another source of discord; the ecclesiastical tribunal in particular met with obstinate resistance. Jacob von Eltz found himself compelled at last formally to besiege the city. He subdued it, and then produced a decree of the emperor favourable to his own claims. Thus he reduced the citizens to temporal and spiritual obedience.

One other step he took, the effects of which were generally felt. In the year 1572, he irrevocably excluded the protestants from his court. This was a most serious matter, particularly for the nobility of the country, who looked to the court for advancement. All their future prospects were cut off, and it is likely that many an one of them may have been moved by that consideration to return to the old religion.

A neighbouring prince, too, Daniel Brendel, elector of Mainz, was a staunch catholic. Contrary to the advice of all about him, he revived the procession of Corpus Christi day, and figured in it himself: he would on no account have omitted vespers; always bestowed his attention on spiritual in preference to all other current affairs; and showed most partiality towards those of his privy councillors who displayed the greatest warmth towards catholicism. The Jesuits lauded him for the favours he bestowed on them: he sent, too, some pupils to be educated at the Collegium Germanicum in Rome†. He was not, however, prompted to carry matters so far as Jacob von Eltz. His religious zeal was not untinged with irony. On his introduction of the Jesuits, many of his feudatories addressed remonstrances to him. "What," he retorted, "you bear with me who do not fitly fulfil my duties, and you will not bear with people who fulfil them so well‡." What answer he may

\* Maderus de vita P. Canisii, lib. ii. c. ii. Sacchini, iii. ii. 22.

† Catena, Vita di Pio V. p. 49, gives an extract from this instruction. Gratiani, Vita Commendont, lib. iii. c. ii.

‡ Falkenstein, Nordgauische Alterthümer, i. 222.

\* Browerus, Annales Trevirenses, ii. xxii. 25. in general our best authority on these topics

† Serarius, Moguntiacarum rerum libri v. in the section concerning Daniel, especially cap. viii. xi. xxii. xxiii.

‡ Valerandus Sartorius, in Serarius, p. 291.

have given to the Jesuits, when they demanded of him the utter extinction of protestantism in his dominions has not been reported to us. At any rate, he suffered both Lutherans and Calvinists permanently in the city and at court; and in some places even tolerated the evangelical ritual\*, probably, however, only because he did not feel himself strong enough in those localities to put it down. In a remote part of his dominions, where he was not threatened by any such powerful and warlike neighbours as the counts Palatine of the Rhine, he took decisive steps. The restoration of catholicism in Eichsfeld was his work. Protestantism had gained footing there under the countenance of the nobles, and it had likewise made its way even into Heiligenstadt, in the very face of the chapter that had the patronage of all the churches: there was even a Lutheran preacher there; the communion was administered in both kinds; and upon one occasion, only twelve burghers of consequence received the sacrament at Easter in the catholic form†. At this very time, in the year 1574, the archbishop appeared in person in Eichsfeld, accompanied by two Jesuits, to hold an ecclesiastical visitation. He did not proceed to violent courses, but he adopted measures that proved effective. He removed the protestant preachers from Heiligenstadt, and founded a college of Jesuits there. He did not expel any member of the council, but he barred the admission of protestants to it for the future by the addition of a short clause to the councillors' oath, by virtue of which every member bound himself to obedience towards his electoral grace, both in spiritual and in temporal matters. The most important step was his appointing a decidedly catholic governor, Leopold von Stralendorf, who did not scruple, of his own authority, to follow out his master's milder measures with rigour, and who, in the course of his twenty-six years' continuous administration, restored the catholic doctrine to supremacy in town and country. Regarding the opposition, he banished the protestant preachers from the whole range of his government, and placed pupils from the new Jesuit school in their stead.

Another spiritual prince had already set the example in that region.

In the diocese of Fulda, the evangelical worship had been tolerated by six abbots, and even the young abbot, Balthazar von Dernbach, surnamed Gravel, promised, on his election in 1570, to let matters continue as they were in this respect. But whether it was that the blandishments of the court of Rome inflamed his ambition, or that he beheld in the renovation of catholicism the best means of augmenting his insignificant power, or that he really experienced a profound change in his convictions, certain it is he gradually displayed, not only dislike, but hostility to protestantism. His first step was to call in the Jesuits. He did not know one of their body, he had never seen one of their colleges, and was only prompted by common fame, by the representations made to him by a couple of pupils from the college of Trier, and, perhaps, by the recommendation of Daniel

Brendel. The Jesuits cordially accepted the invitation; their colleges in Mainz and Trier combined to found a colony in Fulda; the abbot furnished the society with a dwelling and a school, and bestowed a pension upon the members, and himself became one of their pupils, for he was extremely ignorant\*.

The abbot was immediately involved in disputes with his chapter, which of right possessed a voice in matters such as these, and which by no means approved of the invitation to the Jesuits: presently after he attacked the town too. A welcome opportunity thereto soon presented itself.

The parish priest of Fulda, who had hitherto preached the protestant doctrine, reverted to catholicism, and began again to use Latin in baptizing, and to administer the sacrament in one kind. The citizens, long accustomed to the evangelical ritual, would not quietly submit to its abandonment, and called for the priest's dismissal. Their remonstrances, as may be supposed, met with no attention. Not only was the catholic ritual strictly observed in the capital, but even the other churches were gradually cleared of the protestant ministers, and Jesuits were appointed to them. The abbot had already exchanged his protestant councillors and officers for others of catholic persuasion.

It was in vain that the nobility remonstrated; abbot Balthazar, with an air of surprise, said, "He hoped they did not think of dictating to him in what way he should rule the country committed to him by God." Some powerful princes of the empire despatched an embassy to him, requesting him to desist from his innovations, and to dismiss the Jesuits: but he remained immovable. Nay, he even proceeded to threaten the knights in his dominions. They claimed a sort of prerogative immediately derived from the empire, which would have been much restricted had the spiritual ruler been able to enforce obedience in matters of religion.

And thus did catholicism, which might have been looked on as quite subdued, arise again in Germany with new-born strength. The most various causes contributed to this result; the renewed vigour with which religion and doctrine went abroad among men, the revival of church discipline by the decrees of the council of Trent, and also, in a high degree, motives of internal policy—since it was palpable how much it would add to the power of a prince that his subjects should follow his own creed. The restoration of the church had at first, indeed, made itself felt only in separate points, but these presented to it a boundless prospect. It must particularly have been of the highest moment that no effectual opposition was made to the proceedings of the spiritual princes. An endeavour had been made, upon the conclusion of the Augsburg treaty of peace, to secure the protestant communities in the spiritual dominions by a special imperial declaration: the spiritual princes now affected to know nothing of any such declaration, and in no case gave themselves any concern about it. The im-

\* Complaint of Robert Turner, who looked for a Boniface, and found only a "principem politicum." Serarius, p. 947.

† Joh. Wolf. Geschichte u. Beschreibung von Heiligenstadt, p. 59.

† Reiffenberg: *Historia Societatis Jesu ad Rhenum Inferiorem*, i. vi. ii., where he enlarges the notices of Sacchinus (iii. vii. 68.) from a treatise drawn up for him by the Jesuit Feurer. On the protestant side: Grievances of the city of Fulda, and of the Knights of that Chapter, Lehman, *De Pace Religionis*, ii. ix. 257.

perial power was not strong enough, or sufficiently resolute, to adopt any vigorous decision in consequence of their disobedience, still less to enforce it. Even in the diets of the empire there was neither energy nor unanimity enough to lead to the adoption of effective measures.

The greatest changes took place noiselessly, almost unobserved, unnoticed even in books of history, just as though they were natural and inevitable.

#### *Troubles in the Netherlands and in France.*

Whilst catholicism was making such vigorous strides in Germany, its efforts were also put forth in the Netherlands and in France, though in a very dissimilar manner.

The essential difference between the two cases is, that in the latter countries there existed powerful central authorities, that took a direct part in every public movement, guided all religious demonstrations, and were immediately affected by the opposition evinced to these.

There was therefore more unity in the circumstances of these countries, more of combined and effective force in the movements that regulated them.

It is well known what manifold measures Philip II. adopted in the beginning of his reign to enforce perfect obedience in the Netherlands; one by one he was forced to abandon them, but he still clung with implacable rigour to those of them which aimed at the maintenance of catholicism and religious unity.

He wholly remodelled the ecclesiastical constitution of the country, by the institution of new archbishoprics and bishoprics: in this he suffered no remonstrance to check his proceedings, no appeal to rights which he unquestionably violated.

Now those newly-instituted sees acquired double importance, since the council of Trent had so strikingly increased the rigour of church discipline. Philip II., after brief deliberation, adopted the decrees of the council, and had them proclaimed in the Netherlands as well as in Spain. The inhabitants of the former country, who had hitherto found means to follow their natural bent without any violent coercion, were now to be subjected to keen inspection, and to the most rigorous compliance with a form from which they were actually contemplating to withdraw themselves.

The yoke was rendered more oppressive by penal laws, so many of which had already been issued under the preceding reign, and by the zeal of the inquisitors, whom the newly-constituted tribunal of Rome daily spurred on to more severity.

The Netherlands left nothing untried that might induce the king to mitigate his rigour, and it even seemed at times that he was more leniently disposed: count Egmont thought he had certain proof of this during his sojourn in Spain. But such a change was hardly to be expected. We have already mentioned how essentially the authority of Philip II. throughout his dominions rested on the basis of religion: had he made concessions to the people of the Netherlands, the like would have been demanded by those of Spain, to whom they could never have been granted. He, too,—let us not mistake the fact—was overruled by a stringent necessity. But, besides, this it was now the pe-

riod in which the accession and the first transactions of Pius V. aroused a new zeal throughout the whole catholic world: Philip II. felt a great partiality for the pope, and lent a ready ear to his admonitions: the attack of the Turks had just been repulsed, and the devotee party, the enemies of the Netherlands, may, as the prince of Orange suspected, have availed themselves of the first flush of victory, to induce the king to some violent resolution\*. In fact, towards the end of the year 1565, an edict followed, that surpassed in harshness all that had preceded it.

The penal edicts, the resolutions of the council, and of the provincial synods that had been subsequently held, were to be enforced undeviatingly, and the inquisitors alone were to take cognizance of spiritual transgressions. All functionaries were commanded to aid in carrying out these provisions: a commissioner was also specially charged with this duty in every province, and was to report progress quarterly†.

It is manifest that these measures tended to the certain introduction of a spiritual domination, if not exactly like that of Spain, at least similar to that established in Italy.

The first result was, that the people took up arms, the demolition of images began, and the whole country became a scene of the fiercest turbulence. There was a moment when the authorities seemed disposed to give way; but, as usual in such cases, the violence of the insurgents was fatal to their own cause: the moderate and peaceable inhabitants were alarmed and incited to aid the government. The governors were victorious. As soon as she had seized possession of the rebellious places, she felt herself at once in a position to impose an oath on the government functionaries, nay, on the king's vassals in general, by which they formally pledged themselves to the maintenance of the catholic faith, and to the prosecution of war against the heretics‡.

But even this was not enough for the king. The moment was that unhappy one which was marked by the dismal end of his son Don Carlos: never was he more stern and unbending. The pope exhorted him once more to grant no concessions prejudicial to catholicism, and the king assured his holiness "that he would not suffer the root of a noxious plant to remain in the soil of the Netherlands; he would either lose the provinces, or maintain the catholic religion there in its integrity§." For the fulfilment of his purpose he sent, even after the troubles had been allayed, his best general, the duke of Alva, and an imposing army, into the Netherlands.

Let us investigate at least the fundamental principles that dictated Alva's proceedings.

Alva was convinced that in a country distracted

\* The prince held Granvella in suspicion. See his letters in the Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, i. 289.

† Strada, after a formula of the 18th Dec. 1565, lib. iv. p. 94.

‡ Brandt, Histoire de la reformation des pays bas, i. 156.

§ Cavalli, Dispaccio di Spagna, 7 Aug. 1567. Rispose il re che quanto alle cose della religione S. Sta. stasse di buon animo, che ovvero si han da perder tutti quei statí, o che si conserverà in essi la vera cattolica religione; nè comporterà che vi rimanghi, per quanto potrà far lui, alcuna radice di mala pianta.

with the violence of revolution, every thing requisite to the re-establishment of order was effected, when the heads of the movement were disposed of. That Charles V., after so many and such great victories, had yet been in a manner thrust out of the German empire, he attributed to the indulgent spirit of that monarch, who spared the enemies who fell into his hands. Frequent mention has been made of the alliance between the French and the Spaniards, concluded at the congress of Bayonne in 1565, and of the measures concerted there: of all that has been said on the subject, thus much only is certain, that the duke of Alva urged the queen of France to get rid of the chiefs of the Huguenots, no matter how. What he then advised, he now scrupled not to practise. Philip II. had furnished him with some blank warrants bearing the royal signature. The first use he made of them was for the arrest of Egmont and Horn, whom he assumed to have been implicated in the recent disturbances. "May it please your sacred catholic majesty," begins the letter which he wrote thereupon to the king, and which seems to warrant the inference that he had no special commands from the king for what he had done, "after my arrival in Brussels, I procured the necessary information from proper quarters, and thereupon, secured the person of the count von Egmont, and also caused the count von Horn and others to be imprisoned.\*" The reader perhaps will ask, why he sentenced the prisoners to be executed a year afterwards. It was not for any demonstration of their guilt produced on their trial; it lay heavier at their door that they had not hindered the disturbances than that they had occasioned them; nor was it in consequence of any command to the king's, who rather left it to the duke's discretion to execute the prisoners or not, as he thought expedient.—The reason was as follows. A small body of protestants had invaded the country: they had not indeed effected any thing of moment, but they had engaged the king's troops with advantage at Heiligerlee, and a royal general of high reputation, the duke of Arenberg, had fallen on the occasion. In his consequent despatch to the king, Alva says he had noticed that this untoward event had set the people in a ferment, and rendered them audacious; he held it expedient to let the folks see he did not fear them in any wise; also he proposed to prevent any desire, on their part, to excite new commotions with a view to the rescue of the prisoners: he had therefore come to the resolution of causing their immediate execution. Thus were these noble men doomed to die, to whom no guilt worthy of death could be brought home, whose sole crime was that they had defended the ancient liberties of their native land: they fell a sacrifice, not so much to right and law, as to the momentary considerations of a ferocious policy.

\* Dispaccio di Cavalli, 16 Sett. The governess addressed complaisance to the king concerning the arrest, to which he replied that he had not given orders for it. In proof of this, he showed Alva's letter, from which the passage adduced in proof is here given. It runs thus: "Sacra cattolica Maestà, dappoi ch'io giorsi in Brusselles, pigliai le information da chi dovea delle cose di qua, onde poi mi son assicurato del conte di Agmon e fatto ritenere il conte d'Orno con alquanti altri. Sarà ben che V. M. per bon rispetto ordini ancor lei che sia fatto istesso di Montigni (who was in Spain) e suo ajutante di camera." Hereupon followed the arrest of Montigni.

Even then Alva bethought him of Charles V., whose errors he was resolved not to imitate\*.

Alva was cruel, we see, on principle. Who could have looked for mercy to the dreadful tribunal which he founded by the title of the Council of Disturbances? Arrests and executions were the means by which he ruled the provinces; he pulled down the houses of the condemned, and confiscated their property. With his ecclesiastical he simultaneously prosecuted his political views: the old power of the estates was set at naught; Spanish troops filled the whole country, and a citadel was erected for them in the most important commercial city: Alva insisted with despotie obstinacy on the payment of the most odious taxes; and the only wonder expressed in Spain—for he drew considerable sums from that quarter too—was what he could do with all that money. It is, however, perfectly true, that the land was obedient; no malcontent raised his head; every trace of protestantism disappeared; and the exiles in the neighbouring countries remained still.

"Monsignor," said a privy councillor of Philip II. to the papal nuncio while these events were in progress, "are you now content with the king's proceedings?" "Perfectly content," replied the nuncio with a smile.

Alva himself believed he had accomplished a master-stroke of policy, and looked with scorn on the French government, that could never make their authority respected in their own country.

In France, after the vast strides made by protestantism in the year 1562, a great re-action had set in, especially in the capital.

The most injurious circumstance to protestantism in France, was unquestionably its close connexion with the court factions. For a while there seemed to be a general leaning towards the protestant confession: but when its adherents, hurried on by their association with some leading men, took up arms and committed acts of violence such as are always inseparable from war, they lost ground in public opinion. "What sort of a religion is this?" men asked: "where has Christ commanded to plunder one's neighbour, and to shed his blood?" When at last the Parisians found it necessary to put themselves in a posture of defence against the aggressions of Condé, who was regarded as the head of the Huguenots, all public bodies assumed an anti-protestant complexion. All the male inhabitants of the city capable of bearing arms were put into military training, and the captains appointed to command them were required, above all things,

\* Cavalli, July 3, 1568, also gives this dispatch in the extract. It is, if possible, still more remarkable than the former. Capitò qui l'avviso della giustitia fatta in Fiandra contra di quelli poveri signori prigioni, intorno alla quale scrive il D. d'Alvar che havendo facoltà di S. M. di far tal esecuzione o soprastato, secondo che avesse reputato piu expediente del suo servizio, che però vedendo il popoli un poco alterati et insuperbiti per la morte d'Arenberg e rotta di quelli Spagnoli, haveva giudicato tempo opportuno e necessario per tal effetto per dimostrar di non temer di loro in conto alcuno, e poner con questo terrore a molti, levandoli la speranza di tumultuar per la loro liberatione, e suggir di cascer nel errore nel quale incorse l'imperatore Carlo, il qual per tener vivo Saxonia e Langravio diedo occasione di nova congiura, per la quale S. M. fu cacciata con poca dignità della Germania e quasi dell' impero.



to be catholic. The members of the university and of the parliament, including the very numerous class of advocates, were called on to subscribe purely catholic articles of faith.

Backed by this state of public feeling, the Jesuits established themselves in France. They began there on a somewhat small scale, being constrained to content themselves with colleges thrown open to them by a few ecclesiastics, ardent partisans of theirs in Billon and Tournon, places remote from the grand central point, and where nothing of consequence was at all likely to be accomplished.

They encountered, at first, the most obstinate resistance in the great cities, especially in Paris, on the part of the Sorbonne, the parliament, and the archbishop, who were all apprehensive lest their own interests should be prejudiced by the privileges and the spirit of the order. But as the latter won favour with the zealous catholics, and particularly with the court, which was never tired of recommending them "for their exemplary lives, and the purity of their doctrine, such that many apostates had been brought back by them to the faith, and East and West through their exertions acknowledged the presence of the Lord \*;" and as that change in public opinion just mentioned happened opportunely for them, they at last forced their way through all impediments, and were admitted in the year 1564 to the privilege of teaching. Lyons had already received them. Whether it was the result of good fortune or of merit, they were enabled at once to produce some men of brilliant talents from amongst them. In opposition to the Huguenot preachers, they put forward Edmund Augier, who was born in France, but educated at Rome under Ignatius, and of whom protestants themselves have said, that had he not worn the catholic vestments, there would never have been a greater orator. He produced an extraordinary impression both by his preaching and his writings. In Lyons, especially, the Huguenots were completely routed, their preachers exiled, their churches demolished, and their books burned; whilst, on the other hand, a splendid college was erected for the Jesuits in 1567. They had also a distinguished professor, Maldonat, whose exposition of the bible attracted crowds of charmed and attentive youth. From these chief towns they now spread over the kingdom in every direction; they formed settlements in Toulouse and Bourdeaux; wherever they appeared, the number of catholic communicants increased. Augier's Catechism had prodigious success; within the space of eight years thirty-eight thousand copies of it were sold in Paris alone †.

It is very possible that this revived popularity of catholic ideas, particularly as it was most remarkable in the capital, may have had its action on the

court. At any rate it afforded the latter one prop the more, when after protracted fluctuations it once again, in the year 1568, declared itself decidedly catholic.

This arose more particularly from the fact that Catherine of Medici felt her power much more secure since the majority of her son, and had no longer need to conciliate the Huguenots as she had had done before. Alva's example showed how much could be accomplished by a resolute will. The pope, who never ceased exhorting the court not to suffer the further growth of the rebels' insolence, nor to tolerate them a moment longer, at last backed her admonitions with the permission to alienate church property, from which a million and a half of French livres accrued to the royal treasury\*. Accordingly, Catherine of Medici, following the precedent set the year before by the government of the Netherlands, imposed an oath on the French nobility, by virtue of which they were to forego every engagement contracted without the previous knowledge of the king †. She demanded the dismissal of all magistrates of cities, who had incurred suspicion of a leaning to the new opinions; and she declared to Philip II., in 1563, that she would tolerate no other religion than the catholic.

Such a resolution was not to be carried into effect in France without recourse to arms. War instantly broke out.

It was entered on with extraordinary spirit on the catholic side. At the pope's request the king of Spain sent practised troops under skilful leaders to the aid of the orthodox. Pius V. caused collections to be made in the states of the church, gathered contributions from the Italian princes; nay, himself, the holy father, sent a little army of his own across the Alps, that same to which he gave the ferocious order to kill every Huguenot that fell into their hands, to grant quarter to none.

The Huguenots also bestirred themselves; they, too, were full of religious zeal; they looked on the catholic soldiers as the army of antichrist arrayed against them; they, too, gave no quarter; they were equally well provided with foreign aid; and yet they were completely beaten at Moncontour.

With what exultation did Pius V. hang up the Huguenot standards sent him by the victors in the churches of St. Peter and St. John Lateran! He conceived the boldest hopes. This was the very moment when he pronounced sentence of excommunication against Queen Elizabeth. He sometimes flattered himself with the thought of leading an expedition against England in person.

But fortune did not favour his schemes so far.

As had so often before occurred, a revolution in opinion took place at this crisis in the French court, which, though founded on trivial circumstances of a personal nature, brought about a grand alteration in matters of the highest moment.

The king grudged his brother, who had commanded at Moncontour, the honour of vanquishing the Huguenots, and giving peace to the kingdom. In this he was confirmed by those around him, who were also jealous of Anjou's suite, fearing that power would go hand in hand with glory. Now,

\* In a manuscript in the Berlin library, MSS. Gall. n. 75, the following document is given among others: *Deliberations et Consultations au parlement de Paris touchant l'establissement des Jesuites en France*, in which are contained, in particular, the messages of the court to the parliament in favour of the jesuits: "Infracta et ferocia pectora," it is said therein, "gladio fidei acuto penetrarunt." [They have pierced rude and unyielding bosoms with the sharp sword of the faith.]

† These details are given by Orlandinus and by the author of the continuation of his work, pars i. lib. vi. n. 30, li. iv. 84. lii. iii. 169 et seq. Juvenius, v. 24, 769, gives a biography of Augier.

\* Catena, Vita di Pio V. p. 79.

† The oath is given by Serranus, *Commentarii de Statu Religionis in regno Gallie*, lii. 153.



therefore, not only wore the advantages already gained very languidly followed up, but ere long, in opposition to the strict catholic party that rallied round Anjou, another moderate one sprang up at court, which adopted a directly contrary system of policy, made peace with the Huguenots, and invited its leaders to court. The French, in alliance with Spain and the pope, had attempted to overthrow the queen of England in the year 1569: in the summer of 1572 we see them leagued with that same queen to wrest the Netherlands from Spain.

The change, however, had been too sudden, too imperfectly matured to endure. The most violent explosion ensued, and all things recoiled into their former course.

It can hardly be doubted, but that while queen Catherine engaged with alacrity and zeal in the policy and plans of the dominant party, which favoured her interests, at least in so far as they seemed to tend towards placing her youngest son Alençon on the throne of England, she was still concerting all requisite measures to carry an opposite stroke of policy into execution. She contributed every thing in her power towards bringing the Huguenots to Paris, where, numerous as they were, they were surrounded and held in check by a far larger population, possessed of military organization, and prone to fanatical excitement. She gave the pope beforehand pretty clearly to understand what it was she contemplated: but even had she wavered, the circumstances that arose just at this moment must have determined her. The Huguenots won over the king himself; they seemed to cast the consequence of the queen-mother into the shade. Thus personally endangered, she hesitated no longer. With the irresistible magic power she possessed over her children, she roused in the king's mind all his slumbering fanaticism: it cost her but a word to make the people fly to arms; she spoke it: each of the most eminent Huguenots was consigned to the special vengeance of his personal foes. Catherine has said she had only designed the death of six men; these were all she would take upon her conscience: the numbers that fell amounted to 50,000\*.

Thus the French surpassed the doings of the Spaniards in the Netherlands. What the latter did with calculating policy, with the observance of legal forms, and by degrees, the latter accomplished in the heat of passion, without regard to forms, with the help of a fanatical multitude. The result appeared the same. Not a leader was left whose name could furnish a rallying-point for the scattered Huguenots: many fled; vast numbers surrendered; place after place resumed the practice of the mass; the protestant preachers were silenced. With pleasure Philip II. saw himself imitated and surpassed; and he offered Charles IX., who had now for the first time earned a right to the title of "Most Christian King," the aid of his arms to complete the good work he had begun. Pope Gregory XIII. celebrated this great event by a solemn procession to the church of San Luigi. The Venetians, who seemed to have no special interest in the matter, expressed in their official despatches to their ambassador their satisfaction at "this grace of God."

\* For the sake of brevity I refer the reader on this subject to my Essay on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in the *Hist. Polit. Zeitschrift*, ii. iii.

But can it be that such bloody atrocities should ever be permanently successful? Are they not repugnant to the profounder mysteries of human life and action, to the undefined, inviolable principles that inwardly actuate the unchanging order of nature? The minds of men may be dazzled; but the moral laws of their nature they cannot shake; they are swayed by them with a necessity as cogent as that which rules the stars of heaven.

*Resistance made by the Protestants in the Netherlands, France, and Germany.*

Machiavel advises his prince to dispatch in rapid succession the cruelties he deems necessary, and then gradually to adopt more merciful proceedings.

It seemed as though the Spaniards desired to act to the letter upon this maxim in the Netherlands.

It seemed as though they were even themselves at last of opinion, that property enough had been confiscated, that heads enough had fallen, and that the time for mercy had arrived. In the year 1572 the Venetian ambassador at Madrid expresses his confident belief that the prince of Orange would receive his pardon, were he to entreat for it. The king very graciously received the deputies from the Netherlands, who waited on him to sound him with regard to the repeal of the tax of the tenth penny, and even thanked them for their pains: he had resolved to recall Alva, and to send a milder viceroy in his stead.

But it was now too late: the insurrection broke out in the sequel of that Anglo-French alliance which preceded the bloody day of St. Bartholomew. Alva had imagined his work was ended; but it was now the struggle properly began. Alva beat the enemy as often as he showed himself in the open field; on the other hand, in the towns of Holland and Zealand, where the religious movement had deepest stirred men's minds, and where protestantism had instantly acquired an organized vitality, he encountered an opposition he was unable to overcome.

In Haarlem, when all the provisions were consumed to the very grass that grew between the stones in the streets, the inhabitants resolved to cut their way through the besiegers, with their wives and children. The dissensions of the garrison, indeed, compelled them at last to surrender, but still they had shown that the Spaniards were not irresistible. The people of Alkmar declared in favour of the prince of Orange at the very moment the enemy was at their gates. Their defence was as heroic as their resolution; not a man would quit his place, however severely wounded: the pride of the Spanish arms was first humbled before the walls of Alkmar. The country breathed again; fresh courage filled the hearts of the people. The men of Leyden declared that, rather than surrender, they would eat their left arms, so they might still defend themselves with their right. They conceived the bold project of breaking down their dams, and calling to their aid the waves of the Northern Ocean. Their distress had reached its utmost limit, when a wind from the north-west, setting in at the critical moment, flooded the land to the depth of some feet, and put the foe to flight.

By this time the French protestants had likewise resumed courage. As soon as they perceived that their government, notwithstanding its recent act of ferocity, pursued a wavering, dilatory, and contradictory policy, they stood to their arms, and war broke out afresh. Sancerro and Rochelle,

defended themselves with the courage of Leyden and Alkmar. The preacher of peace was heard calling to arms. The women vied with the men. It was the heroic age of protestantism in western Europe.

The cruel deeds committed or applauded by the most powerful sovereigns encountered in isolated nameless points a resistance that no force could overcome, for its secret spring was deep religious conviction.

It is not at all our purpose in this place to detail the course and vicissitudes of the war in France and the Netherlands; it would lead us too far from the main body of our subject; besides, it has been done in many other works: suffice it to say, the protestants held their ground.

In France, the government was forced, even in 1573, and frequently afterwards in the ensuing years, to consent to terms, by which the old concessions to the Huguenots were renewed.

In the Netherlands, the power of the government had utterly fallen to ruin in the year 1576. The Spanish troops having broken out into open mutiny, in consequence of the pay being withheld, all the provinces had again combined together; those that had hitherto maintained their allegiance, with the revolted,—those that were still chiefly catholic, with the wholly protestant. The states-general took the government into their own hands, appointed captains-general, deputies, and magistrates, and garrisoned the fortresses with their own, not with the king's troops\*. The league of Ghent was concluded, by which the provinces mutually pledged themselves to drive out the Spaniards, and keep them out of the country. The king sent his brother, who might be considered as a native of the Netherlands, to govern them as they had been governed by Charles V. But don John was not even recognized, till he had promised to fulfil the principal conditions demanded of him: he was compelled to accept the treaty of Ghent, and to dismiss the Spanish troops; and no sooner did he make a movement of resistance to the restraints that encumbered him, than all parties rose up against him. He was declared an enemy to the country, and the heads of the provinces called for another prince of the family in his stead.

The principle of local authority overcame the monarchical; the native power was victorious over the Spanish.

Other consequences were necessarily associated with this consummation. The northern provinces, which had carried on the war, and thereby conduced to the existing posture of affairs, at once acquired a natural preponderance in all that related to the war and the government; and this led again to the propagation of the protestant religion over the whole range of the Netherlands. It found its way into Muelin, Bruges, and Ypres; the churches were divided in Antwerp between the two confessions, and the catholics were in some cases obliged to content themselves with the choirs of those churches, of which they had so lately been sole possessors; in Ghent, the protestant tendency was mixed up with a civil movement, and acquired complete ascendancy. The treaty of Ghent had fully ratified the old supremacy of the catholic

religion: but now the states-general issued an edict confirming an equal degree of freedom to both confessions. Thenceforth protestant demonstrations arose in every direction, and even in those provinces where catholicism predominated: there seemed reason to anticipate that protestantism would prove universally victorious.

What a position was that now occupied by the prince of Orange! But recently an exile and solicitous for pardon, now the possessor of a firmly established power in the northern provinces, *Rurart* in Brabant, and all-potent in the assembly of the estates; recognized as their chief and leader by a great and rapidly advancing politico-religious party; united by close ties with all the protestants of Europe,—above all, with his neighbours, the Germans.

In Germany, too, the aggressive measures of the catholics were met by a resistance on the part of the protestants, that promised great results.

We remark this resistance in the general transactions of the empire, in the assemblies of the electors, and in the diets; although here the German system of public proceedings forbade its being matured to any direct result. In general, it was most active, as was also the aggression, in the several territories and districts.

The spiritual principalities were now for the most part, as we have seen, the scenes where this strife was carried on. There was hardly one in which the prince had not made an attempt to restore the supremacy of catholicism. Protestantism, which also felt its own strength, retaliated with no less far-reaching endeavours to bring over the spiritual principalities themselves to its own side.

In the year 1577, Gebhard Truchsess became archbishop of Cologne, chiefly through the personal influence of count Nuenar with the chapter, and very well did that great protestant know who it was he recommended. In truth, his acquaintance with Agnes von Mansfield was not needed, as has been said, to give him his first anti-catholic bent. Upon his very first entrance in state into Cologne, when the clergy met him in procession, he did not, according to established usage, alight from his horse to kiss the cross; he made his appearance in the church in military dress, nor did he choose to perform high mass. He attached himself from the outset to the prince of Orange, and his chief counsellors were Calvinists\*. As he did not hesitate to grant mortgages in order to raise troops, as he sought to secure the nobility to his side, and favoured a party among the guilds of Cologne that was beginning to oppose the catholic usages, all his acts tended to that purpose which he afterwards openly manifested,—the conversion of the spiritual into a secular electorate.

Gebhard Truchsess was still, occasionally at least, outwardly a catholic: the neighbouring sees of Westphalia and Lower Saxony fell on the other hand, as we have seen, immediately into protestant hands. The elevation of duke Henry of Saxe Lauenburg was of peculiar importance. While still very young, he was elected, though a staunch Lutheran, to the archbishopric of Bremen, then to the bishopric of Osnabrück, and in 1577, to the

\* This turn of affairs is made particularly clear in Tassis, lib. 15—19.

\* Maffei, *Annali di Gregorio XII.* tom. i. p. 331.

bishopric of Paderborn\*. He had even in Münster a great party, consisting of all the younger members of the chapter, in his favour; and it was only by the direct intervention of Gregory XIII., who declared a resignation actually made of no effect, and by the strenuous opposition of the rigid catholic party, that his elevation to that see was prevented. But the adverse party were not able to carry the election of another bishop.

It is obvious what an impulse this disposition, on the part of the ecclesiastical chiefs, must have given to protestantism in Rhenish Westphalia, where, independently of this, it had already spread widely. There needed but a happy combination of circumstances, a stroke that told home, to give it a decided preponderance in those regions.

Nay, all Germany must have sensibly felt the influence of such an event. The bishoprics of Upper Germany were open to the same contingencies as those in the lower division of the empire; even within the territories where the restoration had begun, the opposition was not long suppressed.

Sorely did abbot Balthazar of Fulda experience this. When it was found that the solicitations of neighbouring princes, and the complaints laid before the diet, were of no avail, and that the abbot recklessly persisted in his restoration of the ancient faith, going from place to place to enforce it in every quarter, it came to pass one day, in the summer of 1576, as he happened to be in Hamelberg upon that very business, that he was set upon by his nobles with arms in their hands, and besieged in his own house: public resentment running high against him, his neighbours looked on his distress with satisfaction, the bishop of Würzburg even lent a hand to his assailants, and he was forced to abdicate the government of his dominions†.

Even in Bavaria, duke Albert did not carry all before him. He complained to the pope that his nobility chose rather to forego the sacrament altogether, than to receive it only in one kind.

But what was of still more moment, protestantism was continually advancing in the Austrian territories to a more legitimate power and recognized existence. Under the prudent conduct of Maximilian II. it not only obtained firm footing, as we have mentioned, in Austria Proper, above and below the Ens, but had also spread through all the other districts. Hardly, for instance, had that emperor redeemed the county of Glätz from the dukes of Bavaria who held it in pledge, (in the year 1567,) when here too, nobles, public functionaries, cities, and finally the majority of the people, went over to the evangelical confession: the governor-general Hans von Pubschütz, of his own authority, founded a protestant consistory, with which he often went further than the emperor could have wished. Here, too, the estates gradually acquired

a high degree of independence and inherent authority: altogether it was the most prosperous period in the annals of the county; agriculture was on the rise: the towns were wealthy and flourishing; the nobility educated and polished; waste lands were everywhere reclaimed, and covered with villages\*. The church of Albendorf, where at this day crowds of pilgrims assemble to kiss an old image of the Virgin, was then for sixty years under the ministry of Protestant pastors†; in the capital there were reckoned some few half-score years later only nine catholic burghers, while the numbers of the evangelical burghers amounted to three hundred. It is no wonder, therefore, that pope Pius V. cherished an inexpressible animosity against the emperor. The subject of Maximilian's war with the Turks, being once discussed in his presence, he said outright, he knew not which side he less wished to see victorious‡. Protestantism, however, made increasing way under these circumstances, even in the districts of inner Austria, over which the emperor did not exercise immediate control. In the year 1568, there were as many as twenty-four evangelical preachers in Krain; in the capital of Styria there was in the year 1571 but one catholic member in the council. Not that protestantism enjoyed the support of the ruler, the archduke Charles, who, on the contrary, introduced the Jesuits into the country, and favoured them with all his might; but the estates were evangelical§. They had the upper hand in the diets, where the business of the administration and of the defence of the country was mixed up with the affairs of religion; they exacted religious concessions in return for every consenting vote they gave. In the year 1578, the archduke was compelled in the diet at Bruck on the Muhr to accord the free exercise of the Augsburg confession, not only in the domains of the nobles and landed proprietors, where he could under no circumstances have prevented it, but also in the four leading towns, Grätz, Judenburg, Klagenfurt, and Laibach||. Hereupon protestantism became organized in these provinces equally as in the imperial. A protestant ministry for church affairs was established, and rules laid down for the management of churches and schools, modelled on those of Würtemberg: in some places, for instance, in St. Veit, catholics were excluded from voting in the election of councillors¶, and they were no longer ad-

\* Joseph Küglers Chronik von Glätz. Bd. I. Heft 2. p. 72. The author was a catholic; his work is very substantial and useful.

† From 1563 to 1623. Documentirte Beschreibung von Albendorf, (an earlier printed fragment of the same chronicle,) p. 36.

‡ Tiepolo, Relazione di Pio IV. e V. He adds: In proposito della morte del principe di Spagna apertamente disse il papa haverla sentita con grandissimo dispiacere, perche non vorria che le stati del re cattolico capassero in mano de' Tedeschi. [Talking of the death of the prince of Spain, the pope said he had heard of it with great grief, because he would not have the dominions of the catholic king fall into the hands of the Germans.]

§ Socher, Historia Societatis Jesu provincie Austriæ, I. iv. 166. 184. v. 33.

|| Supplication to his Imp. Rom. Maj. and intercession of the three principalities in the country, in Lehmann, De Pace Religionis, p. 461; a document which serves to correct the account of Khevenhüller, Ann. Ferdinandeæ, i. 6.

¶ Hermann in the Kärntnerische Zeitschrift, v. p. 189.

\* Hamelmann, Oldenburgisches Chronikon, s. 436.

† Schannat, Historia Fuldensis, pars iii. p. 268. A letter from the abbot to pope Gregory, dated August 1, 1576, given in that place, is exceedingly remarkable. "Clamantes," he says of the threats of his enemies, "nisi consentiam ut administratio ditionis mee episcopo tradatur non alter se me ac canem rabidum interfectorum, tum Saxonie et Hassie principes in meum gregem immisuros." [Vociferating that, if I do not consent to the transference of my authority to the bishop, they will kill me as they would a mad dog, and then let in the princes of Saxony and Hesse upon my flock.]

mitted to provincial offices ; circumstances under favour of which, protestantism first obtained decidedly the upper hand in those regions that so nearly bordered on Italy. The impulse given by the Jesuits was here stedfastly counteracted.

In all the provinces of Austria,—German, Slavonic, and Hungarian,—with the single exception of the Tyrol, protestantism might be regarded as ruling paramount in the year 1578.

Thus we see that throughout all Germany it successfully withstood the advance of catholicism, and met every step it made by an onward movement of its own.

*Contrasts exhibited throughout the rest of Europe.*

It was a memorable epoch, in which the two great religious tendencies were once more in active strife, with equal anticipations of victory and dominion.

The posture of things had now undergone an essential change. Formerly the two parties had been willing to treat with each other : a reconciliation had been attempted in Germany ; in France it had been entered on, in the Netherlands demanded ; for a while it appeared feasible, and in some places toleration was actually practised. But now the contrasts between the two seemed to stand out more prominently, and with greater show of hostility. They challenged each other, so to speak, throughout all Europe. It is well worth the pains to cast a glance over the state of things as they appeared in the years 1578, 1579.

Let us begin eastwards with Poland.

The Jesuits had made their way into this country likewise, countenanced by the bishops, who looked to them for the strengthening of their own power. Cardinal Hosius, bishop of Ermland, founded a college for them in Braunsberg, in 1569 : they fixed themselves in Pultusk and Posen, with the help of the bishops of those places. Bishop Valerian, of Wilna, deemed it a matter of paramount moment to counteract the Lithuanian Lutherans, who proposed erecting an university on their own principles, by founding a Jesuit institution in his episcopal see : he was grown old and feeble, and wished to mark his last days by this meritorious act. The first member of the society arrived in his see in the year 1570\*.

Now here, too, the immediate consequence of these efforts was but that the protestants took measures to maintain their power. They carried a resolution in the convocation diet of 1573, by virtue of which, no one was to be injured or prejudiced on account of his religion†. The bishops were forced to comply ; the example of the troubles in the Netherlands was held out to them, to show the danger of refusal ; and the succeeding kings were obliged to swear to maintain the resolution. In the year 1579, the payment of tithes to the clergy was absolutely suspended ; in consequence of which, the nuncio asserted it for fact, that twelve hundred parish-priests had been ruined. In the same year, a suprenio tribunal was constituted of laymen and clergy, which decided all disputes, even touching ecclesiastical matters. It was matter of amazement at Rome, that the Polish clergy had suffered this measure to be carried.

The contest was no less sharp in Sweden than in Poland, and there its course, indeed, was most singular : it had immediate reference to the sovereign, and was waged around his person.

In all the sons of Gustavus Vasa—"the brood of king Gustavus," as the Swedes call them—there is noticeable a most unusual mixture of reflection and wilfulness, of religion and violence.

The most learned of them was the second John. Being married to a catholic princess, Catherine of Poland, who had shared with him the prison, in the narrow solitude of which he had often received the consolations of a catholic priest, his feelings were especially interested by the current controversies. He studied the fathers, to arrive at a clearer conception of the primitive condition of the church ; he was fond of those books that treated of the possibility of religious union, and earnestly pondered the questions that bore upon the subject. When he became king, he accordingly approached some steps nearer to the catholic church. He published a liturgy imitated from that of Trent, in which the Swedish divines discovered with amazement not only usages of the Roman church, but even certain of its distinguishing doctrines\*. As the pope's intercession as well with the catholic princes in general with regard to the Russian war, as with Spain in particular respecting his wife's maternal inheritance, might be of much service to him, he did not hesitate to send a nobleman of his kingdom as ambassador to Rome. He even gave private permission to a couple of Jesuits from the Netherlands to come to Stockholm, where he committed an important educational institution to their charge.

Such conduct naturally excited high hopes in Rome ; and Antonio Possevin, one of the most adroit members of the society of Jesus, was selected to make an earnest attempt for the conversion of king John.

Possevin made his appearance in Sweden in the year 1578. The king was not disposed to give way on all points. He demanded permission for priests to marry, the accordance of the sacramental cup to the laity, the celebration of the mass in the vernacular tongue, an abandonment of the church's claims to confiscated property, and so forth. Possevin had no authority to go into these questions ; and promising merely that he would communicate the king's demands to the apostolic see, he hastened to plunge with him into dogmatical controversy. In this he was much more happy. After two or three conversations, and a short time for reflection, the king declared himself resolved to make the *professio fidei*, according to the formula of the council of Trent. He actually did so, and he confessed ; whereupon Possevin asked him once more, whether he submitted himself to the judgment of the pope as regarded the communion in one kind. John declaring he did so, Possevin solemnly granted him absolution. It would almost seem that this absolution had been the grand object of the king's longing desires. He had caused his brother to be put to death, with the previous approbation, indeed, of his estates ; but put him to death he had, and that in the most violent manner ! The absolution granted him seemed to tranquillize his soul.

\* Sacchini, *Historia Societatis Jesu*, pars ii. lib. viii. 114. Pars iii. lib. i. 112 ; lib. vi. 103-108.

† Fredro, *Henricus I. rex Polonorum*, p. 114.

\* They are all set forth in the *Indicium prædicatorum Holmensis de publicata liturgia in Baz : Inventarium ecclesiarum Suecogoth.* p. 393.

Possevin besought God that he might now be able completely to convert the heart of the king: the latter rose, cast himself into his confessor's arms, and cried, "Even as I thus embrace thee, do I embrace the Roman catholic faith for ever." He then received the Lord's supper after the catholic ritual.

Having thus satisfactorily accomplished his task, Possevin hastened back to Rome. He communicated the intelligence to the pope, and, under the seal of secrecy, to the most powerful catholic princes. It now only remained to take into consideration those demands of the king on which he made the general restoration of catholicism in his kingdom dependent. Possevin was a man of great address, eloquent, and of much talent for negotiation; but he persuaded himself too readily that he had attained his end. According to the account he gave, it appeared unnecessary to pope Gregory to make any concession; on the contrary, he called on the king to come over freely and unconditionally to the catholic church. He furnished the Jesuit with despatches to this effect on his second departure, and with indulgences for all who would recant.

Meanwhile, however, the opposite party had not been idle; protestant princes had sent warning letters to the king—for the news had instantly spread all over Europe—Chytræus had dedicated to the king his work on the Augsburg confession, which had made a certain impression on the learned monarch. The protestants no longer lost sight of him for a moment.

Possevin now arrived, not, as before, in the garb of a civilian, but in the usual costume of his order, and brought with him a heap of catholic books. Even his mere appearance produced any thing but a favourable impression. For a moment he hesitated to produce the pope's reply; but at last he could procrastinate no longer, and he laid it before the king in an audience of two hours' duration. Who shall explore the secrets of a wavering and unstable soul? It may be, the monarch's self-esteem was wounded by so peremptory a refusal of his demands; besides, he was convinced that without the concessions he had stipulated for, nothing was to be accomplished in Sweden, and he had no inclination to lay down his crown for religion's sake. In short, the audience was a decisive one. From that hour the king manifested coldness and aversion to the pope's ambassador. He required his Jesuit schoolmen to receive the sacrament in both kinds, and to read mass in the Swedish tongue: as they did not obey, which, indeed, they could not, he refused them the provision he had hitherto allowed them. Their departure from Stockholm, which took place shortly after, was doubtless not caused alone, as they wished it to be supposed, by the presence of the plague in that city. The protestant nobles, Charles of Sudermania, the king's younger brother, who was disposed to Calvinism, and the ambassadors of Lübeck, omitted nothing to augment the king's growing aversion. The catholics' sole stay and hope were in the queen, and, after her death, in the heir to the throne. For the present, the sovereign power in Sweden remained essentially protestant\*.

\* In this whole account I adhere to the reports of the Jesuits, (never, so far as I know, hitherto used.) which are

This was daily more and more the case in England under queen Elizabeth. But in that kingdom there were assailable points of a different kind; it was full of catholics. Not only did the Irish population steadfastly adhere to the old faith and ritual; in England, probably one half the nation, if not a still larger portion, as has been asserted, were likewise devoted to catholicism. It is singular, indeed, how the English catholics submitted, at least during the first fifteen years of her reign, to that queen's protestant laws. They took the oath required of them, though it diametrically opposed the papal authority; they frequented the protestant churches, and thought they did all that was necessary, if, in going and returning, they kept together and avoided the society of the protestants\*.

Rome, however, felt secure of their secret attachment, and was persuaded that nothing was wanting but an opportunity, a slight advantage, to rouse all the catholics in the country to resistance. Pius V. had longed to shed his blood in an expedition against England; and Gregory XIII., who never abandoned the idea of such an enterprise, thought of availing himself to that end of the martial spirit and exalted station of don John of Austria. He sent his nuncio Sega, who had been with don John in the Netherlands, to Spain for that express purpose, that he might gain the consent of king Philip.

Partly, however, in consequence of the king's dislike to his brother's ambitious views, and to any new political entanglements, partly by reason of other obstacles, these vast schemes broke down, and their projectors were forced to content themselves with less brilliant attempts.

Pope Gregory next fixed his eyes on Ireland. It was represented to him that there was no nation more strictly and immovably catholic than the Irish; but that it was most tyrannously ill-used and plundered by the English government, kept diligently in discord and barbarism, and coerced in its religious convictions: it was, therefore, ready for war at a moment's notice; there needed but to second it with a small force; five thousand men would suffice for the conquest of Ireland, where there was not a fortress that could hold out beyond four days†.

to be found in detail in Sacchini, *Hist. Societatis Jesu*, pars iv. lib. vi. n. 61—76, and lib. vii. n. 83—111. I am curious to know whether the continuation of Theiner's *Schweden und seine Stellung zum heiligen Stuhl* will really communicate any thing new that may be worth notice. Hitherto this work, with all its scurrility, excites pity rather than attention. It is to be hoped "they know not what they do."

\* *Relazione del presente stato d'Inghilterra cavata da una lettera scritta di Londra, etc.* Roma, 1590, (printed pamphlet,) closely agrees on this subject with a passage from Ribadenira de Schismata, quoted by Hallam (*Constitutional History of England*, i. p. 162), and is, doubtless, the original of the latter: "Si permettevano giuramenti impli contra l'autorità della sede apostolica e questo con poco o nessun scrupolo di coscienza. Allora tutti andavano communemente alle sinagoge degli eretici et alle prediche loro mandovi li figli e famiglie: . . . si teneva allora per segno distintivo sufficiente venire alle chiese prima degli eretici e non partirsi in compagnia loro."

† Discorso sopra il regno d'Irlanda e della gente che bisognava per conquistarlo, fatto a Gregorio XIII. Vienna Library, Fugger MSS. The government of the queen is pronounced a tyranny: "lasciando il governo a ministri Inglesi i quali per arricchire se stessi usavano tutta l'arte della tirannide in quel regno, come trasportando le commodità del

Pope Gregory was persuaded without difficulty. There was then at Rome an English refugee, one Thomas Stukeley, an adventurer by nature, but one who possessed in a high degree the art of gaining access to the great, and winning their confidence. The pope made him his chamberlain, created him marquis of Leinster, and went to the expense of forty thousand scudi to furnish him with vessels and men. He was to take in a small body of men upon the French coast, collected there by Geraldine, an Irish refugee, likewise with the aid of papal funds. King Philip, who, though he had no inclination to involve himself in war, was glad enough to see Elizabeth provided with occupation at home, also contributed some money towards the enterprise \*. Stukeley, however, unexpectedly suffered himself to be persuaded to take part in king Sebastian's African expedition, with the forces intended for Ireland, and perished in it. Geraldine was left to pursue his fortunes alone: he landed in June, 1579, and actually made some progress. He made himself master of the fort commanding the harbour of Smerwick: the earl of Desmond was now in arms against the queen; the whole island was in commotion. But presently reverse after reverse befel the insurgents, the most serious of them being the fall of Geraldine himself in a skirmish. Upon this the earl of Desmond could make head no longer. The aid supplied by the pope was not sufficient; the money counted on did not arrive: the English, therefore, were victorious. They punished the insurgents with horrible cruelty; men and women were driven into barns, and there burned to death; children were strangled; all Munster was laid waste: English colonists overran the desolated region.

If ever again catholicism was to achieve any thing in that kingdom, it could only be by direct experiments on England itself: and this could manifestly take place only under an altered aspect of European affairs. But that the catholic population might not, when the moment arrived, be found wholly changed, that they might still be catholic, it was necessary to stand by them with spiritual aid.

William Allen first conceived the idea of uniting the young English catholics who resided on the continent for the prosecution of their studies, and, chiefly through the support of pope Gregory, he established a college for them at Douay. This,

however, did not seem to the pope to be adequate to the purpose in view. He wished to provide for those fugitives, under his own eyes, a more tranquil and less dangerous retreat than could be found in the disturbed Netherlands: accordingly he founded an English college in Rome, endowed it with a rich abbey, and consigned it, in 1579, to the care of the Jesuits \*.

No one was admitted into the college who did not pledge himself, on the completion of his studies, to return to England, and to preach there the faith of the Roman church. This was the exclusive end to which the students were trained. Kindled as they were into religious enthusiasm by the spiritual exercises of Ignatius, their teachers set before them as models for their imitation those who had converted souls to the faith, such as the men whom Gregory the Great had once sent among the Anglo-Saxons.

Ere long, some of the elder students led the way. Two English Jesuits, Parsons and Campian, went back to their native country. Constantly pursued, constantly under feigned names and various disguises, they reached the capital, whence they travelled, the former through the northern, the latter through the southern counties. They took up their abode principally in the mansions of catholic noblemen: their coming was announced beforehand, but the precaution was adopted of accosting them as strangers on their arrival. Meanwhile a chapel had been got in readiness in the innermost chamber of the house, into which they were conducted, and there they bestowed their benediction on the members of the family assembled there to receive them. The missionary usually remained but one night. The evening was employed in religious preparation and confession: the next morning, mass was read, and the Lord's supper administered, after which there was a sermon. All the neighbouring adherents of the catholic faith attended, sometimes in great numbers. The religion that for nine hundred years had ruled supreme in the island, was again promulgated with all the charms of mystery and novelty. Synods were secretly held; a printing-press was set up, first in a village near London, then in a lonely house in a neighbouring wood: suddenly, once more catholic works made their appearance, written with all the ability derived from constant practice in controversy, and often not void of elegance: the sensation they produced was the greater, the more impenetrable was the secret of their origin. The immediate consequences of these proceedings were, that the catholics ceased to attend protestant worship, and to observe the queen's ecclesiastical laws, and that the opposite party became more polemical in doctrine, and more severe and crushing in their persecutions †.

Wherever the principle of catholic restoration was not strong enough to become paramount, it served, at least, to exasperate the opposite party, and to render it more implacable.

Switzerland, too, afforded examples of this, although each canton had long possessed the right of self-government in matters of religion, and the dis-

paese in Inghilterra, tassando il popolo contra le leggi e privilegi antichi, e mantenendo guerra e fattioni tra i paesani, . . . non volendo gli Inglesi che gli abitanti imparassero la differenza fra il viver libero e la servitù." [Leaving the government to English ministers, who, to enrich themselves, employed the whole art of tyranny in that kingdom, such as transporting the commodities of the country to England, taxing the people contrary to the laws and to ancient privileges, and keeping up war and factions among the peasants, . . . the English not wishing that the inhabitants should learn the difference between servitude and living free.]

\* Twenty thousand scudi, according to the nuncio Segna, in his *Relatione compendiosa*, (MS. in the Berlin library.) "altre mercedi fece fare al barone d'Acres, al Signor Carlo Buono et altri nobili Inglesi che si trovavano in Madrid, ch'egli epine andare a questa impresa insieme col vescovo Lionese d'Irlanda." [He caused other grants to be made to the baron D'Acres, to signor Carlo Buono, and other English noblemen who were in Madrid, and whom he urged to go upon this expedition along with bishop Lionese of Ireland.]

\* We may here compare the report of the Jesuits, in Sacchini, pars iv. lib. vi. 8, lib. vii. 10-30, with Camden's narratives *Rerum Britannicæ*, tom. i. p. 315.

† Besides Sacchini, see also Campani *Vita et Martyrium, Ingolstadtii*, 1584.



putes that had from time to time arisen \* respecting the condition of the confederacy, and the interpretation of the religious provisions in the covenant of public peace (*des Landfriedens*), had been to a considerable degree set at rest.

But now the Jesuits made their way into this country too. Upon the solicitation of a colonel in the Swiss guard in Rome, they arrived in Lucern in 1571, where they met with a cordial reception and support, especially from the family of Pfyffer †. Ludwig Pfyffer alone spent probably thirty thousand guilders upon the erection of the Jesuit college; Philip II. and the Guises contributed something, nor did Gregory XIII. fail of his wonted liberality in such cases, but gave the funds for the establishment of a library. The people of Lucern were delighted. They addressed an express memorial to the general of the order, entreating him not to deprive them of the fathers of the society who had already arrived among them: "they had it at heart, above all things, to see their young people brought up in sound learning, and especially in piety and Christian life:" they promised him in return that they would spare no toil or trouble, neither their means nor their blood, to serve the society in every thing they could desire ‡.

An opportunity soon presented itself to them of proving their renewed zeal for catholicism in no unimportant matter.

The city of Geneva had placed itself under the special protection of Bern, and now sought to draw into the same connexion both Solothurn and Freiburg, which were wont to adhere, politically at least, though not ecclesiastically, to Bern. They succeeded in this as regarded Solothurn. A catholic city took the focus of western protestantism under its protection. Gregory XIII. was horrified, and strove with all his might to keep back Freiburg at least from the union, and in this the Lucerners now lent him their aid. An embassy from that canton co-operated with the papal nuncio, and Freiburg not only rejected the proposed alliance, but even invited the Jesuits, who founded a college in the canton, with the assistance of the pope.

Meanwhile Carlo Borromeo's exertions began to produce their effect. He had connexions, particularly in the Wald cantons: Melchior Lussi, landamann of Unterwalden, was regarded as his intimate friend. Borromeo sent thither Capuchins first of all, who produced a considerable impression by the rigour and simplicity of their lives: after them followed pupils of the Helvetian college, which he had founded solely for this purpose.

Their influence was soon to be traced in all public concerns. In the autumn of 1579, the catholic cantons concluded a treaty with the bishop of Basel, in which they not only promised to protect him in religious matters, but also, as occasion served, to bring back "to the true catholic faith,"

such of his subjects as had become protestant: engagements which naturally caused much excitement among the evangelical cantons. The breach became more decided than it had been for a long time. A papal nuncio arrived: he was received with the highest possible marks of reverence in the catholic cantons; in the protestant he was scorned and insulted.

#### *Crisis in the Netherlands.*

The following was the general state of things in that day. Renovated catholicism, in the form it had assumed in Spain and Italy, had made a vigorous inroad upon the rest of Europe. It had made important conquests in Germany, and had pushed forward into many other countries; nevertheless, it had everywhere encountered powerful resistance. In France the protestants were secured by comprehensive concessions, and by their strong politico-military attitude; in the Netherlands they had the preponderance; they were triumphant in England, Scotland, and the North. In Poland they had exacted peremptory laws in their favour, and had gained a large share of influence on the general concerns of the kingdom. Throughout the territories of Austria they confronted the government, armed with old provincial immunities. In Lower Germany a decisive change in the ecclesiastical institutions seemed to be begun.

In this state of things an immensity was at stake on the issue of the contest in the Netherlands, where arms were continually resorted to afresh.

Now it was impossible king Philip II. should have thought of repeating the measures that had already so signally failed; nor could he have done so even if he would. Fortunately for him, friends offered themselves to him spontaneously, and protestantism in its new and thriving career, found yet in its way an unexpected and insuperable resistance. It is well worth while to dwell a moment upon this momentous contingency.

In the first place, to see the prince of Orange attaining to such great power in the provinces was far from affording satisfaction to all parties, and least of all to the Walloon nobility.

Under the king's government that nobility had always been the first to take horse, especially in the French wars; whence the leaders of note, whom the people were used to follow, had acquired a certain independence and authority. The nobles now saw themselves thrust into the back ground under the rule of the estates; pay was not regularly forthcoming; the army of the estates consisted principally of Dutch, English, and Germans, who were treated with most confidence as unquestionably protestant.

When the Walloons acceded to the pacification of Ghent, they flattered themselves with the hope of obtaining a leading influence over the general concerns of the country. But the reverse was much rather the case. Power fell almost exclusively into the hands of the prince of Orange, and his friends from Holland and Zealand.

With the diuagists thus excited, were combined likewise special religious considerations.

Whatever may have been the cause, certain it is, that the protestant movement excited but little sympathy in the Walloon provinces.

Their new bishops, almost all of them men of

\* The most important undoubtedly related to the fate of the evangelical party that had grown up in Locarno, respecting which F. Meyer produced, in 1836, an account derived from original documents. The protestant cantons assented, in 1555, to that interpretation of the disputed article which favoured the catholics, and allowed that the evangelical inhabitants should be forced to quit their native land. They had wholly disappeared from it about the year 1580.

† *Agricola*, 177.

‡ *Litteræ Lucernensium ad Everardum Mercurianum*, in *Sacchini*, *Historia Societatis Jesu*, iv. v. 145.



great practical ability, had been quietly installed. The bishop of Arras was François de Richardot, who had fully imbibed the principle of catholic restoration in the council of Trent, and who was the subject of unceasing panegyric, for the striking combination of solidity and force in his preaching, with exquisite refinement and polish, and for the zeal tempered with knowledge of the world displayed in his life \*. In Namur we meet with Antoine Havet, a Dominican, a man, perhaps, of less worldly prudence, but who had also been a member of the council of Trent, and displayed no less earnestness in giving effect to its maxims †. The see of St. Omer was filled by Gérard de Hamericourt, one of the richest prelates in all the provinces, abbot likewise of St. Bertin, who now made it the grand object of his ambition to promote the education of youth, and to found schools, and who was the first to establish in the Netherlands a college for the Jesuits, supported by fixed revenues. Under these and other ecclesiastical heads, Artois, Hennegau, and Namur, kept themselves free from the contagion of the iconoclastic mania, that filled all the other provinces with turbulence and fury ‡: accordingly, these localities had not suffered so violently from the reaction under Alva §. The resolutions of the council of Trent were without long delay discussed in the provincial and diocesan synods, and put in force. The influence of the Jesuits spread vigorously from St. Omer, and still more from Douay, where Philip II. had founded an university, to afford his subjects who spoke the French language an opportunity of prosecuting their studies in their own country. This was in keeping with the close ecclesiastical constitution which it was his purpose to introduce generally in his dominions. Not far from Douay is the Benedictine abbey of Ainchin. At the period when the greater part of the rest of the Netherlands endured the havoc of the iconoclastic storm, John Lentaillieur, abbot of Ainchin, continued with his monks to practise all the spiritual exercises of Ignatius Loyola. Filled with their spirit, he resolved out of the revenues of the abbey to found in the new university a Jesuit college, which was opened in the year 1563, was immediately granted a certain independence of the university functionaries, and became rapidly and unusually prosperous. Eight years afterwards the flourishing condition of the university, and that, too, with regard to literature, was ascribed to the Jesuits. Not only was their college filled with pious and diligent youth, but the other colleges, too, profited by their emulation of its example: it already furnished the university itself with excellent theologians, and all Artois and Hennegau with

pastors \*. Gradually this college became a centre of modern catholicism for all the surrounding districts. In the year 1578 the Walloon provinces had the reputation among contemporaries, as one of them expresses himself, of being in the highest degree catholic †.

But this state of things in religion, no less than the political pretensions of the provinces, was threatened by the ascendancy of protestantism.

Protestantism had assumed in Ghent an aspect such as in the present day we should designate as revolutionary. There the old liberties were not yet forgotten, which Charles V. had broken down in 1539: Alva's atrocities had here especially engendered ill blood; the populace were fierce and impetuous, given to image breaking, and outrageously exasperated against the priests. Two daring declaimers, Imbize and Ryhove, took advantage of these passions. Imbize conceived the project of establishing a republic, and dreamed that Ghent would become a second Rome. They began their proceedings at the moment Arschoot, the governor, was holding a meeting with some bishops and catholic leaders of the neighbouring towns, by taking them all prisoners. Thereupon they restored the old constitution, of course with some modifications which secured themselves in the possession of power; they then laid hands on the property of the church, abolished the bishopric, and confiscated the abbey; they converted the hospitals and monasteries into barracks; and, lastly, they endeavoured by force of arms to propagate their system among their neighbours ‡.

Now some of the imprisoned leaders belonged to the Walloon provinces: the troops of Ghent were already making incursions into those lands; all that part of their population who were disposed to protestantism were beginning to bestir themselves, and to follow the example of Ghent in mingling the passions of democracy with those excited by religious matters. In Arras an insurrection broke out against the council. From Douay itself the Jesuits were expelled by a popular commotion in despite of the council; their exile lasted indeed but fourteen days, but even this is an important occurrence. In St. Omer they held their ground only through the special protection of the council.

The city magistracy, the provincial nobility, and the clergy, were all alike beset with dangers and difficulty; they felt themselves threatened with the same destructive proceedings that had taken place in Ghent. No wonder, therefore, if in their peril they strove after every possible means of protection, first sending out their troops, which cruelly ravaged the territory of Ghent, and then casting

\* *Gazet: Histoire Ecclesiastique des Pays-Bas*, p. 143, describes him as "subtile et solide en doctrine, nerveux en raisons, riche en sentences, copieux en discours, poly en son langage et grave en actions; mais surtout l'excellente pieté et vertu, qui reluisoit en sa vie, rendoit son oraison persuasive."

† Havensius, *De Erectione novorum Episcopatum in Belgio*, p. 50.

‡ Hopper: *Recueil et Mémorial des Troubles des Pays-Bas*, 93. 98.

§ According to *Viglii Commentarius rerum actarum super impositione decimi denarii*, in Papendrecht, *Annalecta*, I. I. 292; the tenth penny was imposed on them, with the assurance that it should not be rigorously exacted.

\* *Testimonium Thomæ Stapletoni* (rector of the university) of the year 1576, in *Sacchini* iv. iv. 124. "Plurimos ex hoc patrum collegio (the collegium Acquintinense) Artesia et Hannonia pastores, multos schola nostra theologos optime institutos et comparatos accepit." Other, and still stronger, encomiums follow, which we may the more readily pass by as Stapleton himself was a Jesuit.

† Michiel: *Relatione di Francia*. "Il conte (the governor of Hennegau) è cattolichissimo, come è tutto quel contado insieme con quel d'Artesia, che li è propinquo." [The count is in the highest degree catholic, as is the whole of that province, together with the adjoining one of Artois.]

‡ Van der Vynckts *Geschiede der Nederlande*, Bd. II., Buch V., Abschn. 2. This section is probably the most important in the whole work.

about to devise another confederation, which should afford them more security than that they derived from their connexion with the general union of the Netherlands.

Don John of Austria failed not to turn this disposition of theirs to account.

When we take a general survey of all Don John's proceedings in the Netherlands, it almost strikes us that he effected nothing, that his whole career passed away, leaving no more trace of its existence than to himself it had been productive of satisfaction. But when we more narrowly consider what was his position, what were his acts, and what the consequences of his measures, we are forced to attribute to him above all other individuals, the settlement of the Spanish Netherlands. For a while he sought to abide by the treaty of Ghent; but the independent position assumed by the estates, the circumstances of the prince of Orange, who was far more potent than himself, the viceroy, and the mutual suspicions of the two parties, rendered a breach inevitable. Don John resolved to begin the war. Undoubtedly this was contrary to the king's wishes, but it was unavoidable. It was the only means that promised to enable him, as enable him it did, to become master of a tract of country that recognized the Spanish sovereignty. He kept possession of Luxemburg; he invested Namur; the battle of Gemblours threw Louvain and Limburg into his hands. If the king desired to become once more sovereign of the Netherlands, the end was not to be obtained by treaty with the states general, the impossibility of which was apparent, but by a gradual subjection of the several districts, either in the way of negotiation or by force of arms. The latter was the course adopted by Don John, and already opened out the most extensive prospects. He awoke again the old feelings of attachment of the Walloon provinces to the Burgundian race: and in particular he gained over to his side two powerful individuals, Pardieu de la Motte, governor of Gravelines, and Matthieu Moulart, bishop of Arras\*.

These were the men, who after the early death of John, conducted the negotiations on which every thing depended with great zeal and fortunate address.

De la Motte availed himself of the growing hatred against the protestants. He effected the removal from many fortresses of the garrisons placed in them by the estates, on the express grounds that they might become protestant, and prevailed on the nobility of Artois to determine as early as November on the expulsion of all protestants from that province, and to carry the resolution into operation. Hereupon Matthieu Moulart sought to bring about a complete reconciliation with the king, beginning his proceedings with a formal procession through the city to invoke God's aid. In truth, he had a

difficult task to perform, having sometimes to effect a coalition between men whose claims were directly opposed to each other. He proved himself indefatigable, shrewd, and supple, and his efforts were crowned with success.

Alexander Farnese, Don John's successor, possessed the valuable gift of persuading, conciliating, and inspiring lasting confidence. He was supported by François Richardot, nephew of the bishop, "a man," says Cabrera, "of sound penetration in many things, and practised in all; one who knew how to conduct every business, be it of what kind it might;" and Sarrazin, abbot of Vaast, according to the portraiture of the same Cabrera, "a great statesman under the show of stillness, very ambitious under the show of humility, and one who knew how to maintain his consequence in every one's eyes".

We cannot follow the whole course of the negotiations till they gradually reached their object.

It is enough to observe, that on the side of the protestants the interests of self-preservation and of religion pointed directly to the king, while on the part of the latter nothing was omitted that priestly influence and dexterous negotiation, combined with the returning favour of the sovereign, could effect. In 1579 Emanuel de Montigny, whom the Walloon army owned for their leader, accepted the king's pay. His example was followed by the count de Lalaing, but for whom Hennegau could never have been taken. At last, on the 17th of May, 1579, the treaty was concluded in the camp at Maestricht. But to what conditions was the king constrained to yield! It was a restoration of his authority, but under the strictest limitations. He not only promised to dismiss all foreigners from his army, and to employ no troops but those raised in the Netherlands; but he even confirmed all existing functionaries in the appointments they had received during the troubles. The inhabitants even pledged themselves to receive no garrison, of which information had not previously been given to the estates of the country. Two-thirds of the council of state were to consist of men who had been implicated in the troubles. All the other articles are in the same spirit†. The provinces acquired an independence such as they had never before possessed.

This event involved a turn of affairs of universal importance. Hitherto, throughout all the west of Europe, the maintenance and re-introduction of catholicism had only been attempted through the agency of public authority; the sovereign power had endeavoured under this pretext completely to crush all provincial rights. But now it felt itself compelled to adopt another course. If it would restore catholicism and uphold its own authority, it could only effect that in unison with constitutional assemblies and public privileges.

Yet with all the restrictions imposed on it, the royal power had gained immensely: it once more commanded the allegiance of those regions on which the greatness of the house of Burgundy had been founded. Alexander Farnese carried on the war with the Walloon troops, and though its course was slow, he continued to make advances. In 1580 he took Courtray, Tournay in 1581, and Oudenarde in 1582.

\* Cabrera: Felipe segundo, p. 1021.

† Tassis gives this treaty in all its details, book v. 394-405.

\* That they were won over in Don John's time appears from the two following passages. 1. Strada li. 1, p. 19, *Pardieu de la Motte dominus non rediturum modo se ad regis obedientiam, sed etiam quamplures secum tracturum, Jam pridem significat Joanni Austriaco.* [Pardieu de la Motte had already signified to Don John of Austria, not only that he would himself return to his allegiance to the king, but that he would bring over as many as he could with him.] 2. Tassis: *Episcopum Atrebatensem qui vivente adhuc Austriaco se regi conciliarat.* [The bishop of Arras, who had become reconciled to the king during the life of Don John.]

But matters were not decided at once by these events. Probably the union of the catholic provinces with the king was the very cause that induced the northern, and wholly protestant provinces, not only forthwith to form a more intimate confederacy among themselves, but finally to shake off the king's yoke altogether.

Let us here cast a glance over the general field of the history of the Netherlands. In all the provinces there was a strife of long standing, between the provincial rights and the sovereign authority. In Alva's time the latter acquired an ampler ascendancy than it had ever before possessed, but it was not long able to retain it. The treaty of Ghent affords proof of the complete superiority the estates had won over the government. The northern provinces had no advantage in this respect over the southern: had they both been united in religion they would have founded a general republic of the Netherlands: but their separation was caused, as we have seen, by their difference in faith. The first consequence was, that the catholics returned beneath the king's protection, and bound themselves with him above all things to the maintenance of the catholic religion: the next was, that the protestants, after so long maintaining their ground in war, at last repudiated even the name of subjection, and wholly renounced their allegiance to the king. Though we give the name of the subject provinces to the one set, and distinguish the others by the title of republic, we must not yet suppose that the intrinsic difference between them was at first very great. Even the subject provinces maintained all constitutional rights with the greatest zeal; whilst the republican could not dispense with an institution, that of the stadtholdership, which was analogous to the royal authority. The grand distinction consisted in religion.

It was this alone that brought out the true principles of the contest, and matured the consummation.

Philip II. had just conquered Portugal: at the moment when he was stimulated by the happy achievement of so great a conquest to embark in new enterprises, the Walloon estates consented at last to the return of the Spanish troops.

Lalaing was won over, and with him his wife, who had always been a strenuous opponent of the Spaniards, and to whom their exclusion was principally ascribed: the whole Walloon nobility followed their example. Every one felt assured there was no reason to apprehend a return of Alva's despotism and its horrors. The Spanish army already sent away, brought back, and again dismissed, arrived once more in the country. With the troops of the Netherlands alone the war must have been endlessly protracted: but the superior force and discipline of the Spanish veterans brought the conflict to a crisis.

As in Germany it was colonies of Jesuits, consisting of Spaniards, Italians, and some Netherlanders, that restored the reign of catholicism by the force of education and the inculcation of dogmas; so in the Netherlands, an Italic-Spanish army presented itself, to unite with the Walloon element in bringing about the ascendancy of the catholic faith.

At this point of history it is impossible to avoid speaking of the war: its course was likewise that of the destinies of religion.

In July 1583 the port and town of Dunkirk were taken in six days; and after that Nieuport and the whole coast as far as Ostend, Dixmuyden, and Furnes.

Here at once the character of the war developed itself. In every thing relating to politics the Spaniards evinced moderation, but they were inexorable in every thing pertaining to the church. It was not to be thought of that a church, or even the right of private worship should be accorded to the protestants; all the preachers of that persuasion who were caught were hanged. The war was deliberately carried on as a war of religion. This was indeed, in a certain sense, the most prudent system under the existing state of things: no complete subjection of the protestants could ever have been effected; while on the other hand, so decided a line of conduct allied to the Spanish side every jot of catholicism the provinces contained, and bespoke their spontaneous co-operation. The baillii Servaes of Zealand gave up the whole country of Waes to the royalists; Hulst and Axel voluntarily surrendered. Alexander Farnese was soon strong enough to contemplate an attack on the great cities; he was already master of the inland country and the coasts. One after the other, Ypres in the month of April, then Bruges, and finally Ghent, where Imbize himself had become a partisan of the reconciliation with Spain, were forced to surrender. Very tolerable terms were granted to the communes in their corporate capacity; they were left for the most part in possession of their privileges: only the protestants were proscribed without mercy. The chief conditions were in every case that the catholic clergy should return, and that the churches should be appropriated to the exercise of the catholic ritual.

But notwithstanding all this, nothing permanent seemed effected, no security seemed gained, so long as the prince of Orange lived to give stability and force to the opposition, and to keep alive a spark of hope even in the vanquished.

The Spaniards had set a price of twenty-five thousand crowns on his head, and amidst all the fierce excitement of the times, there could be no lack of men who would seek to earn it, prompted at once by avarice and fanaticism. I know not if there exist a more shocking example of blasphemy than that exhibited in the papers of the Biscayan Jaureguy, which were found upon him on the occasion of his attempting the life of the prince. He carried about him in the fashion of an amulet, prayers, in which he invoked the merciful Deity, who appeared to men in the person of Christ, to aid the murder with his favour, promising that Being a part of the booty, as it were, should the deed be successful, viz. for the mother of God of Bayonne a garment, a lamp, and a crown; for the mother of God of Aranzos a crown, and for the Lord Christ himself a very rich curtain\*! Fortunately

\* Contemporary copy of a vow and of certain prayers found in the form of an amulet upon Jaureguy: in Lord F. Egerton's collection. "A vos, Señor Jesus Christo, redemptor y salvador del mundo, criador del cielo y de la tierra, os ofrezco, siendo os servido librarne con vida despues de haver efectuado mi deseo, un belo muy rico." [To you Lord Jesus Christ, Redeemer and Saviour of the world, creator of heaven and earth, I offer, on your bringing me off with life after having effected my purpose, a very rich curtain.] And so it goes on.

this fanatic was seized, but another was already meditating the same crime. The thought of perpetrating it had possessed the mind of a Burgundian, Balthazar Gerard, who resided in Maastricht, at the moment the act of outlawry was proclaimed in that city\*. The hopes he cherished of earthly fortune and glory should he succeed, of the fame of a martyr should he perish in the attempt, hopes in which he had been confirmed by a Jesuit of Trier, had ever since given him no rest till he set out to accomplish the deed. He represented himself to the prince as a fugitive, and so having gained admission to him and a favourable moment, he shot him dead in the month of July, 1584. He was seized: but not all the tortures inflicted on him could force from him one groan: he persisted in saying, were the deed yet to be done, he would do it. Whilst he was expiring in Delft amidst the execrations of the people, the canons in Herzogenbusch performed a solemn *Te Deum* for his achievement.

The passions of both parties were in fierce commotion; but impulse they gave the catholics was the stronger: it accomplished its purpose, and bore away the victory.

Had the prince lived he would, it is thought, have found means to relieve Antwerp, which was besieged, according to his promise. As it was, there was no one capable of taking his place.

Now the enterprize against Antwerp was so comprehensive in its scope, that the other important towns of Brabant were directly assailed by it. The prince of Parma cut them all off from supplies of provisions. Brussels was the first to surrender, being forced thereto by the factions that broke out as soon as that city, habituated to the enjoyment of lavish abundance, saw itself threatened with want. Mechlin fell next, and finally Antwerp was obliged to yield, on the failure of its last attempt to break its dams, and effect a means of transit for provisions from the country.

The mildest conditions were imposed on these Brabantish cities too, as well as on those of Flanders. Brussels was exempted from the payment of contributions; Antwerp received the assurance that no Spanish garrison should be quartered in the city, and that the citadel was not to be repaired. One sole obligation was imposed on them all, that the churches and chapels should be restored, and

the exiled priests and regular clergy recalled. The king insisted on this with immovable firmness: he said it must be the first and the last stipulation in every agreement. The only grace to which he would consent was, that two years should be allowed the residents in each place either to change their religion, or to sell their property and quit the Spanish territories.

How completely changed were the times. The day had been when Philip II. himself had scrupled to permit the establishment of the Jesuits in the Netherlands, and subsequently they had frequently been menaced, assailed, and banished. They now returned in the sequel of the events of the war, and that under the decided protection of the government. The Farnesi were moreover special patrons of the society: Alexander had a Jesuit for his confessor, and he looked on the order as the most efficient instrument for entirely recovering to catholicism the half protestant country he had conquered, and so completing the main design of the war\*. The first place to which they returned was the same that had been first conquered, Courtray. The parish priest of the town, Jean David, had become acquainted with the Jesuits during his exile at Douay: on his return now, his first step was to enter the order, admonishing the inhabitants in his farewell discourse, no longer to suffer themselves to be deprived of the spiritual aid of the society, nor were they slow to follow his advice. Next the aged John Montagna, who had been the first to introduce the society into Tournay, whence he had more than once been forced to fly, returned to establish it there for ever. The Jesuits entered Ypres and Bruges instantly on their surrender; the king cheerfully granted them certain convents that had been deserted during the troubles. In Ghent the house of the great demagogue Imbize, who had originated all mischief to catholicism, was fitted up for their reception. The people of Antwerp endeavoured to stipulate, on their surrender, that no other orders should be forced upon them than those which had existed among them in the days of Charles V.; but this was not conceded; they were compelled to receive back the Jesuits, and to restore the buildings to them they had formerly possessed. The historian of the order complacently relates this circumstance, and remarks it as a special instance of divine favour, that the society received back free from debt what they had left encumbered: the property had passed in the interim through more than two or three different hands, but it was now restored to them without

\* *Relazione del successo della morte di Guillelmo di Nassau principe di Orange, e delui tormenti patiti del generosissimo giovane Baldassarre Gerardi Borgognone*: Inf. Politt. xii. [An account of the death of William of Nassau, prince of Orange, and of the tortures endured by that most gallant youth Balthazar Gerard,] contains some particulars at variance with the ordinary statements. "Gerardi, la cui madre è di Bissanone, d'anni 28 incirca, giovane non meno dotto che eloquente." [Gerard, whose mother is from Besançon, aged about twenty-eight, a young man no less learned than eloquent.] He had entertained this project six years and a half. "Offerendosi dunque l'opportunità di portar le lettere del duca d'Alansone al Nassau, essendo già lui gentiluomo di casa, alli 7 Luglio un hora e mezzo dopo pranzo, uscendo il principe della tavola, scargandoli un archibugetto, con tre palle gl'colse sotto la sinna manca e gli fece una ferita di due diti, colla quale l'ammazzò." [The opportunity, therefore, presenting itself of carrying the duke d'Alençon's letters, he being a gentleman of his household, on the 7th of July, an hour and half after dinner, as the prince came from table, he discharged an arquebuss at him, and struck under the left breast with three balls, inflicting a wound two fingers' breadth, of which he died.]

\* Sacchini: *Alexandro et privati ejus consilii viris ea stabat sententia, ut quæque recipiebatur ex hæreticis civitas, continuo fere in eam immitti societatem debere: valere id tum ad pietatem privatam civium tum ad pacem tranquillitatemque intelligebant.* (Pars v. lib. iv. n. 58.) [It was the decided opinion of Alexander and his intimate advisers, that the society should be immediately introduced into every city recovered from the heretics, believing this to be equally conducive to the plety of the citizens as individuals, and to the public peace and tranquillity.] According to the *Imago primi seculi*, this was also the will of the king, "qui recens datis de hoc argumento literis duccum cura monuerat ut societatis præsidio munire satageret præcipuas quasque Belgii civitates" [who had recently given his sedulous injunctions to the general, in dispatches on this subject, to fill all the chief cities of Belgium with members of the society]; statements which are sufficiently borne out by the facts.

further inquiry. Brussels could not escape the common lot: the town council declared its assent: the prince of Parma granted a subsidy from the royal coffers, and very soon the Jesuits were established in that city likewise. The prince had already solemnly granted them the right to hold real estates under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and freely to enjoy in these provinces the privileges conferred on them by the apostolic see.

The order of Jesuits was not the only one that was favoured with his protection. In the year 1585, he was joined by some Capuchins, for whose permanent residence in the Netherlands he obtained permission by a special letter to the pope: he then purchased a house for them in Antwerp. They produced a great effect even upon the members of the other branch of their own order. The pope found it necessary to forbid the other Franciscans, by express command, from adopting the reforms instituted by the Capuchins.

All these arrangements gradually brought forth immense results. They converted Belgium, already half protestant, into one of the most catholic countries in the world. It is also undeniable that they contributed, at least in the beginning, to the re-establishment of the kingly authority.

Owing to these results, the opinion grew to be more and more firmly entertained, that only one religion ought to be tolerated in a state. This is one of the main principles of policy as expounded by Justus Lipsius. "In matters of religion," he says, "no favour or indulgence is admissible: the true mercy is to be merciless; to save many we must not shrink from getting rid of a few:"—a maxim that no where found greater currency than in Germany.

#### *Progress of the Counter-Reformation in Germany.*

Now the Netherlands were, after all, a circle of the Germanic empire: naturally, therefore, the events that occurred in them must have exercised a great influence over the concerns of Germany. The decision of the affairs of Cologne was amongst their immediate results.

The Spanish troops had not yet returned, much less had the great triumphs of catholicism been achieved, when the elector Truchsess of Cologne resolved, in November 1582, to confess the reformed doctrine and take a wife, without designing the more to surrender his archbishopric. He had on his side the greater part of the nobility, the counts of Nuenar, Solms, Wittgenstein, Wied, Nassau, the whole duchy of Westphalia, and all those who professed the evangelical creed. The elector marched into Bonn with the Bible in one hand, and the sword in the other; whilst Casimir of the Palatinate took the field with no inconsiderable force to reduce the city of Cologne, the chapter, and the archiepiscopal functionaries who opposed Truchsess.

We meet with this Casimir of the Palatinate in all the transactions of those times: we find him always ready to mount his horse, and to draw his sword, always having at his beck warlike troops of protestant sentiments: but rarely do we see him obtain any important success. He waged war neither with the entire earnestness of purpose demanded by a religious cause (having, in every instance, his own private interest in view), nor

with the energy and science that were brought against him. In the present case, he laid waste the flat country of his antagonists, but for the main object of the war he accomplished a mere nothing\*. He made no conquests, and was unable to procure himself further aid among the protestants of Germany.

The catholic powers, on the contrary, gathered together all their strength. Pope Gregory did not abandon the matter to the delays of a curial process, deeming that a simple consistory of cardinals was competent, in the existing emergency, to decide so weighty a case, and to depose a German elector of his archiepiscopal dignity†. His nuncio, Malaspina, had hastened at once to Cologne, where, with the special co-operation of the learned members of the chapter, he succeeded not only in unseating all those who were less decided partisans of Rome, but also in advancing to the archiepiscopal throne, a prince of the only still thoroughly catholic house, duke Ernest of Bavaria, bishop of Freisingen. Hereupon a German catholic army appeared in the field, furnished by the duke of Bavaria, not without subsidies from the pope. The emperor lost no time in threatening the count palatine Casimir with ban and double ban, and in sending warning letters to his troops, which eventually caused the breaking up of the army of the Palatinate. When matters had come to this pass, the Spaniards likewise made their appearance. They had taken Zittphen in the summer of 1583: they now threw 3500 Belgian veterans into the archbishopric. Gebhard Truchsess was forced to succumb to the numbers of his enemies: his troops would not serve in defiance of an imperial mandate; his principal fortress surrendered to the Bavaro-Spanish army; he himself was compelled to fly and seek refuge and asylum with the prince of Orange, by whose side he had hoped to stand as a defender of protestantism.

These events were, as may be supposed, most influential towards the complete establishment of catholicism in the electorate. From the first outbreak of the troubles the clergy of the archbishopric had suspended all their internal dissensions; the nuncio removed all suspected members; amidst all the din of arms a Jesuit church was founded; when the victory was won, no more was needed than to continue the course already pursued. Truchsess had driven out the catholic clergy from Westphalia; they now returned, along with all other fugitives, and were held in high honour‡. The evangelical canons remained excluded from their benefices, and, what was unprecedented, they did not even receive their incomes any longer. The papal nuncios were, it is true, obliged to deal tenderly with the catholics; pope Sixtus was well aware of this, and commanded his nuncio by no means to begin the reforms he deemed necessary, so long as he was not aware that all were inclined to adopt them. But even in this cautious way the desired object was imperceptibly obtained; the

\* Isselt, *Historia belli Coloniensis*, p. 1092: *Tota hac æstate nihil hoc exercitu dignum egit.*

† Maffei, *Annali di Gregorio XIII.* li. 12. 8. Letter from Malaspina to Duke Wm. of Bavaria in Adlzreiter, li. 12. 295. "Quod cupiebamus," it is said in it, "impetravimus."

‡ "The elector Ernest," says Khevenhiller, "has established anew, in accordance with ancient usage, both the catholic religion and the temporal government."

canons, however illustrious might be their descent, at last began again to fulfil their clerical duties in the cathedral. The Cologne council, which was opposed by a protestant party in the city, afforded a vigorous support to catholic opinion.

The effects of this great revolution could not but be felt in all the other spiritual territories, and they were further corroborated in the neighbourhood of Cologne by a particular incident. Henry Saxe Lauenburg (the same whom we have seen disposed to imitate Gebhard's example, had he been successful), bishop of Paderborn and Osnabrück, and archbishop of Bremen, rode on Sunday in April 1585 from the house of Vöhrde to church; on his way back his horse fell, and though he was young and vigorous, and had not received any serious wound, he died, nevertheless, of the consequences of the fall in the same month. The elections that ensued turned out greatly to the advantage of catholicism. The new bishop of Osnabrück, at least, signed the *professio fidei*\*; but a more decided zealot for catholicism was the new bishop of Paderborn, Theodor von Fürstenberg. As canon he had formerly opposed his predecessor, and had, in the year 1580, effected the passing of a statute to the effect that, for the future, only catholics should be admitted into the chapter†. He had already, too, admitted a few Jesuits, and allowed them to preach in the cathedral, and to take charge of the upper classes in the gymnasium; the latter upon the condition that they should not wear the dress of their order. But now that he was himself become the bishop, it was vastly more easy for him to carry out the views of his party. There was no longer any occasion for the Jesuits to conceal their presence; the gymnasium was openly transferred to them; and they were permitted not only to preach but to catechize. They had abundant occupation. The town council was thoroughly protestant, and there were hardly any catholics amongst the burghers. The Jesuits compared Paderborn to a sterile field that gave the husbandman extraordinary toil, and yet would yield him no return. At last, however, as we shall see by and by, by the beginning of the seventeenth century their obstinate industry had prevailed.

The death of Henry of Saxe Lauenburg was an event of moment for Münster likewise, where no election had hitherto been made, since the younger canons were for Henry, and the elder against him. Now was duke Ernest of Bavaria, elector of Cologne, and bishop of Liège, chosen bishop also of Münster. This was effected chiefly by dean Raesfeld, the most decided catholic in the diocese, who dying bequeathed twelve thousand rix dollars to found a Jesuit college. The first Jesuits

arrived in the year 1587. They met with resistance on the part of the canons, the preachers, and the burghers, but they were supported by the council and by the prince. Their schools gradually displayed their extraordinary merits: in the third year they are said to have counted a thousand pupils. At the same period, 1590, they were put on a thoroughly independent footing, by a voluntary grant of church property conferred on them by the prince\*.

Electo Ernest possessed also the bishopric of Hildesheim. Although his power was much more circumscribed in that diocese, still he contributed even there to the introduction of the Jesuits. The first Jesuit who entered Hildesheim was a native of that place, John Hammer, who had been educated in the Lutheran faith, (his father was still living,) but who was filled with all the zeal of a proselyte. He preached with exceeding clearness, and succeeded in making some brilliant conversions. He gradually made good his footing, and in 1590 the Jesuits had a residence and a pension in Hildesheim.

We perceive how important the catholicism of the house of Bavaria now became for Lower as well as Upper Germany. We see a Bavarian prince appearing at once in so many dioceses as the great supporter of the catholic faith.

But it must not be imagined that this prince was personally very zealous and devout. He had natural children; and the opinion was at one time entertained, that he would end by adopting the same course as Gebhard Truchsess. It is very remarkable how cautiously pope Sixtus dealt with him. He carefully avoided letting Ernest know that he was aware of his irregularities, well as he was acquainted with them; for otherwise there would have been need of admonitions and demonstrations, that might easily have driven the self-willed prince to resolutions to be deprecated†.

In fact, for a long time yet, the affairs of Germany would not bear to be treated in the same style as that pursued in the Netherlands. They demanded the most delicate attention to personal considerations.

Though duke William of Cleves adhered outwardly to the catholic confession, his policy was nevertheless wholly protestant; he cheerfully afforded shelter and protection to protestant fugitives; excluded his son, John William, who was a zealous catholic, from all share in public affairs. Rome might easily have been tempted to evince displeasure and resentment at such conduct, and to favour the opposition to that prince's government. But Sixtus V. was far too prudent to do any such thing. It was not till the prince pressed for it so earnestly that it could no longer be avoided without offence, that the nuncio ventured to hold a meeting with him in Düsseldorf, and then he exhorted him above all things to patience. The pope would not have him receive the order of the golden fleece, for that might have excited suspicion. Again, he did not intercede directly with the father in favour of the son; any connexion of the latter with Rome would have given umbrage; it was only through the emperor's mediation, prompted by himself, that Sixtus

\* According to Strunck, *Annales Paderbornenses*, p. 514, Bernard Von Waldeck had, at an earlier period, inclined to protestantism; during the troubles in Cologne he had remained neuter, and now he professed the catholic creed. Chytræus (*Saxonia*, 812) does not contradict him.

† Bessen, *Geschichte von Paderborn*, ii. 123. In Reiffenberg, *Historia provincie ad Rhenum inferiorem*, lib. viii. c. 1, p. 185, there is a letter from pope Gregory XIII. "dilectis filiis canonicis et capitulo ecclesie Paderbornensis," 6th Febr. 1584, in which he praises this refractory disposition: "It is right it should be thus: the more you are attacked the more vigorous must be your resistance; he, the pope, bears in his heart the fathers of the society of Jesus."

\* Sacchini, *pars v.*, lib. 8, n. 83—91. Reiffenberg, *Historia provincie ad Rhenum inferiorem*, i. ix. vi.

† Tempesti, *Vita di Sisto V.*, tom. 1, p. 354.



endeavoured to obtain for the prince a position more suitable to his birth. He instructed his nuncio to let certain things pass as though he noticed them not. This considerate forbearance on the part of a fully recognized authority, failed not of its natural effect. The nuncio, after all, gradually acquired influence, so that when the protestants applied to the diet for some concessions, it was chiefly owing to his representations that they were refused\*.

Thus, throughout a great part of Lower Germany, catholicism, if not instantaneously restored, was yet upheld in its hour of peril, fixed and corroborated: it acquired a superiority that in course of time might grow into complete ascendancy.

A similar course of events took place immediately in Upper Germany.

We have mentioned the condition of the bishoprics in Franconia. A resolute bishop might readily have conceived the project of employing them towards the attainment of hereditary power.

It was probably such a thought as this that made Julius Echter, of Meßpelbroun, who, still very young and enterprising by nature, was appointed bishop of Würzburg in the year 1573, hesitate a moment as to what line of politics he should adopt.

He took an active part in the expulsion of the abbot of Fulda, and it cannot certainly have been any strongly pronounced catholic sentiments, that brought the chapter and the states of Fulda in contact with him. The restoration of catholicism was precisely the main charge they brought against their abbot. This affair also caused the bishop to fall into a misunderstanding with Rome: Gregory XIII. commanded him to restore Fulda; and he did this at the very moment when Truchsess declared his revolt. Hereupon bishop Julius prepared to turn to Saxony, and invoke the aid of the head of the Lutherans against the pope. He was in close connection with Truchsess, and the latter conceived the hope that the bishop of Würzburg would follow his example. The envoy of Henry of Saxe-Lauenburg, archbishop of Bremen, announces this with great satisfaction to his master†.

Under these circumstances, it is hard to say what bishop Julius would have done, had Truchsess kept his ground in Cologne: but after the latter's complete failure, not only could he not think of imitating him, but, on the contrary, he adopted a totally opposite course.

May it be, that the sum and substance of his wishes had only been to acquire absolute power in his own dominions? Or was he really, and at heart, possessed by strictly catholic convictions? He was, after all, a pupil of the Jesuits, brought up in the Collegium Romanum. Suffice it to say, that he undertook, in the year 1584, a visitation of the churches in a catholic spirit, such as had never before been paralleled in Germany, and he carried

it through in person with all the vigour of a determined will.

He travelled through his dominions accompanied by some Jesuits. He first went to Gmündin; from thence to Arnstein, Werneck, and Hassfurt; and so on from circle to circle. In every town he summoned the burgomaster and the council before him, and announced to them his resolution of extirpating the errors of protestantism. The preachers were removed, and their places filled by pupils of the Jesuits. If any functionary refused to attend catholic worship, he was dismissed without mercy, and there were always orthodox candidates ready to fill the vacant place. But even all private individuals were compelled to attend catholic worship; they were left to choose only between the mass and exile: whoever regarded the religion of his prince as an abomination, was not to have lot or part in his territory\*. It was in vain the neighbouring princes remonstrated against these proceedings. Bishop Julius used to say, it was not what he did that gave him any qualms of conscience, but that he was so late in doing it. The Jesuits seconded him most zealously. Among them was particularly noticed father Gerhard Weller, who went about preaching from place to place, alone, on foot, and without even a change of raiment. In the single year, 1586, fourteen cities and market-towns, upwards of two hundred villages, and as many as sixty-two thousand souls, were brought back to catholicism. The capital of the diocese alone remained to be converted, and this was done by the archbishop, in March 1587. He called the city council before him, and appointed commissioners for each quarter and each parish, to interrogate every citizen separately. The result of the investigation was, that half of them were protestant in their opinions. Many were but weak and unsettled in their faith; they soon gave way, and the solemn communion appointed by the bishop to be held at Easter in the cathedral, and at which he himself officiated, was numerously attended. Others held out longer, and some chose rather to sell all they had, and depart from the country: among these were four members of the council.

The example here set excited the strenuous emulation of the bishop of Bamberg, the nearest neighbour of Würzburg. Göswein, above the Muggendorf valley, is a well-known hill, whither, to this day, pilgrims resort, flocking thither by steep and lonely paths, through majestic woods and ravines, from all the surrounding valleys. There is an old sanctuary of the Trinity there, which in those days was unvisited and deserted. The bishop of Bamberg, Ernest von Mengersdorf, visiting the spot, in the year 1587, took this sorely to heart. Fired by his neighbour's example, he too declared he would again "direct his subjects to the true faith; and no dangers should hold him back from so sacred a duty." We shall see with what earnestness his successor applied himself to the task.

While measures were but in a preliminary stage in the Bamberg territory, bishop Julius was carrying out a total transformation in that of Würzburg.

\* Tempesti: Vita di Sisto V. t. i. p. 339.

† Letter of Hermann von der Decken, (for Beeken must be a false reading,) 6 Dec. 1582, in Schmidt. Phiseldock, Historischen Miscellaneen, i. 25. "Upon the statements and solicitation of the legate, the bishop of Würzburg begged a little time for reflection, instantly ordered his horses and his retinue to be in readiness, and determined to mount and ride over to the elector of Saxony, and complain of such unheard of impurity on the pope's part, . . . and to press for counsel, help, and consolation. . . . The lord elector (of Cologne) had great hopes of the most reverend bishops, that their princely graces would revolt from the pope."

\* Biography of bishop Julius, in Gropp's Chronik von Würzburg, p. 335. "They were ordered to give up their places and employments, and to seek their living out of the diocese." I have already made use of this biography, and with it specially Christophori Mariani Augustani Encensia et Triennalia Juliana, in Gropp's Scriptt. Wirceb. tom. i.



All the old ordinances were renewed; the prayers to the mother of God, the pilgrimages, the brotherhoods of the assumption of the Blessed Virgin, of her birth, and so forth, were revived, and other devotional practices of the kind were invented. The streets were filled with processions, and the bells admonished the whole land at the stated hour of the Ave Maria\*. Relics were again collected and deposited with great pomp in their shrines. The convents were occupied once more; churches were built in every locality; it is reckoned that bishop Julius laid the foundations of three hundred, which the traveller may recognize by their tall tapering spires. In a few years men looked with amazement on the revolution that had been wrought. "What recently," exclaims a panegyrist of the bishop, "had passed for superstitions, nay, for disgraceful, is now regarded as holy; that which was admitted as gospel, is now seen to be a deceit."

Such grand results had not been looked for even in Rome. Bishop Julius had been for some time engaged in the progress of his enterprise before pope Sixtus had any knowledge of it. After the autumn holidays of 1566, Aquaviva, the general of the Jesuits, appeared before him to communicate the intelligence of the new conquests achieved by his order. Sixtus was in raptures, and hastened to express his acknowledgments to the bishop, bestowing on him the right of disposing of all benefices that had fallen vacant, even in the month reserved to the holy see, stating that the bishop was the best judge of those whom he ought to reward.

But the pope's gratification was the greater, inasmuch as Aquaviva's news coincided with similar intelligence from the Austrian provinces, especially from Styria.

The change began in Styria even in the very year when the estates of that province acquired, through the resolutions of the diet of Brucker, so great a degree of independence, that they might even compare with those of Austria, which had their council for religious matters, their superintendents and synods, and an almost republican constitution.

Immediately upon Rudolf II. receiving the homage of his subjects, it was remarked, how thoroughly he differed from his father. He practised all acts of devotion in their utmost strictness, and it was with astonishment he was beheld taking part in processions, even in the severest winter, bareheaded, with his torch in his hand.

This disposition of the sovereign, and the favour he extended to the Jesuits, instantly excited alarm and anxiety, and called forth, in accordance with the character of the times, vehement counter-movements. Joshua Opitz, a follower of Flaccius, preached in the Landhaus, in Vienna, no regular church being allowed the protestants, with all the vehemence peculiar to his sect. Whilst he systematically poured forth invectives against the Jesuits and the priests, and "thundered against all the abominations of popery," he excited not so much

conviction as rage in the minds of his hearers, so that, as a contemporary says\*, when they came out from his church, "they were ready to tear the papists to pieces with their own hands." The consequence was, that the emperor entertained the design of suppressing the meetings in the Landhaus. This having been remarked, Corpus Christi day, 1578, arrived, whilst the matter was still passionately discussed pro and con, and threats were uttered by the body of knights to whom the Landhaus belonged. The emperor was resolved to celebrate that feast in the most solemn manner. After he had heard a mass in St. Stephen's, the procession began, the first that had been seen for a long time, with priests, monks, and guilds, and in the midst of them the emperor and the princes: in this way the host was accompanied through the streets. But suddenly proof appeared of the extraordinary excitement that prevailed in the city. When the procession reached the peasants' market, it was necessary to remove some stalls to make way for it. This was sufficient to create a general tumult. The cry was heard, We are betrayed: to arms! The choir-boys and priests abandoned the host, the halberdiers and horse-guards dispersed in all directions, the emperor found himself in the midst of the furious multitude; he apprehended an attack on his person, and laid his hand on his sword; the princes drew theirs, and rallied round him†. It may well be conceived that this incident must have made the worst impression on the grave prince, attached as he was to Spanish dignity and stateliness. The papal nuncio took the opportunity to represent to him the danger that hung over him in this state of things; asserting that God himself had thus given him evident token how necessary it was that he should fulfil the promises he had made the pope. The Spanish ambassador joined in the same strain. Magius, the Jesuit provincial, had often urged the emperor to adopt some decisive measures: he now obtained a hearing. On the 21st of June, 1578, the emperor issued an injunction to Opitz and all his assistants in church and school, to leave the city that very day, "while the sun shone," and within fourteen days, all the hereditary dominions of the emperor. The emperor, apprehending a riot, kept a number of trusty persons under arms, to be provided against any emergency. But how should any one have ventured to rise up against the sovereign, who had the letter of the law on his side? The people contented themselves with escorting the exiles with marks of poignant compassion‡.

From that day forth there began a catholic reaction in Austria, which every year acquired more force and efficacy.

The design was conceived of first expelling pro-

\* Dr. George Eber, who indeed was an adversary: extract from his Warnungsschrift, in Raupach: Evang. Oestreich. ii. 286.

† Maffei: Annali di Gregorio XIII. tom. i. p. 281. 335, no doubt from the nuncio's reports.

‡ Sacchini, pars iv. lib. vi. n. 78. "Pudet referre quam exeuntes sacrilogos omniique execratione dignissimos prosecuta sit numerosa multitudo, quotque benevolentie documentis, ut vel inde mali gravitas estimari possit." [I blush to relate what a multitude escorted the departing exiles, sacrilegious as they were, and worthy of all execration, and what marks of good will they bestowed on them, by that very fact affording evidence of the magnitude of the evil.]

\* Julii Episcopi Statuta Ruralia. Grop: Scriptt. tom. i. His meaning is, that the religious movement, which emanates from the supreme head of the church of Christ, communicates itself downwards through every member of the body. See p. 444. de capitulis ruralibus.

testantism from the imperial towns. The towns east of the Enns, which twenty years before had separated from the baronial and knightly orders, could in reality make no resistance. The evangelical clergy were banished from many localities, and their places filled by catholics, whilst private individuals were subjected to a strict scrutiny. A formula employed on the occasion has come down to us. "Dost thou believe," says one article, "that every thing is true which the Church of Rome has laid down, touching life and doctrine?" "Dost thou believe," adds another, "that the pope is the head of the sole apostolic Church?" Not a doubt was to be left unclaried\*. The protestants were removed from offices of state, no burgher was any longer admitted who was not found to be catholic. Every candidate in the university of Vienna for the degree of doctor was forced to subscribe the *professio fidei*. A new regulation for schools enjoined catholic formularies, fasts, and public worship, and the exclusive use of the catechism of Canisius. In Vienna protestant books were carried off from the booksellers' shops, and carried in heaps to the episcopal court. All packages arriving at the custom houses on the river were searched, and such books and pictures as were not soundly catholic, were confiscated†.

But notwithstanding all these measures, success was not yet complete. It is true thirteen cities and market towns were reformed in a short space of time in Lower Austria; the crown lands too, and the mortgaged property, were under the disposal of the catholic party: but still the nobility constituted a formidable opposition, and the towns west of the Enns were closely leagued with them, and were too strong to be assailed‡.

Nevertheless, many of the government measures had, as may be supposed, a general cogency, from which no man could escape: in Styria they produced an immediate reaction.

In that province, the archduke Charles had been forced to grant concessions at the very moment when the catholic reaction was taking its course in so many other places. His kindred could not forgive him for this. His brother-in-law, duke Albert of Bavaria, represented to him, that the treaty of Augsburg justified him in compelling his subjects to adopt the religion he himself professed. He counselled the archduke to three things: first, to fill all his offices, and especially his court and privy council, only with catholics; secondly, to part the several estates in the diet, so as to manage them more easily one by one; and lastly, to enter into a good understanding with the pope, and solicit a nuncio from him. Gregory XIII. of his own accord made advances to the archduke. Knowing that it was chiefly want of money that had forced the latter to the concessions he had made, the pope took the best means of making him independent of his vassals, by sending him funds in the year 1586, to the amount, very considerable for those times, of 40,000 scudi. The pope also deposited another and larger sum in Venice, to be used by the archduke in case dis-

orders should break out in his dominions in consequence of his catholic efforts.

Thus encouraged by example, admonition, and substantial aid, the archduke Charles assumed from the year 1580 a very different attitude.

In that year he put an interpretation upon his former concessions, tantamount to their revocation. The estates prostrated themselves before him, and their pathetic entreaties may for a moment have touched him\*; but the measures already proclaimed, were on the whole persisted in, and the expulsion of the evangelical pastors began here as elsewhere.

The year 1584 was a decisive one. In that year, the papal nuncio Malaspina appeared in the diet. He had succeeded in separating the prelates from the secular estates, to which they had always before adhered, and in forming between them, the archducal functionaries, and all the catholics in the country, a close league, of which he was himself the centre. Hitherto it had seemed as though the whole country was protestant, but the nuncio succeeded in forming a strong party round the prince, which made the latter immovable in his resolutions. He adhered firmly to his purpose of exterminating protestantism from his towns; the treaty of Augsburg, he said, gave him still ampler rights, extending even over the nobility, and any further opposition would provoke him to put those rights in force: he would then like to see the man who would venture to prove himself a rebel. Decidedly anti-protestant as these declarations sounded, circumstances enabled him to fulfil them to as great an extent as ever before he had carried his concessions. The estates were unable to refuse the supplies urgently called for by other considerations†.

Thenceforth the counter-reformation began as elsewhere in the whole archducal territory. The parishes and the town councils were filled with catholics: no citizen durst attend any other than the catholic church, or send his children to any besides the catholic schools.

The change was not in every instance peaceably effected. The catholic pastors, and the archducal commissioners, were sometimes rudely treated and driven away. The archduke himself once incurred peril when engaged in the chase. The rumour had spread that a neighbouring preacher had been taken prisoner: the people rushed together in arms, and the poor persecuted preacher had to go among them in person, and protect his ungracious sovereign from the peasants‡. In spite of this the matter took its course. The harshest measures were employed; the papal historian sums them up in a few words; viz. confiscation, exile, and severe chastisement of all the refractory. The spiritual princes who had any possessions in those districts, lent their aid to the secular officers. The archbishop of Cologne, bishop of Freisingen, changed

\* "Seinem angeborenen mildrechten landsfürstlichen deutschen Gemüth nach," [after the promptings of his natural, benignant, princely, and German disposition,] says the supplication of the three states.

† Valvassor, Ehre des Herzogthums Krain, contains authentic and circumstantial information on all these matters. But Maffei's account is particularly important, in the *Annali di Gregorio XIII.* lib. ix. c. xx. lib. xiii. c. 1. No doubt he had the nuncio's report before him.

‡ Khevenhiller, *Annales Ferdinandel*, ii. p. 523.

\* Papal, Austrian, and Bavarian articles of confession in Raupach: *Evang. Oestreich.* ii. 307.

† Khevenhiller, *Ferd. Jahrh.* i. 90. Hansitz, *Germania Sacra*, i. 632.

‡ Raupach, *Kleine Nachlese, Evang. Oestreich.* iv. p. 17.

the council of his town of Laack, and visited the Protestant burghers with imprisonment or fines: the bishop of Brixen was even inclined to go the length of a new agrarian distribution in his lordship of Veldes. This spirit was manifested over the whole range of the Austrian possessions. Though the Tyrol had remained catholic, the archduke Ferdinand did not fail to insist on the strict subordination of his Clergy of Inspruck, and to see to it that every one received the sacrament. Sunday schools were established for the common people. Cardinal Andrew, Ferdinand's son, had catechisms printed, which he distributed to the youths in the schools, and to the unlearned \*. But in those districts where protestantism had in some degree gained admission, Ferdinand did not content himself with such mild measures. In the margravate of Burgau, though but a recent acquisition, and in the bailiwick of Swabia, although his jurisdiction there was disputed, he adopted precisely the same course as that pursued by the archduke Charles in Styria.

Pope Sixtus V. set no bounds to his applause of all these things. He extolled the Austrian princes as the firmest pillars of Christianity; and to the archduke Charles in particular, he addressed the most flattering briefs †. The acquisition of a county which reverted to the latter at that time, was regarded at the court of Grätz as a remuneration of heaven for such valuable services rendered to Christianity.

Whereas the catholic spirit owed its triumph in the Netherlands, chiefly to its accommodating itself to existing privileges, that was not the case in Germany. Here, on the contrary, the several sovereigns had so greatly enlarged their prerogatives and their power, that they were in a condition to promote the restoration of the church. The strictness of this union between ecclesiastical and political power, and the length to which it was carried, are most strikingly exemplified in the case of Wolf Dietrich of Raittenau, archbishop of Salzburg.

The archbishops of former days, who had lived amidst the agitations of the reformation, contented themselves with now and then issuing an edict against innovations, with decreeing a punishment, or making an attempt at conversion, but only, as archbishop Jacob says, "by gentle, fatherly, and upright means ‡."

Far different was the temper of the young archbishop Wolf Dietrich of Raittenau, who mounted the throne of Salzburg in 1587. He had been educated in the Collegium Germanicum in Rome, and was possessed with the ideas of the ecclesiastical restoration in all their force. He had been an eye-witness to the brilliant commencement of the pontificate of Sixtus V., and been filled with admiration for him. Furthermore, it operated on him as a special incitement, that his uncle Altemps, in whose house he had been brought up at Rome, was a cardinal. In 1588, on his return from a journey in which he had once more visited Rome, he proceeded to put in execution the projects he

had conceived under the influence of these impressions. He called on all the burghers of his capital to make public profession of the catholic faith. Many of them hanging back, he gave them a few weeks for reflection; after these were expired, on the 3rd of September, 1588, he commanded them to quit the city and the diocese within a month. Only that month, and another afterwards added to it, at their urgent petition, was allowed them to sell off their property, of which they were required to give in a computation to the archbishop, nor were they permitted to dispose of it to any persons but those approved of by him \*. But few reconciled themselves to a recantation of their faith, these were then constrained to do penance in the church with burning tapers in their hands: but by far the greater number, including the wealthiest burghers, became exiles. This loss gave the prince no concern. He thought he had discovered other means of maintaining the splendour of the archbishopric. He had already considerably augmented the taxes, customs, and tolls, laid new charges on the salt of Hallein and Schellenberg, converted the contributions in aid of the Turkish war into a regular land-tax, and introduced duties on wine, and an income and inheritance-tax. He paid no regard to any prescriptive immunity. The dean committed suicide, in a fit of melancholy, occasioned, it was thought, by the loss of the chapter's rights. The bishop's enactments respecting the salt works and the whole business of mining, aimed at destroying the independence of those trades, and incorporating them all with his treasury. Germany presents no similar instance in this century of a regular fiscal system. The young archbishop had brought with him from beyond the Alps the idea of an Italian principality. To get hold of money appeared to him the first grand problem of statesmanship. He had taken Sixtus V. for his model, and his great object was, like him, to be master of an obedient, thoroughly catholic, tribute-paying state. The removal of the citizens of Salzburg, whom he regarded as rebels, afforded him even pleasure. He caused their evacuated houses to be pulled down, and palaces in the Roman style to be erected in their stead †.

For above all things he loved splendour. He never refused knightly entertainment to any foreigner, and once he was seen proceeding to the diet followed by a suite of four hundred persons. He was but twenty-nine years of age in the year 1588, was full of vivacity and ambition, and already fixed his eyes on the highest spiritual dignity.

The course pursued in the spiritual and secular principalities was also followed, wherever it was practicable, in the cities. How bitterly did the Lutheran burghers of Gmünden complain that they had been struck off the roll of candidates for the town council. In Biberach, the council established by the commissioner of Charles V., on the occasion of the Interim, still maintained its position; the whole town was protestant, but the

\* Puteo in Tempesti: Vita di Sisto V. tom. i. 375.

† Extract from the briefs: in Tempesti, i. 203.

‡ A more severe edict, it is true, was published in Jacob's name, but not till he had been obliged to commit the administration to a coadjutor.

\* Edict respecting the reformation in Gückingk: Vollkommene Emigrationsgeschichte von denen aus dem Erzbisthum Salzburg vertriebenen Lutheranern, i. p. 88.

† Zauner's Salzburger Chronik, Siebenter Theil, is our most important authority on this head. This part of the chronicle was itself constructed upon a contemporaneous biography of the archbishop.

council was catholic, and sedulously excluded every protestant from its body\*. What oppressions the protestants suffered in Cologne and Aix la Chapelle! The council of Cologne declared it had promised the elector and the emperor to tolerate no other religion than the catholic, and it sometimes punished attendance on a catholic sermon with fine and imprisonment†. In Augsburg, too, the catholics gained the upper hand. Disputes arose on the introduction of the new calendar: in the year 1586, the evangelical superintendent was first expelled, then eleven clergymen at once, and, lastly, a number of the most pertinacious citizens. Something of the sort occurred on similar grounds in Ratisbon in 1587. The towns began to pretend to the right of remodelling their religious institutions; nay, individual counts and lords, individual knights of the empire even, come fresh from the converting hand of some Jesuit, believed they might use a similar right, and began to revive catholicism in their petty domains.

It was a measureless reaction. Protestantism was now repulsed with as much energy as it had before swept onwards. Preaching and doctrine contributed to this, but infinitely more was done by policy, command, and open violence.

As once the Italian protestants had fled over the Alps to Switzerland and Germany, so now, far more numerous bodies of German fugitives were driven from the western and southern districts to the northern and eastern. So likewise the Belgians retreated to Holland. It was a mighty victory of catholicism that marched on from land to land.

None now surpassed in their efforts to favour and extend its progress than the nuncios, who at that time began to reside regularly in Germany.

A memoir of the nuncio Minuccio Minucci, of the year 1586, has come down to us, from which we learn the nature of the views conceived and acted upon in those times‡.

Special consideration was given to education. It was earnestly desired that the catholic universities had been better endowed, so as to attract distinguished teachers: Ingoldstadt was the only one possessed of means sufficiently ample. As matters now stood, every thing rested on the Jesuit seminaries. Minuccio Minucci wished that, in the latter, care should be devoted not so much to form great scholars or profound theologians, as able preachers. A man of moderate knowledge, content not to aspire to the summit of learning, and never thinking of acquiring fame, was, in his estimation, perhaps, the most universally serviceable and profitable man for the church. He recommended the same principle to be kept in view as regarded also the institutions for German catholics in Italy. In the *Collegium Germanicum* there had originally been a distinction made between the youths of the middle class and those of noble blood. Minuccio Minucci blames the departure from the principle. Not only were the nobles now averse to remaining in the college, but, furthermore, an ambition was awakened in the minds of the students of the

middle class that could never afterwards be satisfied, a longing for high places that would prove prejudicial to the perfect fulfilment of the inferior appointments. We learn also that endeavours were made to attract another and intermediate class to the college, the sons, namely, of the higher functionaries, into whose hands, according to the usual course of things, the greatest share in the administration of their native provinces would fall. Gregory XIII. had already made arrangements for their reception in Perugia and Bologna. Thus we see, that the distinctions of rank even now prevailing in German society were already marked, in those days.

The main dependence of the church was always on the nobility, to which the nuncio especially ascribed the maintenance of catholicism in Germany; for since they possessed an exclusive right to the great benefices, they defended the church as their own inheritance. For this very reason they now opposed the introduction of religious freedom into the dioceses\*, lest the very numerous protestant princes should, in that case, engross all the benefices. For this cause the church ought, in its turn, to conciliate and protect the nobility. They were by no means to be teased with any law against pluralities: besides, frequent changes of residence had their use, since they tended to unite the nobility from the several provinces in defence of the church. Nor ought attempts to be made towards bestowing ecclesiastical appointments on men of the burgher class: it was very useful to have a few scholars in a chapter, as had been seen in Cologne; but any attempt to carry this further would be the ruin of the German church.

The question next arose, how far it might be possible to reclaim the districts that had become wholly protestant.

The nuncio is far from recommending open violence. The protestant princes appear to him vastly too strong for this. Still he suggests some means likely to lead gradually to the desired end.

Above all things he holds it necessary to maintain the good understanding subsisting between the catholic princes, especially between Bavaria and Austria. The league of Landsberg is still in existence; it ought to be renewed and strengthened, and king Philip of Spain might be comprehended in it.

And might it not be possible even to gain over some protestant princes? The elector Augustus, of Saxony, had long been thought to evince some leaning towards catholicism. Attempts had from time to time been made upon him, especially

\* Especially in Upper Germany. "L'esempio della suppressione dell'altre" (those of Lower Germany) "ha avvertiti i nobili a metter cura maggiore nella difesa di queste, concorrendo in ciò tanto gli eretici quanto li cattolici, accorti già, che nel occupazione dell'principi si leva a loro et a' posteri la speranza dell'utile che cavano dai canonicali e dagli altri benefici e che possono pretendere del vescovato mentre a' canonici resta libera l'elezione." [The example of the suppression of the other spiritualities warned the nobles to be more careful in defending these, and in this the heretics fully concurred with the catholics, both parties agreeing in regarding their occupation by the princes as affording themselves and their posterity the hope of the advantages to be derived from the canonries and other benefices, and in thinking that they could aspire to the bishopric so long as the canons retained the right of free election.]

\* Lehmann de Pace Religionis, ii. p. 268, 480.

† Lehmann, 436, 270.

‡ Discorso del molto illustre e revmo. Monsignor Minuccio Minucci sopra il modo di restituire la cattolica religione in Alemagna, 1588. MS. Barb.

through the medium of Bavaria; but it could only be done with great caution; and as the elector's wife, Anne of Denmark, was a steadfast Lutheran, all these attempts had been fruitless. Anne died in 1585. This was not only a day of emancipation for the oppressed Calvinists, but afforded the catholics, too, an opportunity of approaching nearer to their prince. It would seem that Bavaria thought itself now called on to effect something in the matter in which it had always exerted itself; and pope Sixtus V. held himself in readiness to send absolution to the elector\*. Meanwhile Augustus died before any thing was accomplished, but the catholics had other princes in view: Louis, count palatine of Neuburg, who was said to evince an estrangement to all interests hostile to catholicism, and a peculiar forbearance towards all catholic priests who casually visited his territories;—and

\* As early as 1574, Gregory XIII. encouraged duke Albert V., "Ut dum elector Saxonie Calvinistarum sectam ex imperiis suis finibus exturbare conabatur, vellet sermones cum principe illo aliquando habitos de religione catholica in Saxonia introducenda renovare." [That whereas the elector of Saxony was endeavouring to harass and drive the Calvinists out of his dominions, he, the duke, should cause a renewal of the negotiations once carried on with that prince for the introduction of the catholic religion into Saxony.] He thought it would, perhaps, be advisable to send an agent thither. But the duke was altogether against this, because the matter would come immediately to the ears of the elector's privy-councillors, "ad consiliarios et familiares: a quibus quid expectandum aliud quam quod totam rem pervertant?" [And what then could be expected but the frustration of the whole business?] He goes on to say, "Arte hic opus esse iudicatur quo tanquam aliud agens errantem percircumveniat.—Uxor, quo ex sexu impotentiori concitator est, eo importuniora suffundet consilia, si resciscat hanc apud maritum rem agi." Legationes paparum ad duces Bavaria. MS. in the library of Munich. [The matter must be skillfully managed, so that, under cover of some other apparent design, the elector may be led unawares into our pious toils. If his wife comes to know of these proceedings with her husband, she will beset him with all the passionate importunity of her excitable sex.] Minucci relates that the first overtures were made so early as in the days of Pius V. The whole passage is remarkable. "Con duca Augusto di Sassonia già morto si trattò sin a tempi della s. m. di papa Pio V. il duca Alberto di Baviera, che vive in cielo, e ridusse la pratica tanto inanzi che si prometteva sicura riuscita: ma piacque a Dio benedetto di chiamarlo, nè d'opera di tanta importanza fu chi parlasse o pensasse, se non ch' a tempi di Gregorio di gl. mem. il padre Possevino s'ingegnò di fabbricare sopra quel fondamenti: et in fine nel presente felicissimo pontificato di Sisto, sendo morta la moglie d'emo duca Augusto, fu chi ricordò l'occasione esser opportuna per trattare di nuova la conversione di quel principe: ma la provvidentia divina non li diede tempo di poter aspettare la benedizione che S. Beato per mezzo del signor duca Guilieumo di Baviera s'apparecchiava di mandarli sin a casa sua." [Duke Albert of Bavaria, who lives in heaven, plied the late duke Augustus of Saxony in the reign of pope Pius V., and the negotiation was so far advanced as to promise certain success. But it pleased God to call him away, and none remained to speak or think of so important a work, till in the days of Gregory of glorious memory, father Possevino bethought him of building on that foundation; and, finally, in the present most auspicious pontificate of Sixtus, the wife of duke Augustus being now dead, the opportunity was thought favourable for again essaying the conversion of that prince. Divine providence, however, did not grant him time to receive the benediction which his holiness was preparing to send and bestow on him, within his own doors, through the mediation of duke William of Bavaria.] We see how early that line of Saxony was practised upon.

William IV. of Hesse, who was learned and pacific, and had occasionally accepted the dedication of catholic works. Some likewise of the superior nobility of northern Germany were not lost sight of: hopes were entertained with regard to Henry Ranzan.

But if the result of these experiments was remote, and not to be counted on, there were yet other schemes, the accomplishment of which depended more on the resolution and the will of their conecoters.

The majority of the assessors of the Kammergericht (so at least the nuncio asserts) were still inclined to protestantism. There still survived men of the earlier times, when in most lands, even in those that were catholic, secret or professed protestants sat in the sovereign councils. The nuncio regards this circumstance as calculated to drive the catholics to despair, and is urgent in demanding its remedy. He thinks it an easy matter to compel all the assessors of catholic countries to make a profession of faith, and to oblige all who should be appointed for the future, to pledge themselves by oath not to change their religion, or else to give up their places. To the catholics, he maintained, belonged of right the preponderance in that court.

He did not yet abandon the hope of retrieving possession of the lost bishoprics without violence, if efficient use were made of existing prerogatives. These bishoprics were not yet wholly severed from all connexion with Rome; the old right of the curia to fill up the vacancies in benefices occurring during the reserved months was not absolutely repudiated. Even the protestant bishops believed at bottom that their nomination required to be ratified by the pope's sanction, and Henry of Saxe Lauenburg constantly kept an agent at Rome to procure him this. If the papal see had not yet been able to take advantage of this feeling, it was because the emperor supplied by indultoes the want of the pope's confirmation, and the appointments made at Rome to the vacant benefices always occurred too late, or contained some flaw in their form, so that the chapters could always act with legal freedom. Minucci now urged the necessity of the emperor's abstaining altogether from granting indultoes; nor had he much difficulty in effecting this in the existing state of feeling in the court. Duke William of Bavaria had already proposed committing the patronage of the benefices to the nuncio, or to some trustworthy German bishop. Minucci gives it as his opinion, that a special dataria for Germany should be established in Rome, in which should be kept a list of qualified noble catholics, which might easily be procured through the nuncio or the Jesuits, and that all vacancies should be forthwith filled up in accordance with the standard thus obtained. No chapter would venture to reject the candidates legitimately nominated by Rome. What consequence too, what influence, would this contrivance confer on the curia.

We see clearly how earnestly the thought of a complete restoration of the church's old authority was still pursued. To conciliate the nobility, to bring up the higher classes of citizens in the interests of Rome, to educate youth in the same spirit, to renew the old influence over the chapters and dioceses, even though these had become protestant, to recover the ascendancy in the Kammergericht, to convert powerful princes of the empire, to give

the leading catholic powers a voice in the affairs of the German confederation—thus numerous were the projects simultaneously pursued.

Nor must we suppose that these counsels were slighted. At the moment they were proposed in Rome, their execution was in progress in Germany.

The efficiency and sound regulation of the *Kammergericht* mainly depended on the yearly visitation, held during the sittings of the diet, by seven estates of the empire in rotation. Commonly the majority on these occasions was catholic, but in the year 1588, it was for once protestant; the protestant archbishop of Magdeburg, among others, was to take part in it. It was resolved, on the catholic side, to prevent this. On the elector of Mainz proceeding to summon the estates, the emperor, of his own authority, commanded him to postpone the visitation for that year. But a year's respite would have availed little, since the rotation remained still the same; a protestant archbishop of Magdeburg long stood in the way: the consequence was, that the prorogation was repeated from year to year, nay, even that a regular visitation never afterwards took place, to the irremediable injury of this noble institution of the highest tribunal of the empire\*. Ere long, we hear complaints that unlearned catholics were admitted into that body in preference to learned protestants. The emperor, too, desisted from granting indulgences. In the year 1588, Minucci recommended that efforts should be made for the conversion of protestant princes; and in 1590, we meet with the first convert, Jacob von Baden, the foremost of a long series.

### *The Ligue.*

Whilst these great movements were taking place in Germany and the Netherlands, they seized on France, too, with resistless force. The affairs of the Netherlands had, from remote periods, been most closely connected with those of France: how often had the protestants of the latter, and the catholics of the former, respectively aided their brethren of the neighbouring country? The downfall of protestantism in the Belgian provinces was a direct blow to the Huguenots of France.

But independently of this, the tendency to a restoration of catholicism, manifest in other countries, had likewise taken increasing hold in France.

We have already noticed the first appearance of the Jesuits, and since then they had been continually spreading. The house of Lorraine, as may be imagined, were their special patrons. Cardinal Guise founded an academy for them, in 1577, at Pont à Mousson, which was resorted to by the princes of his house. The duke established a college at Eu in Normandy, which was intended for the exiled English.

But they found many other patrons besides.

\* Minucci had written, besides, on the special subject of the *Kammergericht*. There are good grounds for surmising that the inhibition was brought about by his representations. The protestant majority, as we have said, he regarded with detestation: "Non vole dir altro l'aver gli eretici l'autorità maggiore e il più voti in quel senato che un ridurre i cattolici d'Alemagna a disperatione." [That the heretics should possess the greater weight, and the more numerous votes in that senate, is tantamount to nothing short of reducing the catholics of Germany to despair.]

Sometimes it was a cardinal, a bishop, or an abbot; sometimes a prince, or a high functionary, that took on himself the cost of a new establishment. Within a short space of time, the Jesuits settled in Rouen, Verdun, Dijon, Bourges, and Nevers. Their missionaries traversed the kingdom in a multitude of directions.

They met with assistants, however, in France, whose aid they had been obliged to dispense with, at least in Germany.

Cardinal Lorraine had brought some Capuchins with him from the council of Trent, and assigned them his palace at Meudon for their dwelling: but after his death they again departed, the order being still limited by its statutes to Italy. In the year 1573, the chapter-general sent a few members across the Alps, at first with the intention only to explore the ground. These having been well received, so that on their return they promised "the richest harvest," the pope did not hesitate to remove that restriction. In the year 1574, the first colony of Capuchins crossed the Alps, under the conduct of Fra Pacifico di San Gervasio, who chose his own associates.

They were all Italians, and naturally attached themselves first of all to their own countrymen.

Queen Catherine welcomed them with joy, and forthwith endowed a convent for them in Paris. By the year 1575, we find them in Lyons, where, through the queen's recommendations, they received the support of some Italian money-changers.

From these towns they now spread more widely; from Paris to Caen and Rouen; from Lyons to Marseilles, where queen Catherine purchased a site for them to build on: new colonies settled in Toulouse in 1582, and in 1585 in Verdun. They very speedily succeeded in making the most brilliant conversions, as, for instance, that of Henri Joyeuse, one of the first men of France in that day\*.

Now, in one respect at least, these religious movements produced more powerful effects in France than in Germany, inasmuch as they gave rise to institutions imitated from existing ones, but with characteristic peculiarities. Jean de la Barrière, who, in accordance with the singular abuses that had crept into France, had been granted in commendam, in his nineteenth year, the cistercian abbey of Feuillans, near Toulouse, caused himself to be consecrated as a regular abbot, in the year 1577, and received novices, with whom he tried, not only to revive, but even to surpass the austerity of the original institution of Cîteaux. Solitude, silence, and self-denial, were pushed to the utmost possible extent. These monks never left their convent, except to preach in some neighbouring place; within its walls they wore neither shoe, nor covering for the head; they abstained not only from meat and wine, but even from fish and eggs, living on bread and water, with the addition, at the very most, of a few vegetables†. Such austerity failed not to excite reverence and imitation: Dom Jean de la Barrière was very soon invited to the court of Vincennes. He traversed the greater part of France with sixty-two companions, without any interruption to the usual exercises of the convent. Presently his institute was confirmed by the pope, and spread itself over the country.

\* Boverio: *Annali dei frati Capucini*, l. 346. ii. 45, f.

† Felibien: *Histoire de Paris*, tom. ii. p. 1158.



It seemed, too, as though a new zeal had animated the entire body of the secular clergy, although they held their appointments free from all responsibility. The parish priests once more devoted themselves earnestly to the care of souls. The bishops, in the year 1570, called not only for the adoption of the decrees of the council of Trent, but even for the abrogation of that very concordat to which they owed their own existence: these proposals they renewed from time to time in increasing force \*.

Who shall pretend accurately to assign all the causes that impelled the public mind in this direction? Thus much alone is certain, that the greatest change was manifest about the year 1580. A Venetian asserts that the number of French protestants had fallen seventy per cent., and that the common people were again completely catholic. Animation, novelty, and impulsive force, were again on the side of catholicism †.

Under these circumstances, however, it assumed a new position as regarded the royal authority.

The court was a medley of self-contradictions. It is not to be doubted but that Henry III. was a good catholic; no one stood well with him who did not frequent the mass, and he would not suffer any protestant magistrates in the towns; but notwithstanding all this, he continued, from first to last, to dispose of ecclesiastical appointments in accordance with court favour, regardless of worth and talent, and to appropriate and squander the property of the church. He was fond of religious exercises and processions, and spared himself no penance; but this did not prevent his leading the most scandalous of lives, and of sanctioning similar immorality in others. The most abandoned debauchery was the order of the day at court. The dissolute practices of the carnival provoked the indignation of the preachers. Sometimes Christian burial was refused to courtiers, on account of the manner of their deaths, and their last expressions, and this in the case of the very favourites of the king.

Hence the rigid catholic spirit, though in various ways favoured by the court, was yet inwardly and essentially opposed thereto.

But, furthermore, the king persevered in the old system of politics, which displayed itself chiefly in hostility to Spain. At any other time this would have signified nothing; but in those days the religious element was stronger in France than the sense of national interests. As the Huguenots felt themselves linked with the protestants of the Netherlands, so the French catholics felt them-

selves the natural allies of Philip II. and of Farnese. The Jesuits, who had rendered such great services to those princes in the Netherlands, could not see, without uneasiness, that the very foes they had combated there found favour and help in France.

In addition to this, came the death of the duke d'Alençon, in the year 1584, whereby, since the king neither had, nor was likely to have, issue, Henry of Navarre became heir apparent to the throne.

Anxiety for the future has, perhaps, more influence over men than present calamity. This prospect threw all the French catholics into the greatest agitation \*, above all, of course, the old opponents and foes of Navarre, the Guises, who already dreaded the influence he must possess as heir to the throne, still more the power he would have as king. It is no wonder if they looked for support to king Philip.

Nor could any thing be more welcome to that monarch in the general condition of his policy: he hesitated not to enter into a formal league with the subjects of a foreign kingdom.

The only remaining question was, whether at Rome, where an union of princes with the church had been so often talked of, they would now sanction an insurrection of powerful vassals against their sovereign.

Now it cannot be denied that this sanction was given. Among the Guises there were some consciences uneasy at the step about to be taken. Matthieu, the Jesuit, went to Rome to procure a declaration from the pope which might appease their scruples. Gregory XIII. declared, upon hearing the representations of Matthieu, that he fully approved of the French princes taking up arms against the heretics; that he removed every scruple they might entertain on the subject; that the king would surely approve of their conduct, but, should that not be the case, they must nevertheless prosecute their plan till they achieved the grand object of exterminating the heretics †. The process against Henry of Navarre was already begun; by the time it was concluded Sixtus V. had ascended the papal throne, and he pronounced sentence of excommunication on Navarre and Condé. By this means he lent more support to the intentions of the Ligue than he could in any other way have done ‡.

\* An essay was immediately composed at the time in Rome, showing how desirable it was that a Guise should succeed to the throne: *Della inclinazione de' cattolici verso la casa di Ghisa e del servizio che riceverà la christianità et il re cattolico della successione d' uno di quei principi*. [On the inclination of the catholics towards the house of Guise, and on the service to be derived by Christianity and by the catholic king from the succession of one of those princes.] It was sent to Spain, and was ascribed to cardinal Este. *Dispaccio Veneto*, 1584, 1mo. Debr.

† Claude Matthieu, au duc de Nevers, 11 Févr. 1585, perhaps the most important piece of information in the whole fourth vol. of Capefigue: *Réforme*, etc. p. 173.

‡ Maffei, *Historiarum ab excessu Gregorii XIII. lib. i.* p. 10. *Infinitis forderatorum precibus, et regis Philippi supplicatione hortatuque, haud aegre se adduci est passus ut Hugonotas eorumque duces celestibus armis insectaretur*. [He easily suffered himself to be induced by the reiterated entreaties of the leaguers, and by the supplication and advice of king Philip, to assail the Huguenots and their leaders with divine arms.]

\* Remontrance de l'Assemblée Générale du Clergé de France convoquée en la Ville de Melun, faite au roi Henri III. le 3 Juillet, 1579. *Recueil des Actes du Clergé*, tom. xiv. Thuanus also gives an extract.

† Lorenzo Pruli: *Relatione di Franza*, 5 Gulgno, 1582. *Dovemo maravigliarci, unanimemente parlando, che le cose non siano in peggiore stato di quello che si trovano: poiche, per gratia de Dio, con tutti il poco pensiero che li è stato messo e che se li mette, è sminito il numero degli Ugonotti 70% et è grande il zelo et il fervor che mostrano cattolici nelle cose delle religioni*. [We have reason to wonder, humanly speaking, that matters are in no worse a condition: for by God's grace, notwithstanding the little consideration that has been given, and that is still given to the matter, the number of the heretics is diminished seventy per cent., and great is the zeal and fervour displayed by catholics in matters of religion.]



The Guises were by this time already in arms, and they endeavoured immediately to secure as many provinces and places as they possibly could.

At the first movement, they took such important towns as Verdun, Toul, Lyons, Bourges, Orleans, and Mezieres with a blow. The king, that he might not be vanquished by them by force, adopted the expedient he had once before resorted to, of declaring their cause his own. But before they would receive him into their alliance, they obliged him to ratify and extend their conquests by a formal treaty. He surrendered to them Burgogne, Champagne, a great part of Picardy, and a multitude of places in other parts of the kingdom\*.

Hereupon, the king and the Guises undertook the war conjointly against the Protestants; but in how different a manner! All the king's measures were lame and inconclusive: the catholics even believed he wished success to the protestant arms, so that he might be able under the apparent compulsion of their alarming strength, to conclude a peace with them disadvantageous to the catholic cause. Guise, on the contrary, swore that if God granted him victory, he would not dismount from his horse till he had for ever established the catholic religion in France. With his own troops, not with those of the king, he surprised at Auneau the Germans, who were coming to the aid of the Huguenots, and on whom the latter built all their hopes, and cut them to pieces.

The pope compared him to Judas Maccabæus. He possessed a grandeur of character that captivated the willing veneration of the populace. He became the idol of all the catholics.

The king, on the other hand, found himself altogether in a false position: he knew not what to do, nor even what he should devise. The papal ambassador Morosini, remarks, that he consisted as it were of two persons: he wished for the subjugation of the Huguenots, and he dreaded it quite as much; he dreaded the overthrow of the catholics, and yet he wished for it: such was the effect of this mental discord, that he no longer followed the natural bent of his inclination, that he no longer trusted his own thoughts†.

A state of mind like this, necessarily destroys all confidence in the subject of it, and leads him headlong to destruction.

The catholics were firmly convinced that the very man who stood at their head was their secret enemy; they set down in the account against him, every transient intercourse with Navarre's people, every trifling mark of favour bestowed on a protestant; they held that the most Christian king himself hindered the complete re-establishment of catholicism; and they cherished so much the more bitter hatred against his favourites, especially Epernon, since the king set him up against the

Guises, and entrusted the most important governments to his hands.

Under these circumstances, there grew up side by side with the league of the princes, an union too of the burgher class in the interest of catholicism. In all the towns the populace were wrought on by preachers, who combined a furious opposition to the government, with a vehement religious zeal. In Paris they went still further. It was three preachers and an eminent citizen, who first conceived the project of forming a popular combination for the defence of catholicism\*. They bound themselves to each other by oath in the first place, to shed the last drop of blood for the cause; each of them nominated a few trusty friends, with whom they held their first meeting in a monk's cell in the Sorbonne. They soon perceived the possibility of their embracing the whole city in their union. A select committee was chosen to conduct the movement, and even to levy money in case of need. One inspector was appointed in each of the sixteen quarters of the city. The recruiting went on in the most rapid and secret manner. The qualifications of candidates for admission were first discussed in the committee: no further communication was made to those who were not approved of. They had agents in all the colleges; one in the *Chambre des Comptes*, one for the *Procureurs de la Cour*, one for the Clerks, and one for the *Greffiers*, and so forth. Ere long the city, which had already received a catholic-military organization, was comprehended in this more secret and effective league. It was not confined to Paris; it was propagated through Orleans, Lyons, Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Rouen, and delegates from the confederates appeared in Paris. They all bound themselves to tolerate no Huguenot in France, and to remove the abuses of the government.

This is the so called League of the Sixteen. As soon as it found itself in some strength it gave information to the Guises; upon which Mayenne, the duke's brother, arrived with extreme secrecy in Paris, and the union between the princes and the citizens was concluded†.

Henry III. already felt the ground rocking beneath his feet. The movements of his enemies were reported to him from day to day. To such a pitch of boldness had they advanced in the Sorbonne, as publicly to propose the question, whether it was right to withdraw allegiance from the prince who did not perform his duty. It was decided in

\* The Anonimo Capitolino on the life of Sixtus V. contains peculiar notices on this subject. He names as the founder Carlo Ottomani "cittadino onorato," [a respectable citizen] who first communicated its existence to the preachers. At this very first meeting, Ottomani proposed an union with the princes; on the second, Jan. 25, 1587, it was resolved to nominate sixteen persons, one for each quarter, "a cui si riferisse da persone fidate quanto vi si facesse e dicesse appartenente a fatti publici" [to whom should be reported by trusty persons, whatever was done or said in them, relating to public affairs.] In the third meeting on Candlemas day, a council of ten was named, with the right of levying contributions, and a deputation was forthwith dispatched to Guise. This account gives some additional weight to all we find related by Cayet from Manaut and Maheutre, by Poulain, de Thou and Davila.

† Nel palazzo di Rens dietro alla chiesa di S. Agostino . . . guirarono tutti una scambievol lega non solo defensiva ma assoluta. (Anon. Capit.)

\* Reflections of cardinal Ossat on the effects of the Ligue in France. Life of cardinal Ossat, i 44.

† Dispaccio Morosini in Tempesti, Vita di Sisto V. p. 346. Il re, tutto che sia monarca sì grande, è altrettanto povero: e quanto è povero, è altrettanto prodigo: dimostre insigne pietà, e nel stesso tempo aborrisce la sagra lega: è in campo contra gli eretici, e pure è geloso de' progressi cattolici. [The king, as great a monarch as he is, is equally poor; and poor as he is, he is equally prodigal; he displays singular piety, and at the same time he abhors the sacred law; he is at war with the heretics, and yet he is jealous of the progress of the catholic cause.]

the affirmative in a council of from thirty to forty doctors. The king was highly incensed, and threatened to do like Pope Sixtus, and send the refractory preachers in chains to the galleys. But he did not possess the pope's energy; he did nothing more than order the advance of the Swiss who were in his service to the neighbourhood of the capital.

Alarmed at this threatening proceeding, the citizens sent to Guise, entreating him to come to their assistance. The king gave him to understand that the step would not be pleasing to him. Guise came nevertheless.

"Everything was ripe for a great explosion.

It burst forth when the king ordered the Swiss to march into Paris. The city was barricaded in an instant. The Swiss were driven back, the Louvre was threatened, and the king was compelled to fly\*.

Guise had already the command of a great part of France, and now he was master of Paris. The bastille, the arsenal, the hotel de ville, and all the surrounding places fell into his hands. The king was completely overpowered. Ere long he was compelled to prohibit the protestant religion, and to cede still more places to the Guises than they already held. The duke of Guise might be regarded as master of half France, and over the other half he derived a legitimate authority from the rank of lieutenant general conferred on him by Henry III. The estates were convoked, and there was no doubt that the catholic opinions would preponderate in that assembly. The most decided steps were to be expected from it, for the destruction of the Huguenots, and in favour of the catholic party.

### *Savoy and Switzerland.*

The predominance of catholicism in the powerful realm of France, must of course have elicited a kindred result in the neighbouring territories.

The catholic cantons of Switzerland clung still closer to the ecclesiastical principle, and to the Spanish alliance.

It is strikingly remarkable what immense effects ensued, from the establishment of a permanent nunciature in Switzerland, as well as in Germany.

Immediately after the adoption of this measure, in 1586, the catholic cantons united in the so called golden, or Borromean league, in which they bound themselves and their descendants for ever "to live and die in the true, indubitable, ancient, apostolic, Roman catholic faith†." Thereupon they received the host from the hands of the nuncio.

Had the party that seized the powers of government at Mühlhausen in 1587, gone over actually, and at the right time to the catholic faith, as they seemed disposed to do, they would doubtless have been supported by the catholics: conferences were held on the subject in the house of the nuncio at

Lucern. But the people of Mühlhausen deliberated too long, while the protestants on the other hand pushed on their expedition with the utmost rapidity, and re-established the old government, which was in the main favourable to themselves\*.

At this moment, however, the three forest cantons took a new and important step, in conjunction with Zug, Lucern, and Freiburg. After long negotiations, they concluded a league with Spain on the 12th of May 1587, in which they pledged enduring friendship to the king, and confirmed to him the right of recruiting in their territories, and of marching his troops through their mountains, whilst Philip II. on his part, made them corresponding concessions. The principal engagement to each other, was to give their utmost mutual aid in all cases of war, on behalf of the holy apostolic religion†. In this the six cantons made no exception, not even with regard to their confederates: on the contrary, the league was rather directly aimed against these, for there was no other power with which they could entertain any likelihood of being involved in war on account of religion.

Here too how much stronger were religious than national considerations! Community of faith now bound together the old Schwytzers, and the house of Austria! The confederation was discarded for the moment.

Fortunately, however, no immediate provocation for war arose. The operation of the league was immediately felt only by Geneva.

Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, a prince throughout all his life of restless ambition, had often shown a disposition to seize a favourable opportunity of again reducing Geneva, of which he regarded himself as the legitimate sovereign; but his views had always been promptly met by the resistance of the Swiss and the French, and by the aid those powers extended to the citizens of Geneva.

But the state of things was now changed. In the summer of 1588, at the instigation of Guise, Henry III. promised no longer to interfere against an enterprize upon Geneva: nor was it now opposed by the catholic cantons, at least, of Switzerland. Thus much only I find they demanded, that Geneva, if taken, should not be maintained as a fortified place.

Now, then, the duke prepared for the attack. The Genevese did not lose heart; but sometimes even made inroads into the territory of Savoy. But on this occasion Bern afforded them but very dubious aid. The catholic party had pushed their association into the midst of that city, closely knit though it was to all the protestant interests: a party existed there, to which it would not have been unwelcome, had Geneva fallen into the duke's hands‡. The consequence was that the duke

\* The importance of the Mühlhausen affair in a religious point of view, is strikingly manifested in the narrative of the Anonimo Capitol, founded on the reports of the nuncio, to which we shall again advert, when we come to examine Tempesti.

† Traité d'Alliance fait entre Philip II. etc. Dumont: Corps Diplomatique, v. i. p. 459.

‡ The fifth article of the projected treaty leaves no doubt on the subject, even though the judicial evidence of guilt on Wattenwyl's part is involved in a certain degree of obscurity. Some extracts from contemporaneous pamphlets,

\* Maffei blames Guise for having suffered this. "Inanis popularis auræ et infaustræ potentie ostentatione contentus Henricum incolumem abire permittit." (l. i. 38.) [Content with the parade of empty popularity and ill-omened power, he suffered Henry to depart in safety.]

† "Ihre ewigen Nachkommen," (their eternal posterity) as it is expressed in the documents relating to the league. Lauffer: Beschreibung Helvetischer Geschichte, Bd. x. S. 331.

soon had the advantage. Hitherto he had held the countries bordering on Switzerland, under very restrictive conditions, imposed on him by the terms of former treaties of peace with Bern; he took this opportunity of becoming, for the first time, more completely master in those territories. He expelled the protestants, whom he had previously been constrained to tolerate, and he made the whole country exclusively catholic. Till now he had been prohibited from erecting fortresses in this part of his dominions: he now began to build them in places where they would serve him, not only for defence, but also for harassing Geneva.

But before these affairs were further developed, other undertakings had been set on foot, which promised incomparably more important results, and gave reason to expect a total revolution in all the political relations of Europe.

#### *Attempt on England.*

The greater part of the Netherlands were subdued, and negotiations were actually on foot for the voluntary submission of the remainder: in Germany, the efforts of the catholics had been triumphant, as we have seen in so many territories, and the project was entertained of mastering those that still adhered to the opposite party. His victories, his investment of the fortresses, the attachment of the people, and his legitimate authority, enabled the champion of French catholicism to pursue a course that seemed inevitably destined to lead him to the attainment of sovereign power. The old metropolis of protestant doctrine, the city of Geneva, was no longer protected by her former allies. At this moment the plan was conceived of laying the axe to the root of the tree, by an attack on England.

The whole body of the protestant power and policy had its centre unquestionably in England. The yet unsubdued provinces of the Netherlands, and the Huguenots in France, rested their main support on queen Elizabeth.

But in England, too, an internal struggle had, as we have seen, already begun. Impelled at once by the longing after the land of their birth, and by a religious enthusiasm studiously nurtured and directed to this special end, fresh swarms of pupils from the seminaries, flocks upon flocks of Jesuits, were constantly passing over to the island. Queen Elizabeth enacted severe laws against them. In 1562 it was absolutely declared high treason to attempt to seduce one of her subjects from the established religion of the realm to that of Rome\*. In 1565 she commanded all Jesuits and seminarists to quit England within forty days, under pain of being dealt with as traitors; pretty much in the same way as so many catholic princes had expelled the protestant preachers from their dominions†. In this spirit she then brought into operation the high commission, a court expressly appointed to inquire into all violations of the acts of supremacy and of uniformity, not merely in accordance with

the customary legal forms, but by all ways and means whatever that should seem advisable, even to the exaction of a corporal oath:—a kind of protestant inquisition\*. And yet, for all that, Elizabeth was constantly desirous of avoiding any appearance of offending against liberty of conscience. She declared, that what the Jesuits had at heart, was not the re-establishment of religion; that their purpose was only to lead the country into sedition and revolt, and so to prepare the way for foreign enemies. The missionaries protested “before God and the saints,” as they said, “in sight of heaven and earth,” that their aim was purely of a religious kind, and in no wise regarded the queen’s majesty†. But what understanding could have been capable of discriminating between these two classes of motives? The queen’s inquisitors would not be put off with mere assertions. They required a declaration as to whether, or not, the curse pronounced against the queen by Pius V. was lawful, and binding on Englishmen; prisoners were obliged to say what they would do, and to which side they would adhere, in case the pope should absolve them from their oath of allegiance, and an attack should be made on England. The unfortunate harassed men knew not how to extricate themselves from their dilemma. They answered, indeed, that they would render unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsar’s, and unto God the things that were God’s; but even this subterfuge was considered by their judges as tantamount to a confession. The prisons accordingly were crowded; execution followed execution, and catholicism, too, had its martyrs; their number, under the reign of Elizabeth, has been computed at about two hundred. This, however, as was natural, failed to crush the spirit of the missionaries; the numbers of the refractory, of the recusants, as they were called, kept pace with the increasing severity of the laws, and their bitterness augmented in the same proportion. Pamphlets found their way to the court itself, in which the slaughter of Holofernes by Judith was extolled as a deed of piety and heroism deserving of imitation. The eyes of the multitude were still turned towards the imprisoned queen of Scotland, who, according to the papal declarations, was the legitimate sovereign of England; and they cherished a constant hope of a general revolution, to be brought about by an attack on the part of the catholic powers. The most revolting accounts were propagated through Italy and Spain of the cruelties to which the orthodox were exposed in England, accounts which could not fail to arouse every catholic heart to vengeance‡.

\* “As well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as also by witnesses, and all other means and ways you can devise.” It should, at least, have been “lawful ways and means.” Neal’s *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 414.

† Campiani *Vita et Martyrium*, p. 159. “Coram Deo profiteor et angelis ejus, coram cælo terraque, coram mundo et hoc cui adsto tribunal, me nec criminis læsæ majestatis nec perduellionis nec ullius in patriam conjurationis esse reum,” etc. [I declare before God and his angels, before heaven and earth, before the world and this tribunal before which I stand, that I am not guilty of lese majesty, nor of sedition, nor of any conspiracy against the country.]

‡ *Theatrum crudelitatum hæreticorum nostri temporis*. [Theatre of the cruelties of the heretics of our day.] It begins with a “*Peculiaris descriptio crudelitatum et inhumani-*

and from the acts of the council of Bern, are to be found in Gæzer: *Die drei letzten Jahrhunderte der Schweizergeschichte*, Bd. i. p. 123. 137.

\* Camden, *Rerum Anglicarum Annales regnante Elizabetha*, i. p. 349.

† *Ibid.* p. 396.

None felt more strongly on this subject than pope Sixtus. It is perfectly true that he entertained a certain esteem for the magnanimity and courage manifested in the character of Elizabeth, and he did actually once propose to her that she should return to the bosom of the catholic church. Singular proposal! As if she had been in a condition to choose; as if all her previous history, the whole import of her being, her political position, admitting even that her conviction had not been sound, had not bound her fast to the protestant interests. Elizabeth answered not a word, and only laughed. When this was told the pope, he said he must bethink him of wresting her kingdom from her by force.

Previously he had but hinted at this; but in the spring of 1586 he openly declared his purpose, and boasted that he would lend the king of Spain a far different aid in an enterprise against England, from that afforded by former popes to Charles V.\*

In January, 1587, he loudly complained of the backwardness of the Spaniards, and numbered up the advantages a victory over England would afford them towards the reconquest of the rest of the Netherlands†.

He soon grew bitter on the subject. When Philip II. issued a pragmatic, imposing restrictions on the spiritual dignities generally, including those over which the Roman curia asserted claims, the pope's fury knew no bounds. "What!" he exclaimed, "does don Philip think to bluster with us, and let himself be bullied by a woman ‡?"

In truth the king was not spared. Elizabeth openly espoused the cause of the Netherlands, and her admiral, Drake, rendered every coast of America and Europe unsafe. What pope Sixtus uttered was at bottom the opinion of all catholics. They were perplexed at the strange endurance of that mighty king. The cortes of Castile conjured him to avenge himself.

Philip was even personally insulted. He was made a mock of in comedies and masques. Once when this was reported to him, the aged monarch, long used only to adulation, sprang from his chair; never had he shown such irritation.

Such was the temper of the pope and the king, when the news arrived that Elizabeth had caused the imprisoned queen of Scotland to be executed. This is not the place to inquire what legal right she may have had to take such a step: it is prin-

cipally to be regarded as an act of political justice. The first thought of it arose, so far as I can learn, at the time of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. In one of his letters to lord Burleigh, the then bishop of London expresses his anxiety lest so treacherous an act should find its parallel in England, and states his opinion that the main cause of danger was presented by the Scottish queen. "The safety of the realm," he says, "demands that her head should be cut off\*." But how much more powerful was the catholic party now become in Europe; how much more was it in ferment and commotion in England itself! Mary Stuart continually maintained a secret connexion with her cousins the Guises, with the malcontents in the country, with the king of Spain and the pope. She represented the catholic principle, inasfar as it was by nature hostile to the existing government: upon the first success of the catholic party, she would infallibly have been proclaimed queen of England. For this her position, arising out of the circumstances of the times, but from which she certainly did not attempt to withdraw, she paid the forfeit of her life.

Her execution, however, brought the Spanish and papal schemes at last to maturity. It exceeded all measure of catholic endurance. Sixtus filled the consistory with his vociferations against the English Jezebel, who had smote the anointed head of a sovereign, subject to none but to Jesus Christ, and, as she had herself professed, to his vicegerent. To show his cordial approval of the efforts of the catholic opposition in England, he created William Allen, who had been the first founder of the seminaries, a cardinal of the church; a nomination which was at once regarded, at least in Rome, as a declaration of war against England. A formal league was now also concluded between Philip II. and the pope‡. The latter promised the king a subsidy of a million of scudi towards his enterprise: but as he was always on his guard, particularly where money was concerned, he bound himself to payment only so soon as the king should have made himself master of an English port. "Let your majesty delay no longer," he wrote to the latter, "every delay would change a good intention into a bad performance." The king strained all the resources of his kingdom, and fitted out that armada that received the name of the "Invincible."

Thus did the Italic-Spanish powers, from which such mighty influences had gone forth over the whole world, now bend their energies to an attack on England. The king had caused the archives of Simancas to be searched, and a statement to be drawn up of the claims he himself possessed to the throne of that kingdom, after the extinction of the

tatum schismaticorum Angliæ regnante Henrico VIII." [A special description of the cruelties and atrocities of the schismatics of England in the reign of Henry VIII.], and ends with, "Inquisitionis Anglicanæ et facinorum crudelium Machiavelanorum in Anglia et Hibernia a Calvinistis protestantibus sub Elizabetha etiamnum regnante peractorum descriptiones." [Descriptions of the Anglian Inquisition, and of the Machiavelian deeds of cruelty perpetrated by the Calvinistic protestants in England and Ireland during Elizabeth's reign.] Plates are given exhibiting all sorts of unheard-of tortures: a horrible sight.

\* Dispaccio Gritti, 31 Maggio, 1586: "Accresciuto quatro volte tanto. Il papa vorria che si fingesse d'andar contra Draco e si piegasse poi in Inghilterra." [Four times as much. The pope would wish that a feint should be made of proceeding to encounter Drake, and that the expedition should then turn aside towards England.]

† Dispaccio, Gritti, 10 Genn. 1587.

‡ Dolendosi che 'l re si lascia strapazzar da una donna e vuol poi bravar con lei (Sua Santità).

\* Edwin Sandys to Lord Burghley, Fulham, 5th of Sept 1572: "The saffie of our quene and realme yf God wil: furthwith to cutte of the Scottish quene's heade: ipsa est nostri fundi calamitas."—Ellis's Letters, second series, vol. iii. p. 25.

† The pope's original views, Dispaccio Gritti, 27 Giugno, 1587. "Il papa fa gran offerta al re per l'impresa d'Inghilterra, ma vuole la denomination del re, e che 'l regno sia feudo della chiesa." [The pope made large offers to the king in favour of the enterprise against England, but he desires to have the nomination of the king, and that the kingdom should be a fief of the church.]

Stuart line. He founded brilliant anticipations on this expedition, especially that of the universal dominion of the seas.

Every thing seemed to combine to one end—the ascendancy of catholicism in Germany, the renewed attack on the Huguenots in France, the attempt on Geneva, and the enterprise against England. At the same moment occurred an event that we shall hereafter consider more nearly, the elevation of a decidedly catholic sovereign, Sigismund III., to the Polish throne, with the prospect also of one day succeeding to that of Sweden.

But whenever any principle, be it what it may, aspires to absolute dominion in Europe, it invariably encounters a vigorous resistance, arising out of the deepest springs of human nature.

Philip's path was crossed in England by the national energies in the full glow of youth, and fired with the sense of their future destinies. The bold corsairs, who had rendered every sea insecure, gathered around the coasts of their native land. The whole body of the protestants, the very puritans themselves, though they had been forced to endure oppressions as severe as the catholics, rallied round the queen, who now gave admirable proof of her masculine courage, and her princely talent for winning and guiding and steadily controlling the minds of men. The insular position of the country, the very elements leagued with the defenders of England; the invincible armada was annihilated even before it had made its attack; the enterprise entirely failed.

It must, however, be understood, that the plan, the grand purpose itself, was not forthwith abandoned.

The catholics were reminded by the writers of their party, that Julius Caesar, that Henry VII., the grandfather of Elizabeth, had both of them been unlucky in their first attempts on England, though they had afterwards become lords of the country. "God," they said, "often delayed to give the victory to his faithful servants. The children of Israel were twice beaten with great loss in the war they had undertaken by God's express command against the children of Benjamin; it was not till the third attempt they proved successful, then did the devouring flames lay waste the towns and villages of Benjamin, and the edge of the sword smote both men and cattle." "Let the English," they exclaimed, "ponder this, and not be puffed up because their punishment tarries."

Philip II. too was by no means disheartened. It was his intention to equip smaller and more manageable vessels, with which an attempt should at once be made to land on the English coasts,

\* *Andræ Philopatris (Parsoni) ad Elizabethæ reginæ Angliæ edictum responsio*, § 146, 147. "Nulla," he adds, "ipsorum fortitudine repulsa vis est, sed is potius casibus qui sepius in res bellicas solent incidere, aeris nimirum inclementia, maris incogniti inesperienza, nonnullorumque fortassis hominum vel negligentia vel inscitia, Dei denique voluntate, quia forte misericors Dominus arborem infructuosam dimittere adhuc voluit ad tertium annum evangelicum." [The assault was repulsed by no valour of their own, but rather by those casualties so common to warfare, viz. by the inclemency of the weather, want of acquaintance with unfrequented seas, by the negligence and unskillfulness, perhaps, of some individuals, and, finally, by the will of God, because, it may be, the Lord in his mercy was pleased to spare the unfruitful tree to the third gospel year.]

without previously endeavouring to fall in with the fleet of the Netherlands in the channel. The utmost activity prevailed in the arsenal at Lisbon. The king was resolved to stake everything upon the enterprise, though, as he said once at table, he should be driven to sell the silver candlesticks that stood before him\*.

But whilst his mind was still busy with these thoughts, new prospects opened out before him, a new theatre presented itself for the display of the powers of Roman catholicism, as represented by Italy and Spain.

#### *The assassination of HENRY III.*

Shortly after the disaster of the Spanish fleet, a reaction took place in France, unexpected, as so often the case, violent, and bloody.

At the moment when Guise, who swayed the states of Blois as he willed, seemed destined through his office of constable to rule all the affairs of the whole realm, Henry III. had him dispatched. That king, finding himself circumvented by the Spanish or catholic party, and made their tool, tore himself from them at once, and threw himself into the arms of the opposition.

But the death of Guise was not the extinction of his party, or of the Ligue; this now for the first time assumed a position of undisguised hostility, and attached itself more closely than ever to Spain.

Pope Sixtus was wholly on its side.

The murder of the duke whom he loved and admired, and in whom he beheld a pillar of the church, was of itself enough to fill him with grief and resentment†; but it appeared to him beyond all endurance that cardinal Guise had also been assassinated, "a priest-cardinal," he exclaimed in the consistory, "a noble member of the holy see, without process or sentence, by the secular authority, just as though there were no pope in the world, as though there were no longer a God!" He upbraided his legate Morosini for not having instantly excommunicated the king; he should have done it had it cost him a hundred lives‡.

The king made small account of the pope's anger. Nothing could move him to release the cardinal of

\* *Dispacci Gradenigo*, 29 Sett. 1588. Si come il re ha sentito molto questo accidente di mala fortuna, così mostra di esser più che mai risoluto di seguitar la impresa con tutte le sue forze.—11 Ott. 8. Ma sta ardentissima nel pensar e trattar le provisioni per l'anno futuro. 1 Nov. "Si veideranno," the king had exclaimed, "esti candellieri, quando non vi sia altro modo di far danari." [However much his majesty has felt this painful mischance, still he gives proof that he is more than ever resolved on pursuing the enterprise with all his might. 11 Oct. His majesty is most ardent in devising and directing arrangements for next year. 1 Nov. "These candlesticks shall be sold," exclaimed the king, "if no other means remain of raising money."]

† The pope further complained, especially, that the king had extracted a brief from him: "che li concessa poter esser assolto da qualsivoglia peccato anco riservato alla sede apostolica, col quale si voglia hora coprire il grave peccato che ha fatto" [which conceded to him the possibility of being absolved from any sin yet reserved to the apostolic see, and wherewith he now seeks to cover the grievous sin he has committed.]

‡ *Tempesti*, li. 137, gives both the pope's speech at full length, and the letter to Morosini "Essendo ammazzato il cardinale," it says, "in faccia di V. S.<sup>ma</sup> Ill<sup>ma</sup>, legato a latere, come non ha pubblicato l'interdetto, ancorchè gliene fossero andate cento vite?"

Bourbon or the archbishop of Lyons, whom he kept imprisoned. He was incessantly plied with demands from Rome that he should declare Henry of Navarre incapacitated from succeeding to the throne; but instead of doing so he made him his ally.

Upon this the pope on his part resolved on the uttermost measures. He cited the king personally to Rome to answer for the cardinal's assassination, and he menaced him with excommunication if he did not release his prisoners within a stated time.

He was bound to act thus, he declared; did he not do so, God would call him to account as the most unprofitable of all popes: now that he discharged his duty he needed not to fear the whole world; he doubted not that Henry III. would perish like king Saul\*.

As it was, the king was abhorred by the zealously catholic and the adherents of the Ligue as accursed and reprobate, but the pope's proceedings strengthened them in their furious opposition. The pope's foreboding was fulfilled sooner than could have been expected. The *monitorium* was published in France on the 23rd of June: on the 1st of August the king was murdered by Clement.

The pope himself was amazed. "In the midst of his army," he exclaimed, "on the very point of conquering Paris, in his own closet he has been dispatched at one blow by a poor monk." He ascribed this to the immediate interposition of God, who thereby showed that he would not abandon France†.

How is it that the empire of an illusion can become so universal! This was a conviction prevailing over the minds of innumerable catholics. "To nothing but the hand of the Almighty himself," says Mendoza in his dispatch to Philip, "that we are to ascribe this happy event‡." Young Maximilian of Bavaria was then pursuing his studies in the distant city of Ingolstadt: in one of the earliest of his letters extant, he expresses to his mother the joy with which the intelligence had filled him, "that the king of France had been dispatched §."

Nevertheless, the event had another aspect. Henry of Navarre, whom the pope had excommunicated, and the Guises had pursued with such rancorous animosity, now succeeded to his legitimate rights. A protestant assumed the title of king of France.

The Ligue, Philip II., and the pope, were resolved on no condition to suffer him to attain the enjoy-

ment of his rights. In place of Morosini, who appeared far too lukewarm, the pope sent another legate to France, Gaetano, who was considered to be inclined to Spain, and gave him, contrary to what he had ever done before, a sum of money to be applied to the purposes of the Ligue. The grand object of his care was to be, that none but a catholic should be king of France. The crown was by all means to belong to a prince of the blood; but that was not the sole condition to be insisted on: there had been occasions on which the strict order of inheritance had been disregarded, but never had an instance occurred of the acceptance of a heretic. The main thing, in short, was, that the king should be a good catholic\*.

In this state of feeling the pope even thought it laudable in the duke of Savoy, that he had taken advantage of the disorders of France to possess himself of Saluzzo, which then belonged to the French. It was better, Sixtus said, that the duke should take it, than that it should fall into the hands of the Huguenots†.

And now everything depended on enabling the Ligue to be victorious in its contest with Henry IV.

For this end a new treaty was planned between Spain and the pope. Cardinal Sanseverina, the most zealous of the inquisitors, was commissioned under the seal of confession to arrange the project. The pope promised actually to send an army of fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse into France, and he furthermore declared himself ready to come forward with subsidies so soon as the king should have entered France with a powerful army. The papal forces were to be commanded by the duke of Urbino, a subject of the pope, and an adherent to his majesty‡.

In this manner did the united powers of Italy and Spain prepare in combination with their adherents in France, to secure for ever the throne of that kingdom to their own party.

No greater prospect could present itself either to Spain or to the pope. The former would be for ever freed from that ancient rivalry that had so long crippled her. The sequel showed how much Philip II. had this at heart. It would have been an immense stride for the papal power to have exercised an active influence in placing a king upon the throne of France. Gaetano was instructed to demand the introduction of the inquisition and the repeal of the Gallican liberties. But it would have been of still greater significance, that a legitimate prince should have been excluded from the throne upon religious considerations. The ecclesiastical impulses, already pervading the world in every direction, would thereby have achieved complete supremacy.

\* Dispaccio Veneto, 30 Sett. The pope declares, "che non importava che'l fosse eletto piu del sangue che di altro famiglia, essendo cio altre volte occorso, ma mai eretico dopo la nostra religione: che Savoia, Lorena e forse anche Umena pretendeva la corona: che S. Sm. non vuol favorir l'uno piu che'l altro."

† Reproaches were cast out against him on that account: il papa si giustifica con molte ragioni della impresa che'l sopradetto duca ha fatto del marchesato di Saluzzo con sua participatione. (Dispaccio Veneto.)

‡ Authentic account in the autobiography of the cardinal adopted by Tempesti, li. 236.

\* Dispaccio Veneto, 20 Maggio, 1589. "Il papa accusa la sua negligenza di non haver fatto, dipoi mesi 5 che gli è stato ammazzato un cardinale e tenuto ne un'altro prigionero con un arcivescovo, alcune rimostrazione o provisione. Dubita del ira di Dio, etc." [The pope blames his negligence in not having made any remonstrance, or taken any suitable step, during all the five months elapsed, since one cardinal had been put to death, and another with an archbishop had been kept a prisoner. He apprehends the wrath of God, &c.]

† Dispaccio Veneto, 1 Sett. Il papa nel consistorio discorre, che'l successo della morte del re di Francia si ha da conoscer dal voler espresso del signor Dio, e che perciò si doveva confidar che continuerebbe al haver quel regno nella sua protezione.

‡ Capefigue, v. 290.

§ Wolf: Maximilian I. Th. I. S. 107.





**THE POPES OF ROME,**  
**THEIR CHURCH AND STATE**  
**IN THE**  
**SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.**

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**PART THE SECOND.**  
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**BOOK THE SIXTH.**  
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**RADICAL DISCREPANCIES, DOCTRINAL AND POLITICAL.**

1589—1607.

*Introduction.*

THE moral and intellectual growth of the century had now assumed a totally different bent from that which might justly have been anticipated at its commencement.

In the beginning of the century the bonds of ecclesiastical authority gave way; the nations sought to cast off their connexion with their common spiritual head; the principles on which the hierarchy was based were treated with mockery in the very court of Rome; a profane spirit predominated in literature and art; and the maxims of a pagan morality were professed without disguise.

How wholly otherwise was it now! Wars were entered upon, conquests achieved, and states revolutionized in the name of religion! Never has there been a period when theologians were more powerful than in the latter part of the sixteenth century. They sat in the councils of sovereigns, and discussed political matters in presence of the whole people from the pulpit; they controlled the establishments for education, the labours of the learned, and the general range of literature; the confessional yielded them opportunity to spy out the self contradictions of the soul, and to give the decisive bias in all the doubtful contingencies of private life. We may perhaps assert, that the very vehemence of their mutual opposition, the fact that within their own body each of its two great sections found its direct antagonist, was precisely the cause that made their influence so comprehensive and pervading.

If this was true of both parties, it was more particularly manifest with regard to the catholics. Among them the ideas and institutions that exert

the most immediate discipline and guidance over the minds of men had been wrought up to the highest degree of practical efficiency; there was absolutely no living without father confessors. Among them the clergy, whether as brethren of some order, or as members of the hierarchy in general, constituted a corporation held together in strict subordination, and acting in entire unison. The head of this hierarchical body, the pope of Rome, again acquired an influence not much less than that he had possessed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; he kept the world perpetually astir by the enterprises to which he was prompted by his religious interests.

Under these circumstances were revived the boldest pretensions of the days of Hildebrand; principles that had hitherto lain by rather as relics of antiquity in the lumber-rooms of the canon law, once more came forth in full force and efficacy.

The European commonwealth has never been subjected to the despotism of mere force; thoughts and opinions have been ripe within it in every stage of its history; no enterprize of moment can succeed, no power can rise to general importance, without immediately suggesting the conception of a forthcoming new order of society. Hence the origin of theories. They express the moral import and significance of a fact, and present it in the light of a general truth, as a deduction from reason or from religion, as a result arrived at by reflection. Thus they anticipate, as it were, the fulfilment of the event, which at the same time they mightily promote.

Let us observe how this is exemplified in the case before us.

*Ecclesiastico-political theory.*

The catholic principle has not unfrequently been regarded as characterised by a special importance with regard to monarchy or aristocracy, an intrinsic sympathy for those forms of government. A century like the sixteenth, in which that principle stood forth in the plenitude of its vigour and self control, affords the amplest data for investigating the truth of this opinion.

Now we find that in those times it adhered in Italy and Spain to the existing order of things; in Germany it was subservient towards conferring on the sovereign authority a new preponderance over the estates; in the Netherlands it helped forward the subjugation of the country; and in Upper Germany and in the Walloon provinces it was maintained with peculiar preference and attachment by the nobility.

But if we carry our enquiries further, we find that these were not the only sympathies it awakened. If in Cologne it was adhered to by the patricians, in the neighbouring city of Trier it commanded no less the affections of the common people. In France it was every where associated with the claims and struggles of the populace. The only consideration it looked to was this, where might it find its surest and strongest support? If the existing authorities were inimical to it, far was it, indeed, from sparing them,—nay, even from acknowledging them. It corroborated the Irish nation in its spontaneous refractoriness against the English government; in England itself it undermined to the utmost of its power the allegiance demanded by the queen, and frequently broke out into active rebellion; finally, in France it confirmed its adherents in their insurrection against their legitimate sovereigns. Intrinsically, the religious principle in general has no special partiality for any one form of government. During the short period of its renovation, catholicism displayed the most diversified inclinations: first, to the monarchical authority in Italy and Spain, and to the strengthening of feudalism in Germany; next, in the Netherlands to the conservation of the rights of aristocratic bodies; lastly, at the close of the century it allied itself decidedly with the spirit of democracy. This was the more important, since catholicism was now in the acme of its vigour, and the movements in which it took part were the most serious events of the political world in their day. Had the popes been successful then, they would have secured for ever a paramount influence over the state. They advanced claims, their adherents and champions put forth opinions and principles, that threatened kingdoms and states both with internal revolutions and with loss of independence.

It was the Jesuits principally who appeared on the arena as propounders and champions of doctrines of this sort.

First of all they claimed for the church an unlimited supremacy over the state.

To this a certain necessity impelled them in England, where the queen had by the laws of the land been declared head of the church. The leaders of the catholic opposition met this principle with contrary pretensions of the most violent kind. William Allen pronounced not only the right, but the duty, of a nation, especially when further sanc-

tioned by the pope's command, to refuse allegiance to a sovereign who had fallen off from the catholic church\*. Parsons stated it as the fundamental condition of a sovereign's whole authority, that he should cherish and protect the Roman catholic faith; such was the tenour of his baptismal vows, and of his coronation oath; it would be blindness to regard him as capable of reigning should he fail to fulfil that condition: much rather would his subjects be bound in such a case to expel him from the throne†. All this was perfectly natural in these authors: they beheld in the exercise of religion the grand aim and duty of life; they regarded the Roman catholic church as the only true one; that authority they concluded, therefore, could never be legitimate which resisted this religion: they made the existence of a government and the allegiance paid to it, to depend on the application of its power to the interests of the catholic church.

This was indeed the general tenour of the doctrines now gaining ground. What in England was thrown out in the heat of controversy, Bellarmine repeated from the solitude of his study in circumstantial works, in a consistent and well-weighed system. He laid down the proposition, that the pope is set over the whole church as its guardian and head immediately by God himself‡. For this reason the fulness of the spiritual authority is his; it is granted to him that he cannot err; he judges all, and may not be judged of any: whence there accrues to him a great share in the secular authority. Bellarmine does not go the length of ascribing a secular power to the pope directly of divine

\* In the letter: *Ad persecutores Anglos pro Christianis responsio* (1582). I remark the following passage: "*Si reges Deo et Dei populo fidem datam fringerint, vicissim populo non solum permittitur, sed etiam ab eo requiritur ut jubente Christi vicario, supremo nimirum populorum omnium pastore, ipse quoque fidem datam tali principi non servet.*" [If kings violate the faith pledged to God and to God's people, it is in turn not only allowed the people, but it is even demanded of them, that at the behest of Christ's vicar, the supreme pastor assuredly of all peoples, that they too should cease to observe the faith pledged to such a sovereign.]

† Andrew Philopatri (Parsons) *ad Elizabethæ reginæ edictum responsio*. No. 162: "*Non tantum licet, sed summa etiam juris divini necessitate ac precepto, imo conscientiæ vinculo arctissimo et extremo animarum suarum periculo ac discrimine christianis omnibus hoc ipsum incumbit, si præstare rem possunt.*" No. 163: "*Incumbit vero tum maxime . . . cum res jam ab ecclesiâ ac supremo ejus moderatore, pontifice nimirum Romano, judicata est: ad illum enim ex officio pertinet religionis ac divini cultus incoluntati prospicere et leprosos a mundi, no inflicta, secerenere.*" [This is not only lawful, but it is even incumbent on all Christians, with the utmost force, and by the precepts of the divine law,—nay, by the strictest bonds of conscience, and at the utmost hazard of their souls, if they can accomplish it. But it is especially incumbent . . . when the matter has already been judged and decided by the church and its supreme director, the pope of Rome: for to him, by virtue of his office, it belongs to provide for the safety of religion and of divine worship, and to separate the leprous from the clean, that the latter be not infected.]

‡ Bellarmine *de conciliorum autoritate*, c. 17: "*Summus pontifex simpliciter et absolute est supra ecclesiam universam et supra concilium generale, ita ut nullum in terris supra se judicium agnoscat.*" [The supreme pontiff is simply and absolutely above the universal church and above the general council, so that he owns no judgment on earth over him.]

right \* ; though Sextus V. cherished this opinion, and was even displeased when any abandoned it ; but he nevertheless distinctly attributes to him an indirect power of the kind. He compares the secular authority to the body, the spiritual to the soul of man, and ascribes to the church the same sway over the state which the soul exercises over the body. It is the right and the duty of the spiritual authority to curb the secular whenever the latter becomes prejudicial to the purposes of religion. It cannot be said that the pope belongs a regular influence over the legislation of the state † ; but should a law be necessary to the welfare of souls, and the sovereign refuse to pass it, or should a law be noxious to the welfare of souls, and the sovereign obstinately persist in maintaining it, then is the pope by all means justified in enjoining the one and abrogating the other. This same principle carries him very far indeed. Does not the soul command even the death of the body if it be necessary ? In the common routine the pope can certainly not depose a prince ; but should it be necessary to the welfare of souls, in that case he possesses the right of changing the government, and transferring it from one occupant to another ‡.

But these assertions were exposed to the objection, that the royal authority was likewise based on divine right.

If not, what was its origin ?—what its inherent force and import ?

The Jesuits did not hesitate to deduce the princely power from the people. They blended together into one system the theory of the sovereignty of the people, with their doctrine of the pope's omnipotence. That theory had already been virtually put forth with more or less explicitness by Allen and Parsons ; Bellarmine sought to establish it in detail. He finds that God has not bestowed the temporal authority on any one in particular ; whence it follows that he has bestowed

\* Bellarmine de Romano pontifice V. VI. : " Asserimus pontificem ut pontificem etiam non habere ullam meram temporalem potestatem, tamen habere in ordine ad bonum spirituale summam potestatem disponendi de temporalibus rebus omnium christianorum." [We assert that the pope, as pope, though he has no mere temporal authority, yet has, in order to spiritual good, supreme power of disposing of the temporal things of all Christians.]

† Bellarmine de Romano pontifice V. VI. : " Quantum ad personas, non potest papa ut papa ordinarie temporales principes deponere, etiam iusta de causa, eo modo quo deponet episcopos, id est tanquam ordinarius iudex : tamen potest mutare regna et uni auferre atque alteri conferre tanquam summus princeps spiritualis, si id necessarium sit ad animarum salutem," etc. etc. [As regards persons, the pope cannot, as pope, ordinarily depose temporal princes, even for just causes, in the same way as he deposes bishops,—that is, as ordinary judge ; nevertheless, as supreme spiritual prince, he can change kingdoms, and take them from one sovereign and bestow them on another, if that be necessary to the weal of souls, &c. &c.]

‡ These doctrines are, in fact, but a recapitulation of the maxims put forward in the thirteenth century. Thomas Aquinas had already employed the comparison that here plays so important a part : " Potestas secularis subditur spirituali sicut corpus animæ." [The secular power is subordinate to the spiritual, as the body is to the soul.] Bellarmine, in his Tractatus de potestate summi pontificis in rebus temporalibus adversus G. Barclaium, cites upwards of seventy authors of different countries, by whom the power of the pope was regarded nearly in the same light as by himself.

it on the masses. The authority of the state therefore is lodged in the people, and the people consign it sometimes to a single individual, sometimes to several : it perpetually retains the right of changing the forms of the government, of retracting its grant of authority and disposing of it anew. Let it not be supposed that these are only the author's individual views ; they are, in fact, identical with the prevailing doctrine of the Jesuit schools of those times. In a manual for confessors, which obtained currency throughout the whole catholic world, and which had been revised by the Magister Sacri Palatii, the monarchical authority is not merely considered as subject to the pope in as far as weal of the souls demands \* ; it is roundly asserted, that a king may be deposed by the people for tyranny, or for neglect of his duties, and another be elected in his stead by the majority of the nation †. Francis Suarez, professor primarius of theology in Coimbra, makes it his especial business, in his defence of the catholic church against the Anglican, to expound and confirm Bellarmine's doctrine ‡. But it is above all Mariana who elaborates with peculiar zest the idea of the sovereignty of the people. He suggests all the questions that could be raised on the subject, and uncompromisingly decides them in favour of the people, and to the prejudice of the royal authority. He doubts not that a prince may be deposed, nay, put to death, if his conduct be hurtful to religion. He pronounces an eulogium full of pathetic declamation on Jacques Clement, who, after taking counsel with theologians, went and slew his king §. He is at least perfectly logical and consistent in this ; these very doctrines had unquestionably kindled the fanaticism of the assassin.

For nowhere were they promulgated with such furious violence as in France. It is impossible to meet with any thing more anti-royal than the diatribes thundered out from the pulpit by Jean Boucher. That preacher finds centred in the estates of the nation the public might and majesty, the power to bind and to loose, the indefeasible sovereignty, and the judicial sway over sceptre and realm : for in them subsists the very fountain

\* Aphorismi confessoriorum ex doctorum sententiis collecti, auctore Emanuele Sa. nuper accurate expurgati a revmo. P. M. sacri palatii ed. Antv. p. 480. The author adds, however, as though he had not said enough : " Quidam tamen juris periti putarunt summum pontificem supra civili potestate pollere." [Some jurists, however, have been of opinion, that the pope is endowed with supreme civil authority.]

† Ibid. p. 508 (ed. Colon. p. 313). " Rex potest per rempublicam privari ob tyrannidem et si non faciat officium suum et cum est aliqua causa iusta, et eligi potest alius a maiore parte populi : quidem tamen solum tyrannidem causam putant."

‡ R. P. Franc. Suarez Granatensis, etc. defensio fidei catholicæ et apostolicæ adversus Anglicanæ sectæ errores lib. III. : de summi pontificis supra temporales reges excellentia et potestate. It is evident that Bellarmine's doctrine of the right of the people to revoke its delegated authority, had excited special opposition.

§ Mariana de rege et regis institutione. The following among other expressions : " Jac. Clemens . . . cognito a theologis, quos erat sciscitatus, tyrannum jure interficim posse . . . cæso rege ingens sibi nomen fecit." [Jacques Clement . . . having learned from the divines he had consulted, that a tyrant might justly be put to death achieved a great name by killing the king.]

of all these ; from the people comes the prince, not by necessity and compulsion, but by free choice. He takes the same view as Bellarmine of the relation between church and state, and repeats the comparison of body and soul. One condition alone, he says, limits the freedom of the popular choice : one thing alone is forbidden the people, namely, to accept a heretic king ; it would thereby draw down upon it the curse of God \*.

Strange combination of ecclesiastical pretensions and democratic notions, of absolute freedom and complete subjection,—self-contradictory and anti-national,—but which yet cast an inexplicable spell over the minds of men.

The Sorbonne had hitherto constantly defended the royal and national privileges against these ultramontane sacerdotal pretensions. When now, after the murder of the Guises, these doctrines were preached from all the pulpits,—when it was proclaimed aloud in the streets, and typified by symbols on the altars and in processions, that king Henry III. had forfeited his crown, “the good citizens and inhabitants of the city,” as they called themselves, turned, “in their scruples of conscience,” to the theological faculty of the university of Paris, to obtain from it a valid decision respecting the legitimacy of their withstanding their sovereign. Thereupon the Sorbonne assembled on the 7th of January, 1589†. “After,” says their decision, “having heard the mature and free counsels of all the *maïstri*,—after many and divers arguments heard, drawn for the most part verbatim from holy writ, the canon law, and the papal ordinances,—it has been concluded by the dean of the faculty, without any dissenting voice : first, that the people of this realm are absolved from the oath of fidelity and obedience sworn by them to king Henry. Furthermore, that the said people may, without scruple of conscience, combine together, arm themselves, and collect money for the maintenance of the Roman catholic apostolic religion against the abominable proceedings of the aforesaid king‡.” Seventy members

of the faculty were present, the younger of them in particular voted for the resolution with fierce enthusiasm \*.

The general acquiescence which these theories obtained, was doubtless owing chiefly to their being at this moment the real expression of the phenomena, of the occurrences. In the French troubles, popular and ecclesiastical opposition had actually come forward from their respective sides and met in alliance ; the citizens of Paris had been countenanced and confirmed in their insurrection against their lawful sovereign by the pope’s legate. Bellarmine himself had long been in the suite of the latter : the doctrines he had wrought out in his learned solitude, and put forward with such logical consistency and with such great success, announced themselves in the event which he witnessed and in part elicited.

It accords too with this view of the case, that the Spaniards approved of these doctrines, and that they were tolerated by a sovereign so jealous as Philip II. The Spanish monarchy was a power essentially supported by ecclesiastical attributes. Numerous passages from Lope de Vega manifest that it was so understood by the nation, and that it was the religious majesty they loved, and liked to see represented, in their sovereigns. But besides this, the king was linked in the efforts for the renovation of catholicism, not with the priests alone, but also with the revolted people. The people of Paris reposed greater confidence in him than in the French princes at the head of the Ligue. A new ally, as it were, now presented itself to the king in the doctrine of the Jesuits. There seemed no reason to foresee that he should have any thing to fear from them ; they rather afforded his policy a justification both legal and religious, highly advantageous to his dignity and consideration even in Spain, and immediately conducive to the success of his foreign enterprises. The king dwelt more on this momentary utility of the Jesuit doctrines, than on their general purport and tendency†.

Now is not this commonly the case with regard to political notions ? Whether do they rather arise out of the events, or originate them ? For which of the two are they more cherished, for their own sake, or for the use to which it is thought they can be turned ?

However this may be, their force remains the same. Whilst the Jesuit doctrines express the efforts of the papacy in its crisis of restoration, or rather those of the world at large in the midst of

\* Jean Boucher : Sermons, Paris, 1594. In several passages. He says, p. 194, “L’Eglise seigneurie les royaumes et estats de la chretienté, non pour y usurper puissance directe comme sur son propre temporel, mais bien indirectement pour empêcher que rien ne se passe au temporel qui soit au prejudice du royaume de Jesus Christ, comme par cydevant il a esté déclaré par la similitude de la puissance de l’esprit sur le corps.” Further on, p. 162 : “La difference du prestre et du roi nous eclaireit cette matiere, le prestre estant de Dieu seul, ce qui ne se peut dire du roi. Car si tous les rois estoient morts, les peuples s’en pourroient bien faire d’autres : mais s’il n’y avoit plus aucun prestre, il faudroit que Jesus Christ vint en personne pour en faire de nouveaux.” [The church has dominion over the kingdoms and states of Christendom, not to usurp direct power over them as in its own temporalities, but indirectly to prevent any thing occurring in the temporal government prejudicial to the kingdom of Jesus Christ, as heretofore it has been set forth by the similitude of the power of the mind over the body. . . . The difference between the priest and the king elucidates this matter to us ; the priest being of God alone, which cannot be said of the king. For if all kings were dead, the people might readily make them others in their places ; but if there was no longer a priest in existence, it would be necessary that Jesus Christ should come in person to make new ones.]

† Responsum facultatis theologicæ Parisiensis : printed in the Additions au Journal de Henry III. p. 317.

\* Thuanus, lib. 94, p. 258, states the members present at but sixty, and will not allow of their unanimity, although the document cited says verbatim : “audita omnium et singulorum magistrorum, qui ad septuaginta convenerant, deliberatione . . . conclusum est nemine refragante.”

† Pedro Ribadeneira, in his book against Machiavelli, which was produced as early as the year 1595, and dedicated to the prince of Spain, repeated them, in a moderated form it is true, but he did repeat them. Tratado de la religion y virtudes que deve tener el principe Christiano para govarnar y conservar sus estados, contro lo que Nicolo Machiavello y los politicos d’esto tiempo enseñan. Anvers, 1597. Princes, according to him, are the servants of the church, but not its judges, armed to chastise heretics, the enemies of the church, and rebels against it : but not to give laws to it, nor to be expositors of God’s will. He abides by the illustration of body and soul. The earthly kingdom, as St. Gregory says, must obey the kingdom of heaven.

which the papacy was placed, they gave it new strength by furnishing it with a systematic foundation in accordance with the predominant convictions in theology, and they promoted a spirit in the minds of men, on the prevalence of which the victory was dependent.

*Conflict of doctrines.*

Never, however, in Europe has either a power or a doctrine, least of all a political doctrine, attained to complete and sole dominion.

Nor can any be conceived which shall not appear partial and narrow when compared with the highest abstract standard.

At every period the notions that strove for exclusive dominion have been met by a resistance which, springing from the inexhaustible soil of common daily life, has called new and vigorous powers into action.

Whilst we perceive that no power can rise to eminence unless it rests upon a basis of opinion, we may add to this, that, in opinion too it finds its limits; the conflicts of ideas that engender great social results always find their accomplishment too in the regions of conviction and thought.

Thus in the present case the idea of a sacerdotal religion ruling supreme over all the temporalities of the world, encountered a mighty resistance in that national independence, which is the proper expression of the temporal element of society.

The Germanic institution of monarchy diffused through the nations of Roman origin, and deeply rooted amongst them, has invariably triumphed over every attempt to overthrow it, whether by the pretensions of the priesthood, or by the fiction of the sovereignty of the people, which has always finally proved untenable.

The extravagant connexion into which these two principles had entered in the times under consideration, was met by the doctrine of the divine right of monarchy.

It was next attacked by the protestants, though at first they may possibly have wavered, with all the ardour of an enemy who sees his opponent venturing on a desperate game, and entering upon a path that must lead him to destruction.

God alone, the protestants maintained, sets princes and sovereigns over the human race: He has reserved to Himself to lift up and bring low, to apportion and moderate authority. True, He no longer descends from heaven to point out with his finger those to whom dominion is due, but through his eternal providence there have been introduced into every kingdom laws and an established order of things, according to which the ruler is chosen. If by virtue of this appointed order a prince accedes to command, his title is to the full the same as though God's voice declared, This shall be your king. Time was when God did point out Moses, the judges, and the first kings personally to his people, but after a fixed order had been established, those who subsequently ascended the throne were equally God's anointed as the former\*.

Arguing from these principles, the protestants now insisted on the necessity of submitting even to

unjust and censurable sovereigns. No man is perfect. Now, if it were once deemed allowable to deviate from the order appointed by God, even trifling defects would be seized on to justify the deposition of a sovereign. Not even heresy on the monarch's part could, they said, on the whole, absolve subjects from their allegiance. The son must not indeed obey the impious father in what is contrary to God's commands, in other respects, however, he continues to owe him reverence and subjection.

The matter would not have been insignificant had the protestants even been alone in devising and adhering to these principles; but what was of still more moment, these also found acceptance among a part of the French catholics, or rather the latter arrived spontaneously at analogous conclusions.

In spite of the papal excommunication, no considerable body of good catholics maintained unswerving fidelity to Henry III., and transferred their allegiance to his successor, Henry IV. The Jesuit doctrines did not take with this party, who were not wanting in arguments to defend their position, without yet apostatising from catholicism.

This party next endeavoured to define the authority of the clergy, and its relation to the temporal power, upon opposite views to those of the Jesuits. They held that the spiritual kingdom is not of this world; that the power of the clergy relates only to spiritual things; that excommunication can, by its very nature, only affect communion with the church, but can detract nothing from temporal rights. Now a king of France can never, on any account, be excluded from the communion of the church; for this is one of the privileges belonging to the lilies; how much less allowable is it to attempt to strip him of his inheritance. And where is it to be found distinctly written that the subject may rebel against his king, and adopt measures of force against him? God has appointed him; he calls himself king by the grace of God; in one solitary case may the subject refuse him allegiance, namely, when he exacts any thing contrary to God's commands\*.

From these principles of divine right they drew the conclusion, that not only was it lawful for them, but that it was their duty to obey even a protestant king. The subject must accept the king such as God imposes him; obedience to him is God's command; there can exist absolutely nothing to justify depriving a prince of his rights†. They even maintained that their proceedings were the most advantageous for the catholic interests. Henry IV. was intelligent, gracious, and upright; nothing but good was to be expected of him; but if France should reject him, petty potentates would spring up in every direction, till the general discord would enable the protestant party to acquire complete ascendancy‡.

Thus within the limits of catholicism itself arose an opposition against the endeavours of the papacy which had grown out of the revival; and it was dubious from the very first whether Rome would be able to put down these antagonists. It might be, the doctrine of the opposition was not fully wrought

\* I follow in this place the extract from an anonymous writing which appeared in Paris in 1588, in Cayet, Collection Universelle de Mémoires, tome 56, p. 44.

† Etienne Pasquier, Recherches de France, 341. 344.

‡ Explanation in Thuannus, lib. 97, p. 316. Sectarios dissolutio imperio et singulis regni partibus a reliquo corpore divisio potentiores fore.

\* Explicatio controversiarum quæ a nonnullis moventur ex Henrici Borbonii regis in regnum Franciæ constitutione, . . . opus . . . a Toesano Bercheto Lingonensi e Gallico in Latinum sermonem conversum. Sedan, 1590. Cap. ii.

out ; it might be it possessed less practised champions, but it was more firmly rooted in the convictions of the European community ; its whole position was in itself just and blameless ; and what above all gave it accessory strength was, that the papal doctrines were in alliance with the Spanish power.

The monarchy of Philip II. seemed day by day to become more menacing to the general freedom, and it awoke throughout all Europe that jealous dislike, which arises less from actual aggressions than from apprehension of them, and from that sense of endangered liberty which seizes on men's minds, though they cannot fully account to themselves for their motives.

So close an union now subsisted between Rome and Spain, that those who gainsayed the pretensions of the Church, thereby at the same time resisted the progress of the Spanish power. They thereby fulfilled a course become necessary in Europe, and were in consequence secure of approbation and support. A secret sympathy links nations together. Resolute allies arose unsolicited and from unexpected quarters in aid of the national party of French catholics, and this, too, in Italy itself, before the pope's eyes.

The Venetians were the first.

In Venice some few years previously—in the year 1582—there had taken place a noiseless change, almost wholly overlooked in the history of the republic, but not the less highly influential. Hitherto important matters had been confined to the hands of a few old patricians chosen out of a small circle of families. But at this period a discontented majority in the senate, consisting chiefly of the younger members, were successful in their struggles to obtain a share in the administration, such as they were by all means entitled to according to the letter of the constitution.

Now the former government had never, indeed, been backward in carefully upholding its own independence, but still it had always, as far as practicable, coalesced in the measures of the Spaniards and of the Church. The new government no longer observed this policy, but rather, for mere opposition's sake, were disposed to cross the designs of those powers.

The Venetians had naturally a strong interest in so doing.

On the one hand they remarked with displeasure that the doctrine of the pope's omnipotence, and of the blind obedience due to him, was preached even in their own dominions ; on the other they dreaded the complete destruction of the European balance of power if the Spaniards succeeded in acquiring a predominant influence in France. Hitherto the liberties of Europe had seemed to depend on the mutual hostility of those two countries.

The course of events in France was, therefore, watched with redoubled interest. Those writings which defended the royal prerogative were fastened on with avidity. Especial influence was exercised by a society consisting of statesmen and men of letters, which assembled at the house of Andrea Morosini, and which numbered among its members Leonardo Donato and Niccolo Contarini, both of them afterwards doges, Domenico Molini, subsequently a leading chief of the republic, fra Paolo Sarpi, and other distinguished men, all of them at an age when men are disposed not only to adopt

new opinions, but also to adhere to them and carry them out ; and all of them declared adversaries of the assumptions of the Church, and of the ascendancy of the Spaniards\*. It is always highly important towards working out a political system, and giving it efficacy, even when it is founded on fact, that there should exist men of talent who may represent it in their own persons, and who are agreed among themselves to propagate it each in his own circle : but this is doubly important in a republic.

Under these circumstances, matters were not left at the point of mere thought and inclination. From the very first the Venetians had conceived a confidence in Henry IV. that he would prove capable of raising up France again, and restoring the lost balance of power. Though themselves under manifold obligations to the pope who had excommunicated him, though encompassed both by land and sea by the Spaniards, who wished for his downfall, and though possessed of no vast and commanding power, they were yet of all catholics the first who had the spirit to recognize that king. On the notification of their ambassador, Mocenigo, they empowered him to congratulate Henry IV. on his accession†. This example was not lost on others. Though the archduke Ferdinand of Tuscany had not the courage to commit himself to an open recognition, he yet engaged in a friendly personal correspondence with the new king‡. The protestant monarch suddenly saw himself surrounded by catholic allies, nay, protected by them against the head of their own Church.

In every crisis of great moment the public opinion of Europe invariably declares its bias in a manner that admits of no ambiguity. Fortunate is he on whose side it ranges itself ; all his enterprises proceed thenceforth with so much the more facility. Henry IV. was now the favourite. The ideas coupled with his name had hardly found utterance, yet were they already so mighty, they could even venture to attempt winning over the papacy to own their validity.

#### *Latter times of Sixtus V.*

We return once more to Sixtus V. Having already spoken of his internal administration, and of his share in the ecclesiastical revival, we must now say a word or two about his policy in general.

It is exceedingly remarkable how the inexorable justice he practised, the severe financial system he introduced, and his rigid economy, were yet associated with an extraordinary propensity to fantastical plans of policy.

What a medley of strange projects entered his head !

\* In the anonymous *Vita di Fra Paolo Sarpi* (by Fra Fulgentio) p. 104, in Griselini's *Memorabilia of Fra Paolo*, p. p. 40. 78, and in some passages in Foscarini, we find accounts of this "ridotto Mauroceno." Besides the above-named members of the society, there belonged to it likewise Pietro and Giacopo Contarini, Giacopo Morosini, Leonardo Mocenigo, who, however, did not attend as regularly as the others, Antonio Quirini, Giacopo Marcello, Marino Zane, and Alessandro Malpiero, who, old as he was, always accompanied Fra Paolo home.

† *Andreae Mauroceni Historiarum Venetarum*, lib. xiii. p. 548.

‡ Galluzzi. *Istoria del Granducato di Toscana*, lib. v. (tom. v. p. 78).



For a long while he flattered himself with the hope of being able to annihilate the Turkish empire. He entered into correspondences in the East, with the Persians, some Arab chiefs, and the Druses; he fitted out galleys, and others were to be furnished him by Spain and Tuscany. Thus he thought he should be able to second by sea the efforts of Stephen Bathory, king of Poland, who was to make the main attack by land. The pope hoped to combine all the powers of the north-east and south-west in this undertaking, and persuaded himself that Russia would not only coalesce with the king of Poland, but even become subject to his authority.

Another time he indulged the thought of conquering Egypt, either alone, or with no other alliance than that of Tuscany. On this project he founded the most extensive views and schemes—the connection of the Red Sea with the Mediterranean\*, the revival of the old commercial system between the east and the west, and the conquest of the holy sepulchre. Supposing, however, that this should not appear immediately practicable, what was to hinder at least an expedition to Syria, in order to have the tomb of the Saviour cut out from the rock by skilful artists, and conveyed, carefully wrapt up, to Italy? He already indulged the hope of yet setting up in Montalto that most holy of all shrines; then would his native land, the March, where already stood the sacred house of Loretto, comprise within its boundaries the birth-place and the grave of the Saviour.

One other idea I find attributed to him, which surpasses all the others in extravagance. It is said that after the murder of the Guises, the proposal was made to Henry III. that he should nominate a nephew of the pope's as heir to the throne. The legate, it is said, made this proposal with the pope's knowledge. If the nomination was made with all due formality, his holiness was convinced that the king of Spain would give the infant in marriage to the declared heir: such a successor would be recognized by every one, and an end would be put to all troubles. It is asserted that Henry III. was really for a moment caught by these representations, until it was set before him what a reputation, if he yielded to them, he would leave behind for cowardice and pusillanimity†.

\* Dispaccio Gritti, 23 Agosto, 1587. "(Il papa) entrò a parla della fossa che li re dell' Egitto havevano fatta per passar del mare rosso nel mare mediterraneo." [The pope began to talk of the canal the kings of Egypt had made in order to pass from the Red Sea into the Mediterranean.] Sometimes he contemplated attacking Egypt single handed. "Scopri la causa del desiderar danari per impiegare in una armata che vorria far solo per l' impresa dell' Egitto e pagar quelle galee che ajutassero a far quella impresa." [He made known the cause of his wishing for money, namely, to spend it on an expedition to be fitted out by himself alone against Egypt, and to pay those galleys which should aid in the enterprise.]

† This account is contained in a *Memoire du seigneur de Schomberg, Marechal de France sous Henri III.*, in the Hohendorf MSS. of the imp. library in Vienna, No. 114. "Quelque temps après la mort de Mr. de Guise avenue en Blois il fut proposé par le cardinal de Moresino de la part de Sa Sainteté, que si S. M. vouloit declarer le marquis de Pom (probably misspelt) son neveu heritier de la couronne et le faire recevoir pour tel avec solemnitez requises, que S. S. s'assuroit que le roy d'Espagne bailloirait en mariage audit marquis l'infante et qu'en ce faisant tous les troubles

Projects these, or rather, for the word is almost too definite, fantasies, castles in the air of the most extraordinary kind. How strangely discordant do they seem with this pope's active measures, so strenuously practical and to the purpose!

And yet, might we not venture to assert, that these were often based on extravagant, impracticable thoughts? The elevation of Rome into a regular metropolis of Christendom, to be visited after the lapse of an appointed number of years by the people of every country, even of America; the conversion of the monuments of antiquity into memorials of the subjugation of paganism by the Christian religion; the hoarding up of money borrowed at interest, to form a treasure on which the temporal power of the Church was to be founded; all of them plans surmounting the limits of practicability, and whose origin is to be sought in the fire of religious enthusiasm, and yet which mainly determined the active character of this pope's life.

From youth upwards hopes and desires sway all the conduct and feelings of men; the present is as it were compassed round by the future, and the soul is never weary of committing itself to the expectation of a personal good fortune. But the more a man's condition rises, the more do these longings and anticipations attach themselves to general interests, to some great purpose in science, in politics, or in the general concerns of life. In our Franciscan, the stimulus and impulse of personal hopes had always been the stronger, inasmuch as he found himself on a career that opened out to him the noblest prospects; they had led him on from step to step, and nurtured and sustained his spirit in the days of his penury; he had caught up every prophetic word and treasured it in his heart, and linked with it, against the time of success, exalted plans suggested by monkish enthusiasm. At last all his hopes were fulfilled; from a mean and unpromising beginning he had reached the highest eminence in Christendom, a dignity of the importance of which he entertained an exaggerated conception: he believed himself chosen by a special providence to carry into effect the ideas that floated before him.

Even in the possession of the supreme authority he did not abandon his habit of discerning, amidst all the bustle of general business, the possibility of brilliant enterprizes, and of forming projects for their execution. There was in all of them an element of a very personal nature: power and renown had charms for him; he loved to diffuse his own splendour over all that belonged to him, his family, his birth-place, and his native province; but these desires were always subordinate to the general interests of catholic Christendom; his mind was always open to grand ideas. Only this differ-

de France prendroient fin. A quoi le roy estant prest a se laisser aller, et ce par la persuasion de quelqu'un qui pour lors estoient pres de S. M., Mr. de Schomberg rompit ce coup par telles raisons, que ce seroit l'invertir l'ordre de France, abolir les loix fondamentales, laisser à la posterité un argument certain de la lacheté et pusillanimité de S. M." It is very true that Schomberg makes a merit of having prevented this intention, but I should not on that account be inclined at once to pronounce it altogether imaginary. The memoir which sets forth the legitimacy of Henry IV.'s claims gives this warrant for its genuineness, that it lies obscurely among other papers. It is only surprising that nothing more should have been said on the matter.



ence is to be taken into account ; one part of his projects he could himself carry out ; another he had to leave for the most part to other agents. To the former he applied himself with that inexhaustible activity which springs from conviction, enthusiasm, and ambition ; in the latter, on the contrary, we find him display far less zeal, either because he was by nature distrustful, or because the chief part of the execution, and consequently of the fame and advantage, was to be consigned to others. If we ask what he really did towards the accomplishment, for instance, of his oriental schemes, we find it amounts after all to no more than this, that he cemented alliances, interchanged letters, issued admonitions, and made preparations ; we do not observe that he ever adopted serious measures adequate to the end in view. He grasped the plan with the ardour of an enthusiastic imagination ; but as he could not forthwith set his own hand to the work, as the accomplishment was remote, his will was not really effective ; the scheme that had so busily occupied his mind he let drop again, and its place was taken by another.

At the moment before us the pope was full of the grand anticipations connected with the undertaking against Henry IV., anticipations of a complete victory for strict catholicism, and of renovated power over the world for the popedom : with these thoughts he was wholly engrossed. Nor did he doubt but that all catholic states were fully agreed, that they would make common cause against that protestant who pretended to the throne of France.

Such was the tone of his mind, such his ardour, when the fact obtruded itself upon him, that a catholic power with which he thought he was on peculiarly good terms, that Venice had offered her congratulations to that very protestant. He was profoundly mortified by the intelligence. For a while he endeavoured to restrain the republic from taking further steps ; he entreated her to wait ; time, he said, bore marvellous fruit ; he had himself learned from the good old senators to let them come to maturity \*. Venice for all that recognized the existing ambassador from France, de Maisse, after he had received his credentials as plenipotentiary from Henry IV. Upon this the pope proceeded from admonitions to threats. He exclaimed that he would know what it behoved him to do : he had the old *monitoria* which Julius II. had issued against the Venetians brought forth, and a draft of a new one against them prepared.

Still it was not without pain and inward repugnance he did this. Let us hear for a moment how he expressed himself to the ambassador whom the Venetians sent him on the subject.

"To fall out with those one does not love," said the pope, "is no such great mischance ; but to quarrel with those one loves, is indeed painful. Yes ; it will give us pain"—he laid his hand on his breast—"to break with Venice.

"But Venice has aggrieved us. Navarre," so he called Henry IV., "is a heretic excommunicated by the holy see ; yet has Venice recognized him in defiance of all our admonitions.

"Is the Signory then the first among the sovereigns of the earth, whose place it is to set an ex-

ample to others ! There is still a king of Spain, there is still an emperor.

"Is it that the republic has any fear of Navarre ! We will defend it, if necessary, with all our might ; we have the strength thereto. Or does the republic think to inflict any injury on us ! God himself would stand by us.

"The republic should prize our friendship higher than that of Navarre. We can better aid it.

"I entreat you recall one step ! The catholic king has retracted many a thing because we desired it ; not from fear of us, for our power against his is but as that of a fly against an elephant's, but from love, because it was the pope who made the request, the viceregent of Christ, who prescribes the rules of faith to him and to all others. Let the Signory do likewise ; let it find some pretext of escape, it will be no difficult matter ; it has men enough full of years and wisdom, every one of whom might rule a world \*."

But one cannot speak for ever without receiving an answer. The ambassador extraordinary from Venice was Leonardo Donato, a member of Andrea Morosini's society ; wholly imbued with the spirit of the ecclesiastico-political opposition ; a man, as we should say in the present day, of the greatest diplomatic dexterity, who had already conducted many difficult negotiations to a prosperous issue.

Donato could not explain in Rome all the motives that wrought on the Venetians ; he put forward those which were likely to find acceptance with the pope, since their import concerned himself in common with Venice.

For was it not manifest that the Spanish ascendancy in the south of Europe was mightily augmenting from year to year ! The pope felt this as distinctly as any other Italian sovereign : even now he could not take one step in Italy without the approbation and consent of the Spaniards ; what would be the state of things when they should have become masters of France ! Donato most prominently put forward this consideration, dwelling on the balance of power in Europe, and the necessity of its restoration. He laboured to show that the republic had not conceived the thought of injuring the pope, but rather of favouring and protecting a grand interest of the Roman see itself.

The pope listened to him, but appeared immovable and not to be convinced. Donato despaired

\* Dispaccio Donato, 25 Nov. 1589. The pope spoke so long, that the ambassadors said were they to write it all down, it would take an hour and a half to read it in the senate. Among other things he insisted continually on the effects of excommunication. "Tre sono stati scomunicati, il re passato, il principe di Condé, il re di Navarra. Due sono malamente morti, il terzo ci travaglia e Dio per nostro esercizio lo mantiene : ma finirà anche esso e terminerà male : dubitiamo punto di lui.—2 Dec. Il papa publica un solennissimo giubileo per invitar ogn' uno a dover pregar S. Divina Ma- per la quiete et augumento della fede cattolica." [There were three excommunicated, the late king, the prince of Condé, and the king of Navarre. Two of them came to a bad end ; the third is labouring under the burthen, and God for our trial still supports him, but he too will at last end badly : let us not have any doubt about him.—2 Dec. The pope publishes a very solemn jubilee, inviting every one to pray to the Divine Majesty for the quiet and increase of the catholic faith.] During this jubilee he would see no one "per viver a se stesso et a sue devotioni." [that he might pass his time with himself and his devotions.]

\* 9 Sett. 1589. "Che per amor di Dio non si vada tanto avanti con questo Navarre, che si stia a veder," &c.

of effecting anything with him, and applied for an audience of leave. He received it on the 16th of December, 1589, and the pope appeared disposed to refuse him his blessing\*. Sixtus V., however, was not so blinded by prejudice, that substantial arguments could make no impression on him. He was self-opinionated, high-handed, dogmatical, and obstinate, yet with all that, his inward thoughts were not unsusceptible of change, he was capable of being gained over to new views, and at bottom he was good natured. Even whilst he was still disputing, and stubbornly upholding his principles, he felt himself in his heart shaken and convinced. In the middle of the audience he became all at once mild and complying†. "He who has a colleague," he exclaimed, "has a master; I will talk with the congregation; I will tell it that I have been angry with you, but that I have been overcome by you." The ambassadors waited a few days longer; the pope then declared, that he could not approve of what the republic had done, still he would not adopt the measures he had contemplated against it. He gave Donato his blessing and kissed him.

Here was an almost insensible change of personal feeling, and yet it was pregnant with the greatest results. The pope himself relaxed the rigour with which he persecuted the protestant king; nor would he absolutely condemn the catholic party that had adhered to that monarch in opposition to the policy hitherto pursued by Sixtus. A first step is of much importance, as it determines the whole subsequent course. This was palpably perceived on the part of the opposition: originally it had only sought to excuse itself, but now it forthwith endeavoured to win over and subdue the pope himself.

Commissioned by the princes of the blood and by the catholic peers that had sided with Henry IV., monseigneur de Luxembourg made his appearance in Italy. In spite of the warnings of the Spaniards, Sixtus V. admitted him into Rome in January 1590, and gave him an audience. The envoy dwelt particularly on Henry's personal qualities, and set forth in glowing colours his valour, his magnanimity and goodness of heart. The pope was quite charmed with the picture. "Now truly," he cried, "I grieve that I have excommunicated him." Luxembourg said that his lord and king would even yet make himself worthy of absolution, and return at the feet of his holiness into the bosom of the catholic church. "In that case," replied the pope, "I will embrace and comfort him."

His imagination was already strongly possessed: these advances at once suggested to him the boldest hopes. He gave admission to the notion that it was rather political aversion to Spain, than any religious conviction hostile to the Roman see, that withheld the protestants from returning to the catholic church, and thought that he ought by no means to repulse them‡. An English envoy was

already in Rome; one from Saxony was announced. He was very ready to hear them: "Would to God," he said, "they would all come to our feet."

The extent of the change that had taken place in him was manifested, among other proofs, by his behaviour to cardinal Morosini, his legate in France. The cardinal's compliancy towards Henry III. had formerly been regarded as criminal, and he had returned to Italy loaded with the pope's displeasure: he was now introduced into the consistory by cardinal Montalto, and the pope received him with the declaration that he rejoiced that a cardinal of his own choice had obtained such universal approbation\*. Donna Camilla led him to table.

How amazed must the rigid catholics have been at this change. The pope showed a leaning towards a protestant he had himself excommunicated, and who, according to the old principles of the church, was incapacitated for absolution as a double apostate.

It is in the nature of things that this should have produced a re-action. The strict catholic party was not so thoroughly dependent on the pope that it could not offer him resistance: the Spanish power afforded it a stay to which it eagerly clung.

The liguists in France upbraided the pope with avarice: he would not draw his purse strings; he wanted, they said, to economise the gold accumulated in the castle of St. Angelo for his nephews and his relations. In Spain a Jesuit preached upon the deplorable condition in which the church was then placed. "Not only does the republic of Venice countenance the heretics, but—hush! hush!" he said, laying his finger on his lips, "but even the pope himself." This was echoed in Italy. Sixtus V. was already grown so captious, that the admonition issued by the general of the capuchins for general prayers, "to invoke God's grace on the affairs of the church," was regarded by him in the light of a personal insult, and he suspended the general.

Hints and private complaints were not all the effect produced. On the 22nd of March 1590, the Spanish ambassador appeared in the papal apartments, to make a formal protest in his master's name, against the pope's conduct†. There was,

*che haveria caro che la regina d' Inghilterra, il duca di Sassonia e tutti gli altri andassero a suoi piedi con bona disposizione. Che dispiacerà a S. Sa. che andassero ad altri principi (catholic that is) et havessero comunicazione con loro, ma si consolava quando vadino a suoi piedi a dimandar perdono.* [The pope finds fault with the opinions of the cardinals and other prelates, who urge him to dismiss this monseigneur de Luxembourg, and charges them with a desire to make themselves his prompter in a matter he had studied all his life. He added, that he would be glad if the queen of England, the duke of Saxony, and all the rest of them would approach his feet in a becoming disposition: that it was displeasing to his holiness that they should have recourse to other princes, but that it would be cheering to him if they betook themselves to his feet to ask for pardon.] He repeated these sentiments in various forms in every audience.

\* Dispaccio, 3 Marzo. "Dice di consolarsi assai ch' egli sua creatura fusse di tutti tanto celebrato. Il cmo. Morosini acquistata molto honore e reputatione per la sua relatione delle cose di Francia." [...] His eminence cardinal Morosini acquired much honour and reputation by his report of the affairs of France.]

† Already on the 10th of March, the ambassador had laid the following questions before the pope. "Li ha ricercato la risposta sopra le tre cose, cioè di licentiar Lucenburg, incomunicar li cardinali et altri prelati che seguono il Navarra e pro-

\* Disp. Donato Dec. 16. "Dopo sì lungo negotio restando quasi privi d'ogni speranza."

† Ibid. "Finalmente ispirata del signor Dio . . . disse di contentarsene (to give them his blessing) e di essersi lasciato vincere da noi."

‡ Dispaccio Donato, 13 Genn. 1590. "Il papa biasima l'opinione, de' cardinali e d'altri prelati che lo stimolano a dover licentiar esso signor di Lucenburg e li accusa che vogliano farsi suo pedante (his prompter, as we should say) in quello che ha studiato tutto il tempo de la vita sua. Soggiunse

we see, a system of opinion more orthodox and more catholic than the pope himself: the Spanish ambassador stood forth to give it expression and words before the pope's face. Strange incident! The ambassador knelt on one knee, and besought his holiness to permit him to execute his master's commands. The pope endeavoured to raise him up, saying, "it was a heresy to conduct himself towards Christ's viceroy in the manner he proposed." The ambassador was not to be put out of his course. "May it please your holiness," he began, "to proclaim Navarre's adherents excommunicated without distinction, and to declare Navarre incapable under all circumstances and for ever, of holding the crown of France. If not, the catholic king will renounce his allegiance to your holiness, for he cannot suffer the cause of Christ to be ruined\*." The pope hardly let him utter thus much; he cried out that this was not the king's business. The ambassador stood up, threw himself on his knees again, and tried to proceed. The pope called him a stone of offence and went away. But Olivarez was not to be put off so; he declared that he would and must finish his protestation, though the pope should cut off his head; he knew well that his king would avenge him, and reward his fidelity in the persons of his children. Sixtus V. on the other hand, was infuriated. "No prince in the world," he said, "was entitled to dictate to a pope, to him who is set by God as master over others: the ambassador's conduct was quite indecent: his instructions empowered him to protest only in case the pope should manifest coldness in the cause of the Ligue: how did he know that such was the case? Did the ambassador pretend to direct the steps of his holiness?"

Genuine catholicism seemed to have only one aim, one undivided system of thought, it seemed to be borne along on the full tide to victory, to be at the very point of success; when, unexpectedly, there arose within it two parties, two systems of opinion, politically and ecclesiastically opposed to each other; the one aggressive, the other disposed to resistance. The commencement of their warfare was marked by the efforts which each made with all its might to gain over the head of the church to itself. The one party had already possessed the pope, and now with bitter exasperation, with threats, and almost by force, strove to retain him. To the other he had been inclined by a secret emotion in a critical moment, and it now

mettar di non habilitar mai esso Navarra alla successione della corona." [he demanded a reply touching three things; viz. the dismissal of Luxemburg, the excommunication of the cardinals and other prelates who followed Navarre, and a promise never to capacitate the said Navarre for succeeding to the crown.] He had also given notice of a protest. Upon this the pope had threatened excommunication. "Minaccia di iscomunicar quei e castigarli nella vita che ardiranno di tentar quanto egli li havea detto, cacciandolo innanzi e serandogli in faccia la porta." [He threatens to excommunicate and to punish capitally, those who shall dare to attempt what he (the ambassador) had said to him, turning him out and slamming the door in his face.]

\* "Che S. S. dichiarò iscomunicati tutti quei che seguitano in Francia il Navarra e tutti gli altri che quovisimodo li dessero ajuto, e che dichiarò esso Navarra incapace perpetualmente alla corona di Francia: altramente che il re suo si leverà dalla obbedienza della chiesa, e procurerà che non sia fatta ingiuria alla causa di Christo e che la pietà e la religione non sia conosciuta."

sought to get complete hold of him, offering alluring promises, and setting before him the most brilliant prospects. It was of the greatest moment as regarded the struggle, to which of the two parties he should give his countenance.

The behaviour of this pope, so renowned for his energy and decision of character, fills us with amazement.

Does he receive letters from Philip II. declaring that that sovereign would defend the rightful cause, and that he would support the Ligue with the strength of his dominions, and at the cost of his own blood; the pope, too, is full of zeal, and vows he will not bring upon himself the disgrace of having failed to oppose a heretic like Navarre\*.

Yet for all that, he inclined again to the other side. When the difficulties in which the affairs of France involved him were represented to him, he exclaimed that, "were Navarre present he would beseech him on his knees to become catholic."

Never surely did any prince stand in a stranger relation to his plenipotentiary than did pope Sixtus to the legate Gaetano, whom he had sent to France during the period of his close union with Spain. At present the pope had not indeed passed over to the side of the French, but he had been brought to an irresolute, neutral way of thinking. The legate followed his original instructions without the least consideration for the change in his master's sentiments. When Henry IV. besieged Paris after his victory at Ivry, it was the pope's legate who offered him the most resistance. Captains and magistrates took the oath administered by him never to capitulate with Navarre; and by the dignity of his office, and by a deportment equally adroit and firm, he succeeded in keeping them fast to their engagements†.

In the end, however, the rigidly orthodox opinions manifested the greatest strength.

Olivarez obliged the pope to send away Luxemburg, though it were only under the pretext of a pilgrimage to Loreto. The pope had designed to send as legate to France monsieur Serafino, who was reputed to hold French opinions: Olivarez complained loudly, and threatened he would not present himself at another audience; to which the pope replied, "he might depart in God's name:" finally, however, Olivarez was victorious, and the mission of Serafino was postponed. There is an incredible power in an orthodox system adhered to with unwavering steadfastness, especially when it is advocated by a man of capacity. Olivarez had on his side the congregation which managed the

\* He declares even in the consistory: "di haver scritto al re con sua propria mano, che procurerà sempre con tutte le sue forze spirituali e temporali che mai riesca re di Francia alcuno che non sia di compita soddisfazione alla Sua Cattolica Maestà:" [that he had written to the king with his own hand saying, that he would always endeavour with all his might, spiritual and temporal, that no one should ever succeed to the throne of France, who was not fully satisfactory to his catholic majesty.] In Jan. 1590, the ambassadors say: "Il papa nelle trattazioni parla con uno ad un modo con suoi disegni ed ad un altro con altri (disegni)." [He in the discussion of business, holds one sort of language touching his designs with one party, and a different one with another.]

† Discours veritable et notable du siege de la ville de Paris en l'an 1590; in Villeroi, Mémoires d'estat, t. ii. p. 417.

French department of business, and which had been constituted in earlier times. In 1590 a new alliance between Spain and the pope, was taken into consideration\*, and the pope declared he must do something in favour of Spain.

Let it not be supposed, however, that he had meanwhile given up the other party. He had at his court at the very same time, the agent of Lealduqueres, a leader of the Huguenots; a minister of the landgrave, and an English ambassador were also there, and the imperial ambassador was already bestirring himself to make head against the suggestions he apprehended on the part of the Saxon envoy, who was once more expected: the manoeuvres of chancellor Croll extended even to Rome†.

Such was the position of the potent ecclesiastical sovereign, who cherished the belief, that he was invested with direct authority over the whole earth, and who had amassed a treasure that might well have enabled him to give a grand decisive impetus to the course of events; thus irresolute and vacillating was he at the critical moment.

May this fairly be charged upon him as a fault? I fear in judging thus we should do him wrong. He saw through the posture of things; he saw the dangers on either side; he gave admission to contending opinions; no conjuncture occurred to force him to a final decision. His own soul was filled with the strife of those elements that parted the world between them, none obtained the mastery over the rest.

But hence assuredly it became impossible for him to constrain the course of European affairs, or to exert any vast influence over them. On the contrary, the forces agitating society reacted upon himself; this re-action took place under the most peculiar form.

Sixtus had succeeded in putting down the banditti, chiefly in consequence of the good understanding into which he entered with his neighbours. But this being now interrupted, different opinions

prevailing in Tuscany and Venice from those entertained in Naples and Milan, and the pope not declaring decidedly for either, he incurred the suspicion now of one, now of another of his neighbours, and the banditti sprang up once more.

They made their appearance again in April 1590, led by Sacripante in the Maremma, by Piccolomini in Romagna, and by Battistella in the campagna of Rome. They were abundantly provided with money, and it was said to have been noticed that they passed many Spanish doubloons. Their chief adherents were of the Guelphish party; already they marched through the land in regular bodies, with banners flying, and drums beating; nor had the papal troops any mind to engage them\*. This state of things immediately made itself felt throughout all the relations of the country. The Bolognese opposed, with a boldness and independence of spirit long unexampled, the pope's design of augmenting the number of senators in their city.

In this situation, beset by so many near and pressing vexations, without having even attempted to come to a decision, or to adopt any resolution in the weightiest matters, died pope Sixtus V. on the 27th of August, 1590.

Just at the moment he breathed his last, a storm burst over the Quirinal. The stupid multitude persuaded themselves that Fra Felice had made a compact with the evil one, by whose help he had climbed from step to step, and that now on the expiration of the stipulated time, his soul was fetched away in the midst of the tempest. In this way they symbolized their dissatisfaction at the many new taxes he had imposed, and the doubts as to his perfect orthodoxy which had so often been agitated of late years. In an excess of tumultuous fury they pulled down the statues they had once erected to him; nay a resolution was passed in the capitol, that never again should a statue be erected to a pope during his life time.

*Urban VII., Gregory XIV., Innocent IX., and their conclaves, 1590, 1591.*

The new election was now doubly momentous. It depended mainly on the personal disposition of the pope to be chosen, for which of the two parties, whose strife had just begun, he would declare himself, and there was no doubt that his determination might lead to results whose influence would be universally felt. Hence the intrigues and the electioneering struggles of the conclave derived a peculiar significance, and compel us to devote a few words to them in this place.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, the ascendancy of the imperial or of the French faction commonly prevailed among the electors; the cardinals, as a pope once said, enjoyed no longer any freedom of election. After the middle of the same century this influence of foreign powers had greatly diminished, and the curia was left much more to the course of its own inclinations. Thereupon there arose out of the ferment of its internal agitations a principle or a custom of a very singular kind.

\* Disp. 21 Luglio. "I fuorusciti coronano fino su le porte di Roma." [The outlaws make incursions up to the very gates of Rome.] The dispatches of March 17th, April 7th, April 28th, May 12th, June 2nd, contain details on this subject.

\* The king was to equip 20,000 infantry, and 3000 cavalry, the pope 15,000 infantry, and 2,000 cavalry. "Li ambasciatori sollicitano con li cardinali la conclusione e sottoscrizione del capitolato (Disp. 14. Luglio)." [The ambassadors were urgent with the cardinals for the conclusion and subscription of the convention, Desp. 14. July.] The pope proposed in the congregation the questions: "an electio regis Francie, vacante principe ex corpore sanguinis, spectet ad pontificem." [Whether the election of a king of France, falling a prince of the blood, belongs to the sovereign pontiff.] "Esortato a star neutrale, laudando il consiglio risponde non poter restar a far qualche cosa (Disp. 28 Luglio)." [Being exhorted to remain neutral, he replied, while he commended the counsel, that he could not refrain from doing something. Desp. July 28.] It is said, however, in the dispatch of the 21st of July; "Laodigeres haveva mandato un suo huomo a trattar con S. S. il quale ha trattato lungamente seco." [Lesdigueres had sent a man of his to treat with his Holiness, which said person had treated with him at much length.]

† We cannot otherwise account for the fact that the imperial ambassador warned the pope against Saxon insinuations. "L'ambasciatore dell' imperatore prega il pontefice di non voler ascoltare quel huomo che vien detto esser mandato dal duca di Sassonia, in quello che fusse di pregiudizio del suo patron e della casa d'Austria: e co' li vien promesso." [The ambassador from the emperor entreated the pope not to lend an ear to that man who was said to be sent by the duke of Saxony, in what might be to the prejudice of his master, and of the house of Austria: and the same was promised him.]

Each pope was wont to nominate a number of cardinals, who, in the next conclave consorted with the nephews of the deceased, constituted a new power, and usually sought to advance one of their own party to the throne. It is a remarkable fact that they never succeeded in this, that the opposition was always victorious, and commonly promoted an adversary of the last pope.

I will not attempt to investigate this matter in detail. We are in possession of documents relating to these elections, which are not altogether unworthy of credit; still it would be impossible to bring fully and fairly before our eyes all the personal considerations that operated in them; our delineations would always remain mere shadows.

It is enough that we direct attention to the principle. During the period in question, it was without exception not the adherents but the antagonists of the last pope, that is to say, the creatures of the last but one, who were victorious. Paul IV. was elected by the creatures of Paul III.; Pius IV. by the enemies of Caraffa and of Paul IV. The nephew of Pius IV., Borromeo, had the self-denial voluntarily to give his support to a man of the opposite party, whom he esteemed the most devout, namely, Pius V.; but he did so not without the most vehement remonstrances on the part of his uncle's creatures, who, as it is said in the report, hardly believed they saw what they saw or did what they did. Nor did they neglect to turn their compliance to account on the next occasion. They endeavoured to give a recognized validity to the precedent, and to constitute it a rule; and in fact they chose the successor of Pius V. out of the creatures of Pius IV. The same was the case in the election of Sixtus V., who was elevated from among the adversaries of his predecessor, Gregory XIII.

Under these circumstances it is no wonder that we always encounter men of opposite character in the successive occupants of the papal sees. The several factions alternately drove each other out.

On the present occasion this usage offered a great prospect to the antagonists of Sixtus V. especially to the opponents of his latter policy. Sixtus V. had made his nephew exceedingly powerful, and the latter now entered the conclave with a body of cardinals devoted to his interest as numerous as had ever before been combined together. Notwithstanding all this he was obliged to give way. The creatures of Gregory carried the election of an opponent of the last pope, one who had even been peculiarly offended by him, and who was unquestionably attached to the Spanish party—Giambattista Castagna, Urban VII.\*

But they were unfortunate in this choice. Urban VII. died before he had even been crowned, before he had nominated a single prelate, on the twelfth day of his pontificate, and the contest broke out afresh.

It was distinguished by the circumstance that

\* Conclave di papa Urbano VII. MS. "La pratica (di questa electione) fu guidata dal cardinal Sforza (capo delle creature di papa Gregorio XIII) e da cardinali Genovesi." [The proceedings of this election were directed by cardinal Sforza (the head of the creatures of Gregory XIII.), and by Genoese cardinals.] In a despatch from Maise, the French ambassador at Venice, in F. v. Raumer's *Histor. Briefen*, i. 360, it is stated that Sforza had dragged down Colonna from the papal chair, after he had already seated himself there; this, however, is not to be understood literally.

the Spaniards again took the most earnest part in it. They saw plainly how much depended on the result with regard to the affairs of France. The king resolved on a step which was charged upon him in Rome as a dangerous innovation, and which even his adherents could only attempt to justify on the ground of the urgent circumstances in which he was placed\*: he named seven cardinals who seemed likely to be of service to him, and would not accept any other. At the head of these nominees stood the name of Madruzzi, and the Spanish cardinals forthwith made an effort to effect his election.

But they met with obstinate resistance. The cardinals would not have Madruzzi, because he was a German, and they could not bear to have the papacy pass again into the hands of the barbarians†, nor would Montalto allow the election of any of the others. Montalto would, indeed, in vain have attempted to raise any of his own party to the papal chair, but at least he was able to exclude from it those whom he opposed. The conclave was immoderately protracted; the banditti were masters in the land; accounts were daily heard of property plundered and villages burned; commotions were to be apprehended in Rome itself.

One only means presented itself of reaching the desired end; that was, to select from amongst the proposed candidates him who was least objectionable to the kinsmen of Sixtus V. In the Florentine memoirs‡ it is stated that the grand duke of Tuscany, in the Roman that cardinal Sforza, the chief of the Gregorian cardinals, contributed most to bring this about. Cardinal Sfondrato, one of the seven, was passing his days in the retirement of his cell, perhaps because he had been told that his interests would be best promoted by silence, and was suffering there from fever. The two parties accorded in choosing him, and an union between the two houses of Sfondrato and Montalto was immediately discussed by way of preliminary. Upon this Montalto visited the cardinal in his cell, and found him praying before a crucifix, and not wholly free from fever; he told him that he should be elected the next morning. On the morrow (Dec. 5, 1590) he accompanied him, along with Sforza, to the chapel where the votes were taken. Sfondrato was chosen, and assumed the name of Gregory XIV.§

He was a man who fasted twice every week, read mass every day, always repeated the appointed number of prayers on his knees, and then devoted an hour to his favourite author, St. Bernard, out of whom he carefully noted the sentences that particularly struck him;—a soul of virgin innocence. It was remarked, however, half in jest, that as he had come prematurely into the world, in the seventh month, and had been reared but with difficulty, he had on the whole too little earthly stuff about him. He had never been able to compre-

\* "Il grande interesse del re cattolico e la spesa nella quale si trova senza aiuto nessuno per servizio della christianità fa che gli si debbia condonare."

† Cardinal Morosini said, "Italia andrebbe in preda a' barbari, che farebbe una vergogna. Concl. della sede vacante di Urbano VII." [Italy would become the booty of the barbarians, which would be a shame.]

‡ Galluzzi. *Storia del granducato di Toscana*, v. 99.

§ Torquato Tasso celebrated his accession in a splendid canzone, "Da gran lode immortal."

hend any thing of the practice or the intrigues of the curia. The cause which was upheld by the Spaniards he regarded purely and simply as the cause of the Church. He was a subject born of Philip II., and a man after his own heart. He declared himself, without the least wavering or hesitation, in favour of the Ligue\*.

"Do you," he wrote to the Parisians, "who have made so praiseworthy a beginning, persevere still, and halt not till you are arrived at the goal of your course. Inspired by God, we have resolved to come to your aid. First, we bestow upon you a subsidy in money, and that even beyond our means. Next, we dispatch our nuncio, Landriano, to France, in order to bring back all deserters to your union. Lastly, we send to you, though not without heavily burdening the Church, our dear son and nephew, Ercole Sfondrato, duke of Montemarcano, with cavalry and infantry, to employ their weapons in your defence. Should you, however, have need of more, we will supply you therewith†."

The whole policy of Gregory XIV. is comprised in this letter. It was very effective. The declaration itself, the repetition of the excommunication of Henry IV. which was connected with it, and then the call which Landriano was charged to make on all the clergy, the nobles, the officers of justice, and the tiers état, to separate from Henry on pain of heavy punishment, produced a deep impression‡. There were on the side of Henry IV. many strict catholics, who were at last thrown into perplexity by this decisive step on the part of the head of their Church. They declared, that not only the kingdom but the Church, too, had a succession, that the religion of the state was no more to be changed than the dynasty. From this time forth there arose among the king's adherents the so-called third party, that incessantly pressed him to return to catholicism, remained faithful to him only on this condition and with this anticipation, and was of the more moment, inasmuch as the most powerful men immediately about him became its adherents.

But still greater results were to be expected from the other measures which the pope announced in this letter, and which he delayed not to carry into effect. He supplied the Parisians with a monthly subsidy of 15,000 scudi; he sent colonel Lusi into Switzerland to raise troops; and after he had solemnly committed the standard of the Church in S. Maria Maggiore to his nephew Ercole as their general, he sent him to Milan, where his forces were to assemble. The commissary who accompanied him, archbishop Matteucci, was plentifully furnished with money.

\* Cicarella, de vita Gregorii XIV., to be found in all the later editions of Platina.

† Gregoire, pape XIV. à mes fils bien-aymez les gens du conseil des seize quartiers de la ville de Paris, in Cayet. Chronologie novenaire. Mémoires coll. univ. tom. lvii. p. 62.

‡ Cayet remarks this. "Le party du roy estoit sans aucune division. Ce qui fut entretenu jusques au temps de la publication des bulles monitioriales du pape Gregoire XIV., que d'aucuns voulerent engendrer un tiers party et le former des catholiques, qui estoit dans le party royal." [The party of the king was without any division. This continued till the time of the publication of the monitorial bulls of pope Gregory XIV., when certain persons wished to form a tiers parti, and to constitute it from among the catholics belonging to the royal party.]

Under such auspices Philip II. did not hesitate longer to engage earnestly in French affairs. His troops advanced into Brittany, and took possession of Toulouse and Montpellier. He thought he had peculiar claims on some provinces; in others he was in close confederacy with the leading chiefs, capuchins having in some cases cemented and continued to uphold the union. In many places he was looked on as "the sole protector of the orthodox against the Huguenots," and he was invited most earnestly even to Paris. Meanwhile the Piedmontese assailed Provence, and the papal army formed a combination in Verdun with that of the Ligue. There was a general movement of the powers of Spain and Italy designed to drag France along by force in the same strictly catholic direction which prevailed in those countries. The treasures which pope Sixtus had amassed with such efforts, and had so carefully economized, were now converted to the profit of the Spaniards. After Gregory XIV. had taken from the castle of St. Angelo those sums, the expenditure of which was limited by no condition, he seized upon those, too, that were most strictly tied up. He was of opinion that no more urgent need could ever befall the Church.

The decision with which proceedings were begun, the prudence of the king, the wealth of the pope, and the influence which their combined authority and dignity possessed in France, put it, indeed, beyond the possibility of calculating what success might have attended this twofold ambition, secular and spiritual, had not Gregory XIV. died in the midst of the enterprize. He had occupied the Roman see but ten months and ten days, and yet had brought about such great changes; what would have ensued had he possessed his power for some years? The loss of him was the greatest that the party of Spain and of the Ligue could have sustained.

The Spaniards, indeed, once more carried everything before them in the conclave. They had named seven candidates as before\*, one of whom, Giovanni Antonio Fachinetta, was chosen pope by the title of Innocent IX. He, too, as far as can be judged, was of the Spanish party; at least he sent money to the Ligue, and there is a letter of his extant, in which he urges Alessandro Farnese to hasten his armament, penetrate into France, and invest Rouen, services which that leader performed with much ability and success†. But the misfortune was, that Innocent IX. was already very old and feeble; he hardly ever left his bed, even giving audience there: from the death-bed of an aged man, himself now incapable of a movement, proceeded exhortations to war that set France, nay, all Europe, in commotion. Hardly had Innocent IX. been two months in possession of the papal see, when he too died.

\* In the Histoire des Conclaves, i. 251, it is stated, "Les Espagnols voulaient retablir leur reputation." This, however, is but a mistranslation. In the MS. on which this book is founded, Conclave di Innocenzio IX. (Thif. Polit.) it is said, "Per non perder la acquistata autorità" [not to lose the authority they had re-acquired], which actually accords with the then existing state of things.

† From Davila, Historia delle Guerre Civili di Francia XII. p. 763, it would appear that Innocent was not so entirely in favour of the Ligue; but the letter mentioned (in Cayet. p. 356) removes all doubt on the matter.



Thus were the struggles of the conclave renewed a fourth time. They were the more important, since these incessant changes had led to the settled conviction, that a man of vigour, and likely to live long, was above all things what was wanted. A definite decision for a lengthened period was now imperatively necessary. The conclave became an important item in the history of the world.

### *Election and character of Clement VIII.*

The Spaniards in the prosperous course of their interests in Rome during the last year had finally succeeded in gaining over even Montalto. His family had purchased estates in the Neapolitan territory. Whilst Montalto pledged himself no longer to oppose the wishes of the king, the latter promised in return, that he would not absolutely exclude all the creatures of Sixtus V. Thus were they bound together, and the Spaniards no longer delayed to put forward that claimant from whom they might promise themselves the most effectual co-operation in the French war.

Of all the cardinals, Santorio, who bore the surname of Sanseverina, might be regarded as the most zealous. In his youth he had sustained many a contest with the protestants of Naples. In his autobiography, which is extant in manuscript, he designates the Parisian massacre as "the celebrated day of St. Bartholomew, most cheering to the catholics\*." He had always owned the most vehement opinions: he was the leading member in the congregation for French affairs, had long been the soul of the inquisition, and was still in good health and of tolerably vigorous years.

This man the Spaniards wished to invest with the supreme dignity, and none could they have found more devoted to them. Olivarez too had made every preparation†; no doubt of his success seemed to exist; out of fifty-two votes thirty-six were counted in his favour, just enough to secure his election, for which there were always required two thirds of the votes. Accordingly the very next morning after the conclave had been closed, they proceeded to the formalities of election. Montalto and Madrucci, the heads of the united factions, brought out Sanseverina from his cell, which was stripped by his servants, according to the customary practice in the case of a pope elect. Thirty-six cardinals accompanied him to the Capella Paolina; his pardon was already solicited for his opponents; he would forgive them all, and as a first token of his disposition, adopt the name of Clement: peoples and realms were commended to his favour.

Meanwhile, one circumstance had escaped notice in the selection of this candidate. Sanseverina had such a character for severity, that every one feared him.

This was enough with many to make them inac-

\* He speaks of a "giusto sdegno del re Carlo IX. di gloriosa memoria in quel celebre giorno di S. Bartolomeo lietissimo a' cattolici." [Just wrath of king Charles IX. of glorious memory on that celebrated day of S. Bartholomew, most cheering to catholics.]

† Conclave di Clemente VIII. MS. "Il conte di Olivarez, fedele et inseparabile amico di S. Severina, aveva prima di partire di Roma per il governo di Sicilia tutto preordinato." [Count Olivarez, the true and inseparable friend of S. Severina, had arranged everything before his departure from Rome for the government of Sicily.]

cessible to all attempts at gaining them over, younger cardinals for instance, and old personal adversaries. These assembled in the Capella Sistina; they were but sixteen indeed when they came together, one vote was wanting to give them the power of exclusion, and several of them seemed inclined to yield to circumstances and declare for Sanseverina; the experienced Altompe however had sufficient influence over them to make them still hold out. They relied on him, that he saw more clearly into the matter than themselves.

Now the fact was, the same repugnance felt by them, prevailed among those too who had given their promises to Sanseverina; no few of them abhorred him in their hearts. They had acceded to the wishes of the king and of Montalto, but still they only wanted an opportunity to desert. Upon the entry into the chapel where the election was to be held, there was manifest a restlessness, an agitation quite unusual in cases where the choice was already determined. The counting of the votes began; there seemed a reluctance to complete it; Sanseverina's own countrymen threw obstacles in the way\*. There wanted only some one who should set the example of expressing the sentiments entertained by so many. At last Ascanio Colonna summoned up the courage to do this. He was of the number of the Roman barons, who dreaded above all things the inquisitorial harshness of Sanseverina. He cried out, "I see that God will not have Sanseverina, neither will Ascanio Colonna." He left the Capella Paolina, and betook himself to the opposition in the Sistina.

This step secured the victory to the latter. A secret scrutiny was resolved on. Some there were who would never have ventured openly and loudly to retract the promise they had already given, who nevertheless did it privily, as soon as they knew that their votes would remain concealed. When the balloting papers were opened, there were found only thirty votes for the nominee.

Sanseverina had come secure of his election: he thought himself already in possession of that fullness of spiritual authority which he rated so highly, and in behalf of which he had so often combated; between the fulfilment of his most aspiring wishes, and a future for ever marred by the sense of rejection, between the condition of ruling and being doomed to obey, he had passed seven hours as though between life and death. At last the lot was cast, and he went back robbed of his hopes to his dismantled cell. "The next night," he says in his autobiography, "was to me more full of pangs than any moment of misfortune I ever experienced. The heavy affliction of my soul, and my intense anguish, incredible as it may sound, forced bloody sweat from me."

He knew enough of the nature of a conclave to indulge in no further hopes. His friends subsequently put him forward as a candidate, but it was only a hopeless attempt.

The Spaniards themselves too had been losers by this event. The king had proposed five names, but on none of them could the choice be made to fall. At last it was necessary to proceed to the sixth, set down by the Spaniards as a supernumerary.

\* Besides the accounts of this matter in printed and MS. Conclaves, we have also the narrative of Sanseverina himself, which I will give in the Appendix.



The king, more to oblige his confederate Montalto than of his own accord, had subjoined the name of cardinal Aldobrandini, a creature of Sixtus V., whom he himself had rejected a year before. He was now recurred to as the only one whose election was possible. He had, as may be supposed, Montalto's wishes in his favour; and the Spaniards could not object against him, as he was in the list of nominees; he was not unwelcome to the rest of the conclave, being universally beloved: accordingly he was chosen without much opposition, January 20th, 1592. He took the name of Clement VIII.

The fate of the Spaniards in this matter is very curious. They had brought over Montalto to their side in order to carry the election of one of their own party, and this very connexion it was that forced them to lend their aid towards placing a friend of Montalto and a creature of Sixtus V. on the pontifical throne.

We have to observe, that a change originated on this occasion in the course of papal elections, which cannot be looked upon as unimportant. For a length of time men of opposite factions had alternately followed each other. The same thing had now occurred, the cardinals created by Sixtus V. had thrice been forced to give way; but the elected popes had in each instance enjoyed but a transient possession of power, and could not found any new strong faction: deaths, funerals, and new conclaves had followed one upon the other. The first who again ascended the papal throne in the full vigour of life was Clement VIII. There ensued a dominion of the same party which had been the last to enjoy a longer lease of power.

Universal attention was now directed to the question, who was the new pontiff, and what might be expected of him?

Clement VIII. had been born an exilo. His father, Salvestro Aldobrandino, of a distinguished Florentine family, but an earnest and active adversary of the Medici, had, upon the final triumph of the latter house in the year 1531, been expelled, and forced to seek his fortune in other lands\*. He was a doctor of laws, and had, previously to these occurrences, once given lectures in Pisa. After his banishment we find him at one time in Venice, where he had a share in the reform of the Venetian statutes, and in an edition of the institutes; at another in Ferrara or Urbino, employed in the duke's councils and tribunals; but longest in the service now of this cardinal, now of that, and intrusted in their stead with judicial and administrative functions in some one town or another of the ecclesiastical states. What most distinguished him was perhaps the fact that, though leading the unstable life he did, he was able to bring up five superior sons. The most highly endowed of them all was probably the eldest, John, who was called the charioteer of the house: it was he who opened the path they followed, and he rose in the career of judicial dig-

nities to the cardinalate in 1570. Had he lived longer it is thought he might have entertained hopes of the tiara. Bernardo attained distinction in arms; Tomaso was an abler philologist; his translation of Diogenes Laertius has been frequently reprinted; Pietro had the reputation of an eminent practical jurist. The youngest son, Ippolito, born at Fano\* in the year 1536, at first caused some anxiety to his father, who feared he should not be able to afford him the education his talents merited. But first of all cardinal Alessandro Farnese took up the boy, and granted him a yearly allowance out of his bishopric of Spoleto; afterwards the rising fortunes of his brother were enough to help him forward. He soon got a footing in the prelacy, and speedily thereupon succeeded to his brother's place in the tribunal of the rota. Sixtus V. nominated him a cardinal, and entrusted him with a nunciature to Poland, which was his first step to a certain degree of connexion with the house of Austria. The whole stock of that house felt bound in gratitude to the cardinal, because, through the discreet and efficient use he made of his authority, he accomplished the liberation of the archduke Maximilian from the captivity in which the Poles held him. When Philip determined to nominate a creature of Sixtus V. as a supernumerary candidate, it was this circumstance that induced him to prefer Aldobrandino to all others. Thus was the highest dignity in catholic Christendom reached by the son of a homeless outcast, for whom it was once feared that he should be all his life long doomed to the functions of a scribe.

No one can behold without gratified feeling the monument in the church della Minerva, erected by Salvestro Aldobrandino to the mother of so noble a band of sons,—“to his dear wife Lesa, of the house of Deti, with whom he lived in harmony seven-and-thirty years.”

The new pope now brought to his high office all that active energy which belongs to a family that has worked its way out of manifold difficulties. The sittings were held early, the audiences in the afternoon†; all reports were received and investigated; all despatches were read and discussed; legal arguments were sought out, previous cases collated; not unfrequently the pope showed himself better informed than the referendaries who brought matters before him; he laboured with just the same assiduity as formerly, when he had been auditor of the rota; he gave no less attention to the details of home policy, and to the personal affairs of individuals, than to European politics or to the great interests of the spiritual power. It was asked in what he took pleasure? In everything or nothing, was the reply‡.

\* In the Libro di battesimo della parochia cattedrale di Fano, it is recorded: “A dì 4 Marzo 1536, fu battezzato un putto di Mr. Salvestro, che fu luogotenente qui: hebbe nome Ippolyto.”

† Bentivoglio, *Memorie* i., p. 54, gives the disposal of a whole week.

‡ Relatione al cardinal d'Este, 1599. MS. Fosc. It declares that he carried on war like Julius II., built like Sixtus V., reformed like Pius V., and moreover seasoned his conversation with wit. Then comes the following delineation:—“Di complessione flemmatico e sanguigno, ma con qualche mistura di colera, di corporatura carnoso e grasso, di costumi gravi e modesti, di maniera dolce et affabile, nel moto tardo, nel attioni circospetto, nell' esecuzione

\* Varchi: *Storia Fiorentina*, lib. 42. 61. Mazzuchelli, *Scrittori d'Italia*, I. i. p. 372, gives as usual a very industriously compiled and instructive article on this name, still it is not complete. Among other things he omits to mention his employment in Venice, with the mention of which Gio. Delfino opens his report, so that there can be no doubt of the matter: “Silvestro Aldobrandini ne' tempi della ribellione di Firenze cacciato da quella città se ne vene qui, riformò li nostri statuti e rivedde le leggi et ordini della republica.”

At the same time he did not suffer himself to be chargeable with the least negligence in his spiritual duties. Baronius heard his confession every evening; every morning he celebrated mass in person; at noon, at least during the first year, twelve poor persons always ate in the same room with him, and the pleasures of the table were not so much as thought of; Friday and Saturday were moreover held as fasts. When he had been laboriously engaged all the week, his recreation on Sunday was to send for some pious monks, or the fathers of Vallicella, to discourse with him on the profounder questions of religion. The reputation for virtue, piety, and exemplary life he had always enjoyed, became thus enhanced to an extraordinary degree. He knew this, and desired it. This reputation exalted his dignity as chief shepherd of the flock.

In every particular this pope conducted himself with well-weighed discretion. He laboured with alacrity in the duties of his station; for his was one of those natures that derive new strength from toil; but he did it not with such passionate ardour as to prevent his tempering his industry with regular exercise\*. He could fire up on occasion, and express himself in angry and severe terms; yet if he saw that those he addressed were silenced by the majesty of the papacy, though perhaps their looks betrayed opposition and displeasure, he would command himself, and endeavour to conciliate matters again. It was his wish that nothing should be seen in him but what was seemly in itself, and consistent with the idea of a good, pious, and wise man†.

Former popes might have thought themselves elevated above every law, and have sought to turn the administration of the sovereign dignity to their personal enjoyment; this was no longer permitted

cuntatore: quando non resolve, premedita.—E tenace del secreto, cupo nei pensieri, industrioso nel tirarli al fine." [He is of a phlegmatic-sanguineous temperament, but with some mixture of the bilious: of a fleshy and fat habit of body, of grave and modest breeding, of gentle and affable manners, slow in gait, circumspect in his actions, dilatory in performance; when he does not resolve, he premeditates. He is tenacious of secrets, deep in his designs, industrious in bringing them to effect.]

\* Venier: *Relatione di Roma*, 1601. "La gotta molto meno che per l'inauiz li da molestia al presente per la sua bona regola di viver, nel quale da certo tempo in qua procede con grandissima riserva e con notabile abstinenza nel bere: che le giova anco moltissimo a non dar fomento alla grassezza, alla quale e molto inclinata la sua complessione, usando anco per questo di frequentare l'esercitio di caminar longamente sempre che senza sconcio de' negozi conosce di poterlo fare, ai quali nondimeno per la sua gran capacita supplisce." [The gout troubles him much less at present than heretofore, on account of his prudent regimen, in which he has for some time been very reserved, and particularly abstinent in drinking. This is of great service to him in not encouraging fat, to which his constitution has a great proneness; to which end also it is his custom to take long walks whenever he knows he can do so without prejudice to business, for any interruption of which, however, his great abilities enable him to make amends.]

† Delino: "Si va conoscendo certo che in tutte le cose si move S. S. con gran zelo del' onor di Dio e con gran desiderio del ben publico." [It is well known and ascertained, that in all things his holiness proceeds with great zeal for the honour of God, and with a great desire for the public good.]

by the temper of the times. Every thing belonging to the individual had to conform and give way: the office was all in all. No one could have obtained it, or been able to exercise it, without a conduct corresponding to its character.

It is palpable that the strength of the institution itself was hereby unmeasurably augmented. So long only are human institutions generally strong as their spirit dwells in the living, and is manifested in the possessors of the power they constitute.

#### *Absolution of Henry IV.*

The foremost topic of enquiry was now, how would this pope, so full of talent, activity, and vigour, and so spotless withal, regard and deal with the French question,—the most important in Europe?

Would he, like his immediate predecessors, join unconditionally with Spain? The previous tenor of his life bound him to this neither by duty nor inclination. He did not fail to perceive that the ascendancy of Spain was a burthen even to the papacy, and would rob it especially of its political independence.

Or would he attach himself to the party of Henry IV.? It is true that king gave indications of a disposition to become catholic. But a promise to that effect was easier to make than to fulfil: he was still a protestant; Clement VIII. might have had reason to fear being deceived.

We have seen how Sixtus V. vacillated between these possibilities, and what serious inconveniences arose therefrom. The zealot party was as strong as ever in Rome. The new pope durst not expose himself to their disfavour or their resistance.

Difficulties thus surrounded him on all sides. Encompassed by them, he was cautious not to commit himself in words, or to awaken slumbering animosities. It is only in his acts and his general conduct that we can gradually collect his inclinations and his sentiments.

Upon his accession the papal see had a legato in France who was considered to be in the Spanish interest, and an army which was destined to contend against Henry IV.; subsidies were paid to the Ligue. The new pope could make no change in this. Had he thought of withholding his subsidies, withdrawing his troops, and recalling his legate, he would have jeopardized his reputation for orthodoxy, and exposed himself to more rancorous hostility than had befallen pope Sixtus. He was very far, however, from augmenting or giving new impulse to the efforts made on behalf of the Ligue; rather did he gradually, and as occasion allowed, moderate and confine them in some degree.

Very soon, however, he saw himself constrained to a step of a less ambiguous kind.

In the year 1592 Henry IV. sent cardinal Gondi to Italy with proposals on his part to conform to the church of Rome. The king was daily leaning more and more to catholicism; but his thought, as it appears, was to reunite himself with the catholic church, more as a kind of compromise, through the mediation of Tuscany and Venice, than in the way of subjection.—And was not even this a very acceptable thing for the pope? Was not the king's return to the church in any case a great gain, occur in what way it might? Clement nevertheless

deemed it necessary not to accede to this, and not to receive Gondii. The presence of Luxemburg had entailed too great inconveniences on Sixtus V. without being productive of any advantage. He sent a monk, Fra Franceschi, to Florence, whither the cardinal was already arrived, to acquaint him that he could not be received in Rome. It was perfectly satisfactory to the pope that the cardinal and the archduke himself complained of this: he wished that this refusal should excite attention and be noised abroad. This however was only one view of the matter. It was by no means the pope's intention to disgust the king, or utterly to reject all overtures towards a reconciliation. It is stated in the Venetian reports, that Fra Franceschi had added to his official announcement the intimation, that he had reason to believe the cardinal would be received *privatim* and in secret\*. It seems likely that Gondii did actually go to Rome; the pope is related to have said to him that he must knock at his door more than once. Thus much is certain, that an agent of Gondii's betook himself to Rome, and after he had had numerous conferences, declared to the Venetian ambassador he had, God be thanked, every reason to hope and be satisfied†; but more he could not say. In a word, the open estrangement was accompanied with secret advances. Clement VIII. was unwilling either to offend the Spaniards or to repulse Henry IV. His conduct was governed by both these considerations.

Meanwhile a new and far more important question had arisen.

The estates of France assembled in 1593,—that is to say, such of them as belonged to the party of the Ligue,—to proceed to the election of a new king. As the sole ground for the exclusion of Henry IV. was of a religious nature, extraordinary authority in the matter devolved upon the papal legate. This was still Sega, bishop of Piacenza, who had been chosen by Gregory XIV.: a man imbued with the Hispano-ecclesiastical principles of that pope's reign. Clement deemed it necessary to address special instructions to him. In these he enjoins him to see to it, that neither force nor corruption should exercise any influence over the votes; and he conjures him, above all things, to guard against overhaste in so weighty a matter‡.

Such an admonition would not have been without significance for an ambassador who thought himself bound to follow the hints of his sovereign, but it was expressed in too general terms to make the dignity of the church, who looked for his orders rather to Spain than to the pope, withdraw from a party to which he had of old belonged, and which he regarded as the orthodox party. Cardinal Sega did not make the slightest change in his conduct in consequence. Even on the 13th of June

he published a proclamation, in which he called on the estates to elect a king, who should be not only truly catholic, but also resolved and competent to annihilate the efforts of the heretics. This he said was what his holiness desired above all things\*.

The same remarks are applicable to this instruction of the pope, as to every other step of his. He adhered in general to the rigidly orthodox ecclesiastico-Spanish party. He did this, indeed, not with the passion and fervour in the cause exhibited by other popes; if these qualities existed in him at all, their operation was altogether secret: it was enough for him quietly, and without incurring censure, as the order of business required, to abide by the side which he had once adopted, and which seemed most consonant with the nature of his office. Only this is to be observed, that he did not altogether repudiate the other party, nor wish to provoke its determined hostility. By means of secret advances and indirect expressions he held out to it the prospect of a reconciliation at some future time. He satisfied the Spaniards; yet might their adversaries persuade themselves that his proceedings were not wholly free,—that, whatever they were, they were such in deference to the Spaniards. In Sixtus it was the strife of contending thoughts that finally prevented his adopting any decided line of policy; in Clement it was regard for the sentiments of both parties, and prudence and circumspection, the results of large experience, and of a desire to avoid hostilities. The consequence, however, certainly was, that he too exerted no decisive influence.

Left accordingly to themselves, the affairs of France proceeded in obedience to their natural bent.

The most important thing was, that dissension broke out between the chiefs of the Ligue. The Sixteen adhered closely to Spain; Mayenne pursued the aims of his personal ambition. The jealousy of the Sixteen became the more exasperated, and they proceeded to the most cruel atrocities against those who were suspected or known to be deserters from them,—for instance, to the murder of the president Brisson. Mayenne held it good to punish them, and caused their most violent ringleader to be executed. Promoted by this discord, there grew up, even in Paris, from the beginning of 1592, a more moderate temper, political and religious; one still catholic indeed, but opposed to the course hitherto pursued by the Ligue, and, above all, to the Sixteen and the Spaniards. A confederacy was formed, nearly in the same way as the Ligue itself, the object of which was, in the very first place, to put all the offices of the city into the hands of moderate men of accordant sentiments; and this was tolerably well accomplished in the course of that year†. Similar tendencies were manifested throughout the whole kingdom. They were very influential over the result of the elections for the assembly of the estates. Hence it was that the Spaniards found all their proposals met by so resolute an opposition. Whilst the furious preach-

\* Dispaccio Donato: 23 Ott. 1592, from a report which was made to the Florentine ambassador Nicolini, Fra Franceschi's intimation was: "Che crede che il papa l'admetterà, ma che vuole levare li cattolici fuori di dubio et ogni ombra che admettendolo riceve ambasceria di Navarra." [That he believed that the pope would admit him, but that he wished to relieve the catholics from every shadow of doubt that in admitting him he received the ambassador of Navarre.]

† Ibid. "Dopo aver lassato sfogar il primo moto della alteration di S. Beat." [After having allowed the first movements of his holiness's displeasure to exhaust themselves.]

‡ Davila gives an extract from this instruction, xiii. p. 810.

\* "Qu'il ait le courage et les autres vertus requises pour pouvoir heureusement reprimer et anéantir du tout les efforts et mauvais desseins des heretiques. C'est la chose du monde que plus S. S. presse et desire." (In Cayet, 58, 350.)

† Cayet, lib. iv. (tome 58, p. 5), communicates the propositions which were made in the first assembly.

ers pronounced every one excommunicated who should venture but to speak of peace with the heretic, even though he should return to the mass, the parliament recalled to memory the fundamental laws of the realm, by which foreign princes were excluded from the throne. It was not to be mistaken, that the whole party which was designated as the political, only waited for Henry's conversion to submit to him.

What difference was there then between them and the catholic royalists in the camp of Henry IV. ? The only one was, that the former required before their submission to see a step taken, which the latter thought they might venture to wait for. For even the catholic royalists were unanimous in thinking that the king must return to their church, though they did not make his right and his legitimacy depend on his doing so. Perhaps too their illwill to the protestants immediately about the king continually urged them to insist the more on this point. The princes of the blood, the most eminent statesmen, and the majority of the court joined the tiers-parti, the distinctive characteristic of which lay in this demand\*.

As soon as matters had assumed this aspect, every one said, and the protestants themselves did not deny, that if Henry was ever to be king, he must become catholic. It is not necessary to investigate the pretensions of those who assert that they gave the final impulse towards this consummation. The chief part was effected by the great combination, the necessity of things †. In completing the act that brought him over to catholicism, Henry linked himself with that national sentiment of French catholics, which was represented by the tiers-parti and the political party, and which now had a prospect of becoming predominant in France.

Now this was at bottom precisely the very spirit of that catholic opposition, which had rallied round the banners of legitimacy and national independence, to resist the attempts of the ecclesiastico-Spanish party. How vastly had it now augmented in power and consequence ! It had unquestionably the ascendancy in the public opinion of France ; throughout all the country the people declared, if not openly, at least privately in its favour ; it acquired intrinsic firmness by the conversion of the sovereign, a sovereign too who was so warlike, courageous, and victorious. Thus invigorated, it appeared once more before the pope, and besought his recognition and his blessing. What renown, what cogent influence were to be obtained if he now at least declared himself without ambiguity in its favour ! So much still depended on this. The prelates even who had received the king into the bosom of the church, had done so only on the anticipated condition of papal absolution ‡ ; and this was urgently solicited by the most powerful leaders of the Ligue, with whom the king had entered into negotiations §. Though promises are not always fulfilled, it cannot

yet be doubted that the pope's absolution granted at this moment would have mightily affected the course of things. Henry sent a grandee of the realm, the duke of Nevers, to sue to the pope in the matter. A truce was agreed on till the answer should be received.

The pope was distrustful and wary. As the hopes of spiritual ambition had fired Sixtus, so the dread of being overreached and exposed to irksome consequences, kept back Clement VIII. He still apprehended that Henry IV. would probably relapse into protestantism as he had once already done, and declared he would not believe that the king was a genuine convert unless an angel from heaven came and whispered it in his ear. He looked around him and saw the majority of the curia still adverse to the French ; from time to time too, pamphlets appeared reiterating, that Henry, as a " hereticus relapsus," could not be absolved even by the pope : Clement had still no heart to set himself against the Spaniards, who were the foremost maintainers of this opinion\*. And was not the party that applied to him for pardon actually engaged in hostility to the claims of the Roman see ? Were they not, as he expressed himself, " faithless to the crown and to the Church, bastards, children of the handmaid and not of the wife, whilst they of the Ligue had proved themselves the true sons † ?" Certainly on this ground too it would have demanded some resolution to grant their request, and Clement could not nerve himself up to that point ‡. Nevers entered Rome with the double confidence inspired by his high rank, and by the importance of his mission ; he doubted not that he would be received with joy ; he expressed himself in language to that effect, and the king's letter which he conveyed was also composed in the same tone. The pope fancied it read as though the king was not only a catholic of long standing, but as though he were returning, like a second Charlemagne, from a victory over the foes of the church. Nevers was quite amazed at finding how coldly he was received. All his efforts proving fruitless, he at last asked the pope what the king was to do to merit the favour of his holiness. The pope answered, there were theologians enough in France to point that out to him. " Will your holiness be satisfied with what the theologians say ?" The pope refused to answer the question. He would never even acknowledge him as Henry's ambassador, but as Louis Gonzaga, duke of Nevers ; and all that passed between them he would have regarded only in the light of private discourse, not as official negotiation. He was not to be prevailed on to communicate any resolution on his part in writing. " Nothing remains for me," said Nevers

\* Les intimidations qui furent faites au pape Clement VIII. par le duc de Sessa : not very authentic however, and long ago printed in the Mémoires de Mr. le duc de Nevers, ii. p. 716, yet given as something new in Capefigue's Histoire de la Réforme, tom. vii.

† Disp. 20 Ag. 1593. Report of Henry's conversion. " Il papa non s'era per tali avvisi molto alterato e tuttavia restava con l'animo molto involto nell'i suoi soliti dubbj e perplessità." [The pope was not much displeased at such accounts, and yet remained much involved as usual in doubt and perplexity.] He said to the Venetian ambassador, that Henry remained a hereticus relapsus, and that no one could rely upon his conversion.

‡ Relatio dictorum a Clemente VIII. papa die 28 Dec. 1593, in consistorio. Mém. de Nevers, ii. 638.

\* It is so represented by Sully, v. 249.

† That Henry was resolved on the step in April 1593, is shown by his letter to the grand duke of Tuscany of the 26th. M. Galluzzi, Istoria del Granducato, t. v. p. 160.

‡ " Messieurs du clergé luy avoient donné l'absolution à la charge qu'il enverrait vers sa Sté. le requérir d'approuver ce qu'ils avoient fait." [The clergy had given him absolution, conditioned that he should send to his holiness to petition him to approve of what they had done.] Cayet, 58. 290.

§ Villeroi, Mémoires Coll. Univ. 62. 186.

to cardinal Toledo, who made known to him this conclusion of the pope's, "but to bewail the evils which the fury of the soldiery will bring on France upon the new outbreak of war." The cardinal said not a word, but smiled: Nevers left Rome, and vented his dissatisfaction in bitter reports\*.

Men have in general no feeling but for their personal situation. The Roman curia knew only what was for its own advantage; we discover in it no true sympathy for the fate of France.

We know indeed enough of this pope, to believe that he would not absolutely repulse the adherents of Henry, and least of all now, when their strength was so greatly increased. On the contrary, he assured a secret agent, that so soon as the king should show himself thoroughly catholic, he should not fail to receive an absolution. It is characteristic of him, that whilst in public he so decidedly disavowed any interest in the king's return to the catholic faith, he privately gave the archduke of Tuscany to know, that he nevertheless would offer no objection to whatever the clergy of France should think fit to do. The grand duke was also instructed to communicate favourable declarations on the pope's part to the catholic royalists†. Yet with all this, his real care was only for his own prospects; in France therefore things were left to proceed as they might.

The truce was expired; the sword was again drawn, and the fortune of war was once more invoked.

But Henry's superiority was now made instantly and decisively manifest. The commanders of the forces opposed to him, lacked that security of conviction which previously had ensured them so strong a position: the doctrines of the political party, the king's conversion, and the prosperous course of his fortune, had made them all quail in their hearts. One after the other they passed over to him without waiting for the papal absolution. Vitri, the commandant in Meaux, no longer receiving pay for his troops of the Spaniards, set the example; it was followed in Orleans, Bourges, and Rouen. The chief consideration now was, how matters would turn out in Paris. There the political or national French party, after many oscillations, had gained complete ascendancy, gathered the first families to itself, and filled the most important places with individuals from among them. The armed citizens were already officered by men of the party; the hôtel de Ville was directed in the same spirit; the provost des marchands and the échevins were to a man of these opinions. Under these circumstances there could no longer be any impediment to the king's return. It took place on May 22d, 1594. Henry IV. was astonished to find himself received with such joyous acclamations by the same people that had so long stood out against him, and was disposed to think, that it must till then have been under the yoke of tyrannous rulers. This however was not precisely the fact; the minds of the people had really been swayed by the sentiments that pervaded the Ligue, but others had now taken their places. The

king's return was mainly a victory of political opinion. The party of the Ligue now endured a persecution similar to that they had so often inflicted. With the departure of the Spanish troops, the most influential founders and chiefs of the Ligue, such as the despotic Boucher, quitted the city: more than a hundred of the others who were deemed the most dangerous were formally banished. All authorities, and the entire people, took the oath of allegiance. Even the Sorbonne, the most obstinate members of which, including the rector himself, were banished, acquiesced in the doctrines that had become dominant. How very different were their resolutions now, from those they had passed in 1589. Now the Sorbonne too admitted that all power is of God, according to the 13th chapter of Romans, and that whosoever resists the king withstands God and falls under condemnation. It reprobated the opinion, that a subject may refuse obedience to a king, because he is not yet recognized by the pope, as a suggestion of wicked and evil advised men. All the members of the university, rectors, deans, theologians, decretists, physicians, artists, monks and conventicals, students and officers, now swore fidelity and allegiance to Henry IV., and pledged themselves to spill their blood for him. Nay, what was more, on the strength of this new orthodoxy the university began a campaign against the Jesuits. It reproached them with their seditious principles, which indeed it had itself previously shared, and with their leaning to the Spanish interests. For a long while the Jesuits defended themselves not unsuccessfully. But since, in the same year, Jean Chastel\*, a man who attended their schools, made an attempt to murder the king, and admitted on his examination that he had often heard from the Jesuits, that it was lawful to kill a king who was not reconciled to the church, they could no longer resist the general success of the party to which they had always been opposed. The people was with difficulty restrained from sacking their college; at last all the members of the order were condemned, as seducers of youth, disturbers of the public peace, and enemies of the king and the state, to quit the kingdom within fourteen days†. Thus the opinions which had taken up their position as opposition by small and feeble beginnings, now gradually

\* Juvencius, partis v. lib. xii. n. 13. gives the following description of the criminal: "Indoles juveni tristis ac tetrica, mores improbi, mens anxie recordatione criminum atque minus potissimum quod matrem aliquando verberasset ... Conscientia, crimum ultrix, mentem essentam diro vexare pergebat metu: quem ut leniret immane patricidium impos mentis an potius erebi furis incitatus designat, quo tamquam de religione ac regno bene meritus peccatorum veniam facilius, ut demens reputatur, consequeretur." [The young man's disposition was gloomy and morose, his morals depraved, his mind was harassed by the remembrance of crimes, and of one especially, namely, that he had once beaten his mother. . . . Conscience, the avenger of crimes, continued to torture his brutalized mind with dire fears: to mitigate these he conceived in his insanity, or rather incited by hellish rage, the design of committing a monstrous -parricide, whereby, as though having done service to religion and the realm, he might the more easily, as the madman imagined, obtain forgiveness of his sins.]

† *Annus Literæ Societatis Jesu*, 1596, p. 330. "Tanta ruperat adhuc præteritis naufragii fluctuatio non nondum tabulas omnes atque armamenta disiecta collegerimus." [Such is still the surge left behind by the late shipwreck, that we have not yet collected all our scattered goods and chattels.]

\* Two documents, almost entirely of the same import: Discours de ce que fit Mr. de Nevers à son voyage de Rome en l'année 1593, and Discours de la legation de Mr. le duc de Nevers, both in the 2d volume of the before-mentioned Mémoires of Nevers, the first nearly verbatim in Cayet. Extracts in Thuanus, Davila, and recently, as if from unknown documents, in Capefigue.

† Davila, lib. xiv. p. 939.

overspread Paris and the whole kingdom, and drove their antagonists out of the field. Similar movements took place in all quarters. New submissions daily occurred; the king was crowned and anointed at Chartres; prayers were offered up for him in all the churches; the monastic orders recognized him; he exercised the ecclesiastical prerogatives of the crown, important as these are, without gainsay. In this matter he evinced the soundness of his catholicism; where the ritual of the church had suffered any detriment during the late troubles, he endeavoured to restore it; where the exclusive practice of it had been maintained, he confirmed that right to it by solemn privileges. All this he did without having yet been reconciled with the pope.

But it had now become for the latter urgently necessary to think of reconciliation\*. Had he delayed longer there was a possibility of schism; an actually separate church of France might have arisen.

The Spaniards, it is true, still held out against the measure. They maintained that decidedly Henry's conversion was not real; that the true grounds for apprehending a schism would only make themselves felt when he received absolution†; they even pointed out the occasion on which it would break out. It still required resolution on the pope's part, to set himself in opposition to those whose power encompassed him, and who possessed a great party in the curia, to separate from opinions which passed for orthodox, for which his predecessors had so often wielded the spiritual and temporal weapon, nay, which he himself had countenanced for so many years. He saw, however, that every delay would be pernicious, and that he had nothing more to expect from the opposite party; he felt that the party triumphant in France, though to a certain extent at variance with the strict doctrines, nevertheless in temporal matters exhibited a manifest sympathy with the interests of Rome; the former feeling might perhaps be removed and the latter turned to better account: in short, Clement now manifested a willing alacrity upon the very first word addressed to him. We have the account of his negotiations written by the French plenipotentiary d'Ossat; they are amusing, instructive, and worth reading; but I do not find that he had great difficulties to overcome. It would be useless to follow the proceedings in detail; the general posture of things had already decided the pope. The only question was, would the king too on his part make some concessions to the pope. Those who were averse to the reconciliation, would fain have raised the demand for these as high as possible, alleging that the church required the strongest securities in such cases; the pope, however, remained satisfied with more moderate terms. He demanded especially the restoration of catholicism in Béarn, the introduction of the regulations of the council of Trent, so far as this was consistent with the laws of the land, close observance of the concordat, and the education of the prince of Condé, the presumptive heir to the throne, in the catholic faith. On the king's part it still continued

highly desirable that he should be reconciled to the Roman see. His power was based on his conversion to catholicism, an act which could only derive full authenticity from the pope's absolution: although by far the greater number were compliant on this point, still there were some who availed themselves of the want of this sanction to justify their continued resistance\*. Henry IV. agreed to the stipulations with no great difficulty. He had already spontaneously prepared their fulfilment in part. He had it at heart to show himself a good catholic. Much as his power now exceeded what it was at the period of the duke de Nevers' mission, still the letter in which he now solicited absolution of the pope, was much more humble and submissive than the former. "The king," it said †, "returns to the feet of your Holiness, and beseeches you in all humility by the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deign to accord him your holy blessing and your highest absolution." The pope felt perfectly satisfied‡.

It now only remained that the college of cardinals should declare its assent. The pope, however, would not let the matter be brought before a regular consistory, in which inconvenience might easily have resulted from the observance of old resolutions: he invited the cardinals to give him their several opinions in special audiences, an expedient often before resorted to on similar occasions. Having

\* Du Perron au Roi, Nov. 6, 1595. "De toucher icy combien l'autorité et la faveur de ce siege estant entre vos mains vous peut servir d'un utile instrument non seulement pour remettre et conserver vos sujets en paix et en obéissance, mais aussi pour vous préparer toutes sortes de grandeur hors de votre royaume, et à tout le moins pour tenir vos ennemis en quelque crainte et devoir par l'apprehension de la mesme autorité dont il se sont aydez pour troubler vos estats et vos peuples, ce seroit un discours superflu."—Les ambassades du cardinal du Perron, i. 27. [Du Perron to the King, Nov. 6, 1595. To discuss in this place how much the authority and favour of this see placed in your hands may serve you as an useful instrument not only to reduce your subjects to peace and obedience and to maintain the same, but also to prepare for you all kinds of greatness beyond the limits of your kingdom, and at the very least to keep your enemies in some fear and duty by the apprehension of the same authority, whereof they have availed themselves to trouble your states and your subjects, would be a superfluous discourse.]

† Requête du Roi, in Amelot's remarks, cited by Ossat, i. 160.

‡ The court of Rome still considered the resolution rash and hazardous. Dolfino, Relatione; "I piu gravi negotii il papa ha saputo expedire e molto bene e ancora con gran celerità: perche con tanti contrari quanti ogni uno sa benedisse il re di Francia, lo accettò nel grembo della chiesa, mando li un legato nel tempo che tutti lo ributtavano sotto pretesto che non fosse sua dignità mandarlo avanti che il re mandasse il suo ambasciatore a Roma, et in quello l'autorità della S. R. M. giovò assai, che così mi disse S. S. per diversi officii che a quel tempo lo aveva fatte a nome di lei." [The pope succeeded in dispatching the gravest affairs, not only very well but with the greatest expedition: for in spite of so many notorious obstacles, he gave his benediction to the king of France, received him into the bosom of the church, and sent him a legate, at the time when every one opposed this upon the pretext that it was not consistent with his dignity to do so, till the king had first sent an ambassador on his part; and in this matter the authority of your signory assisted not a little, as his Holiness told me, in respect to various services I performed at that time in the name thereof.]

\* Not until Nov. 5, 1594, the Venetian ambassador finds the pope with respect to the affairs of France "meglio inclinato che nel passato" [better disposed than formerly].

† Ossat à Mr. de Villeroy, Rome, Dec. 6, 1594. Lettres d'Ossat, i. 53.



heard them all, he declared that two-thirds of the votes were in favour of absolution.

Accordingly on the 17th of Dec. 1595, the ceremony was performed. The pope's throne was erected before the church of St. Peter, and the cardinals and the curia reverently surrounded their head. The king's petition and the conditions to which he had agreed were read. Thereupon the representative of the most Christian king cast himself at the pope's feet, who striking him slightly with a rod, bestowed absolution upon him. Once more the papal see appeared in all the undiminished splendour of its ancient traditional authority\*.

And in truth the ceremony was indicative of a great result obtained. The ruling power in France, now strong and firmly rooted, was again catholic; it had consequently an interest in standing well with the pope. A new focus of catholicism was formed in that country, from which great influences would of necessity emanate.

More closely considered, this result presented two different aspects.

It was not by the immediate efforts of the pope, or by a victory achieved by the strict party, that France had been won back to the church; it was rather by an union of the moderate opinions lying midway between both extremes, by the paramount strength of a party that had first appeared as an opposition. Hence it was that the French church assumed quite a different position from that of Italy, or of the Netherlands, or that newly erected in Germany. It submitted to the pope, but it did so with a freedom and an intrinsic independence founded on its origin, the sentiment of which was never again lost. So far the papal see could by no means regard France as an absolute conquest.

But its advantages on the other, the political side, were very great indeed. The lost balance of power was restored:—two great powers, jealous of each other, involved in incessant mutual struggles, held each other in check. Both were catholic, and might after all fall into the same views; but between the two the pope assumed a far more independent position, than had been possible for any of his predecessors for a long period. He was now to a great degree liberated from the bondage in which the superiority of Spain had hitherto held him.

This political result came to light only with the progress of events. The French influence for the first time re-appeared in Italy upon the lapse of Ferrara to the holy see, an event in other respects also of great moment, as regarded the growth of the political power of the ecclesiastical states, and which we may here suffer to interrupt our attention to the affairs of religion, as it then did that of contemporaries. We shall begin with a review of the country under its last sovereigns.

#### *Ferrara under Alfonso II.*

It is frequently assumed that Ferrara was pecu-

\* Ossat, who on other occasions is very circumstantial, passes very lightly over this ceremony (i. 168.). "Tout s'y est passé," he says, "convenablement à la dignité de la couronne très-chrétienne. [The whole was conducted in a manner befitting the dignity of the most Christian crown.] Every one was not of that opinion.

liarily prosperous and flourishing under the last Este: this, however, is but an illusion, like so many others, originating from the aversion entertained for the secular dominion of Rome.

Montaigne visited Ferrara under Alfonso II. He admired the broad streets of the city, and its beautiful palaces, but even he made the remark that occurs to modern travellers, that they were lonely and deserted\*. The prosperity of the country depended on the maintenance of the dams, and the regulation of the waters; but neither dams, nor streams, nor canals were kept in proper order; inundations were not unfrequent; Volana and Primarolo became choked with sand, so that their navigation ceased entirely†.

But it was a still greater error to look on the subjects of that house as free and happy. Alfonso most severely enforced the rights of his exchequer. On every contract, though it only related to a loan, a tenth accrued to the duke, and he levied a tenth on every thing that entered the city. He had the monopoly of salt; he burdened the commerce in oil with a new tax: at the advice of his minister of taxes, Christofano da Fiume, he finally appropriated to himself the trade in flour and bread, and no one could procure those necessities of life from any other than the ducal officers; no neighbour would have dared to lend a few hand-fuls of flour to another‡. Even the nobility were allowed the privilege of hunting only for a few days, and never with more than three dogs. One day six men were seen hanging in the market-place, with dead pheasants tied to their feet. This was a token, it was said, that they had been shot in the act of poaching in the duke's preserves.

If, therefore, writers speak of the flourishing condition and the activity of Ferrara, they cannot mean the country and the city, but only the court.

In the tempestuous days of the early part of the sixteenth century, when so many flourishing families, so many powerful principalities perished, and all Italy underwent a radical revolution, the house of Este had, by its dexterous policy, and its stout-hearted self-defence, contrived to weather through

\* Montaigne: *Voyage* i. 226. 231.

† A report respecting the state of the church belonging to the beginning of the seventeenth century, asserts that the duke had transferred to his country seat, Mesola, the peasants whose task it was to work on the Po, so that every thing connected with the latter had fallen into ruin, and could not be repaired. (*Inf. Politt.* t. ix.)

‡ Frizzi: *Memorie per la storia di Ferrara*, tom. iv. p. 364. More particularly Manolesso, *Relazione di Ferrara*. "Il duca non è costato amato come le suoi predecessori e questo per l'austerità e esattioni che fa Christofano da Fiume cognominato il Frisato (Sfregiato) suo gabelliere . . . Il Frisato s'offerse di vendere miglior mercato le robe a beneficio del popolo di quello che facevano gli altri e darne molto utile a S. Eccell.: piacque il partito la duca:—ma se bene il Frisato paga al duca quello che gli ha data intenzione, non sodisfa però al popolo, vendendo la robba cattiva quanto alla qualità e molto cara quanto al prezzo." [The duke is not so beloved as his predecessor, by reason of the harshness and the exactions of Christofano da Fiume, surnamed il Frisato (the scarred), his comptroller of taxes . . . Il Frisato offered to sell goods to the profit of the people, at lower prices than others, and to derive much advantage thence for his excellence. The duke approved the proposal:—but though il Frisato pays the duke what he gave him to expect, he yet does not satisfy the people, since he sells goods of bad quality, and very high priced.]



all dangers. With these qualities, however, it united others. Who has not read of that stock which, as Bojardo expresses himself, was destined to be the great preserver of all valour, goodness, courtesy, love, grace, and gaiety\*. Who has not read of its residence, which he, as well as Ariosto, says, was adorned not only with ample royal palaces, but also with fair studies and excellent manners†? If the Estes had the merit of patronizing poetry and learning, they have been abundantly rewarded. The memory of that splendour and power which rapidly pass away, has been propagated in the works of great writers that live for ever.

Alfonso II. sought to keep up the same state of things that had existed under his predecessors. He, too, held the same views.

He had not, indeed, to sustain the same rude conflicts as they; nevertheless, since he was in constant dissension with Florence, and was not always secure of his liege lord, the pope, he always held himself in a posture of defence. Ferrara was esteemed, next to Padua, the strongest hold in Italy: 27,000 men were enrolled in the militia‡. Alfonso strove to encourage the martial spirit. In order adequately to counterbalance the partiality displayed towards Tuscany by the papal court, he attached himself to the German emperors. He frequently crossed the Alps with a splendid retinue, united himself in marriage with an Austrian princess, spoke German, it is said, and in 1566 marched with a body of troops, amounting to some four thousand men, to the aid of the emperor in his war against the Turks.

In like manner the cause of literature thrived under his patronage. I know not that this world has ever elsewhere seen a closer union between literature and the court and government of a country. Pigna and Montecatino, two professors of the university, were successively prime ministers of the country; nor did they, therefore, give up their literary labours; at least Pigna, whilst he had the conduct of public business, continued his academical lectures, and from time to time published a book§. The poet, Battista Guarini, the author of

\* Bojardo: Orlando Innamorato, li. 22.

Da questa (stirpe) fia servato ogni valore,  
Ogni bontade et ogni cortesia,  
Amore, leggiadria, stato giocundo  
Tra quella gente fiorita nel mondo.

† Ariosto, Orlando Furioso, xxxv. 6.

Nor pur di mura e d' amplii tetti regi,  
Ma di bei studi e di costumi egregi.

‡ Relazione sopra la Romagna di Ferrara: "Erano descritti nell' rolli della militia dal commissario della battaglia a ciò deputato tutti i suditi atti a portar armi. Erano costretti a starne rovistati per haver da servirne nel occasioni a piedi o a cavallo secondo le forze delle loro facultà e godevano essi alcune esentioni." [All subjects capable of bearing arms were inscribed in the rolls of the militia by the commissioner of war appointed to that duty. They were required to hold themselves in readiness to serve when called on, on foot or on horseback according to their means, and they enjoyed certain exemptions.]

§ Manolesso: "Segretario intimo è il Sr. Giovamb. Pigna, per mano del quale passano tutti negotii. Legge publicamenti la filosofia morale, e scrive l'istoria della casa d'Este: è oratore filosofo e poeta molto eccellente: possiede benissimo la lingua Greca, e servendo il suo principe ne' negotii e trattando e iscrivendo quanto occorre, non trasaliva però i studi, et in tutte le professioni è tale che pare che ad una sola attenda." [His private secretary is Signor Giovamb. Pigna,

Pastor Fido, was sent ambassador to Venice and Poland. Even Francesco Patrizi, though engaged upon abstruse subjects, extols the sympathy he met with at the court. All liberal pursuits met with like measure of encouragement. The contests of science alternated with disputations touching controverted questions of love: Torquato Tasso, for instance, who had long occupied a place in the university, originated one of these. Sometimes a play was produced by the university, sometimes by the court: the theatre, in addition to its ordinary attractions, possessed one of a literary kind, since continual efforts were made after new forms, and just at this time it perfected the pastoral drama, and laid the foundation of the opera. Sometimes Ferrara was visited by foreign ambassadors, cardinals, and princes, at least by those of the neighbouring cities of Mantua, Guastalla, Urbino, and now and then even by an archduke. Upon these occasions the court shone forth in all its splendour; tournaments were held in which the nobility of the land spared no cost; at times a hundred cavaliers tilted in the court-yard of the palace. The festivities were arranged to represent some fabulous legend or poetic tale, as their names sufficiently indicate—the Temple of Love\*, the Island of Bliss; enchanted castles were defended and stormed.

Thus did the court of Ferrara display the closest union of poetry, learning, politics, and chivalry. There splendour was ennobled by the spirit that animated it, and the defect of means by the wealth of mind.

The "Rime" and the epic poems of Tasso, give us a living portraiture of this court, of the sovereign "in whom are obvious loftiness of heart and vigour, and of whom it cannot be said whether he is better as a knight or as a leader," of his wife, and above all, of his sisters. The elder, Lucrecia, resided but a short while with her husband in Urbino, and afterwards continually in Ferrara, where, likewise, she had influence in public affairs, though her chief care was to kindle and foster literary and musical efforts; it was she who patronized Tasso. The younger, Leonora, moved in a more limited sphere; she was delicate, quiet, and retiring, but, like her sister, possessed a mind of strongly marked lineaments†. Once, during an earthquake, they both refused to leave the castle; Leonora especially felt pleasure in indulging a stoical indifference; when at last they did give way, it was at a moment in the last degree critical; the roof fell in imme-

through whose hands all business passes. He gives public lectures on moral philosophy, and is engaged in writing the history of the house of Este; he is a very excellent orator, philosopher, and poet; he is exceedingly well versed in the Greek language, and while employed in the public service of his prince, and transacting and writing whatever his office requires, he yet does not neglect his studies, and in all his occupations he acquits himself as if he attended to but one alone.]

\* Extracts from descriptions which appeared at the time, for instance from the Tempio d'Amore, may be seen in Muratori, Serassi, and Frizzi.

† She acted as regent during the Duke's absence in the year 1566, according to Manolesso. "con infinita soddisfazione de' sudditi" [to the subjects' infinite satisfaction]. "Non ha preso," he continues, "né vuol prendere marito per esser di debolissima complessione: è però di gran spirito." [She is not married, nor will she marry, being of a very feeble constitution; and yet she possesses a great spirit.]

diately behind them. Leonora was looked on almost as a saint; to her prayers people ascribed their preservation from an inundation\*. Tasso paid them his court in a manner suited to their respective dispositions; towards the younger his tone was subdued, his language sparing and unfrequent, and always appearing as if he purposely abstained from a full expression of his sentiments; the elder he addresses without any reserve; he compares her to the full blown fragrant rose, which maturity has not divested of its charms, &c. Other ladies besides graced the court of Ferrara, such as Barbara Sanseverina and her daughter Leonora Savitale; Tasso has incomparably portrayed the calm self-possession of the matron, and the gladness and grace of the daughter's youthful beauty; no limner could place them more perfectly before us. Then follow descriptions of the *villeggiature* frequented by the court, the hunting parties, and the sports, the whole round of their pursuits. Who can resist the impression wrought by these descriptions, with all their gushing fulness of melody!

Still must we forbear from yielding ourselves up wholly to this impression. The same arbitrary force that held the whole land in such strict obedience, made itself likewise felt at court.

Those scenes of poetry and sport were sometimes dashed with very discordant incidents. The nobles were treated with as little forbearance as the common people.

A Gonzaga had been murdered. Every one laid the crime at the door of the young Ercole Contrario; at all events the murderers had taken refuge on an estate belonging to him. The duke demanded that they should be given up. Young Contrario, to avoid being exterminated by them, himself caused them to be put to death, and their corpses only were delivered over to the duke. Upon this he was one day summoned to the court, and on the 2nd of Aug., 1575, he had his audience. The Contrario was the wealthiest and most ancient family in Ferrara; Ercole was the last scion of the house. Not long after he entered the palace he was carried out of it a corpse. The duke said, that the young man, while conversing with him, had been suddenly struck with apoplexy; but no one believed him. Traces of violence were discovered on the body, and the duke's friends acknowledged that their master had caused Contrario to be put to death, excusing the act on the ground that he had been loath to sully an illustrious name by a more ignominious death†.

Such justice as this struck terror into every one. The worst was, that the property of the family was now to lapse to the duke.

But on the whole it would have been no prudent thing for any one to offer even the slightest resistance to the sovereign‡. The court was a perilously slippery ground. Subtle as was Monte-

catino, he could not yet maintain himself in the end. Panigarola, in those days the most distinguished preacher in Italy, had been allured, not without difficulty, to Ferrara: suddenly he was banished with boisterous violence. Men asked what was his offence, and nothing was discovered against him, but that he had entertained a correspondence respecting an invitation from another quarter. In such a scene the unstable, irritable, melancholy Tasso was not fitted to hold up long. The duke seemed to like him, listened to him with pleasure, and even condescended to correct the military descriptions that occur in the *Gerusalemme Liberata*. But from the moment Tasso showed a disposition to pass into the service of the Medici, there was an end to all cordiality between them. The poor poet withdrew from Ferrara, but an irresistible longing having brought him back again, some satirical expressions which had escaped him in one of his melancholy fits, were enough to determine the duke to keep the unhappy man imprisoned seven long years\*.

Here we behold the whole character of the Italian principality, precisely as it was in the fifteenth century; reposing on well-weighed political relations, unlimited and arbitrary at home, surrounded with splendour, allied with literature, jealous even of the show of power. Strange aspect of human things! The resources of the country produced the court, the centre of the court was the prince, the ultimate product of the whole social existence was the autocracy of the sovereign. From his position in the world, the obedience rendered him, and the homage paid him, he derived the feeling of his own value and importance.

It was the fate of Alfonso II. to be childless though thrice married. His whole policy was exemplified in the mode he adopted to remedy that disadvantage.

His purpose was twofold; first, to prevent his subjects from believing that they could pass under the rule of any other house than his own; and next, to hold the nomination of his successor in his own hand, and not by any chance to set up a rival against himself.

In September, 1589, he went to Loretto, where Donna Camilla, the sister of Sixtus V., was then staying; he spared neither presents nor promises to gain her over. Through her instrumentality he expected to be empowered to name as his successor that one of his nephews who seemed to him most fitted for the choice. But hardly had his negotiations been really begun when Sixtus V. died.

By similar means, presents to the pope's sister-in-law, and officious complaisance to his nephews, Alfonso succeeded, in the year 1591, in gaining the ear of Gregory XIV. When he saw that he might entertain hope, he went to Rome to ply the negotiation in person. The first question was, whether the bull of Pius V., which forbade the reinfusion of lapsed papal fiefs, was applicable to Ferrara. Alfonso denied this, because it had never yet lapsed. Still the words were but too plain; the congregation decided that the bull by all means

gance, which he derives from the nobility of his blood, and from the consciousness of his own worth, which in many particulars is not to be mistaken.]

\* Serassi: Vita del Tasso, p. 282.

\* Serassi: Vita di Torquato Tasso, p. 150.

† Frizzi: Memorie, iv. 382.

‡ When Tasso is not in good humour he expresses himself otherwise than as above. "Perchè io conosceva," he says, in a letter to the duke of Urbino, "il duca per natural inclinazione dispostissimo alla malignità e pieno d'una certa ambiziosa alterezza, la quale egli trae della nobiltà del sangue e della conoscenza ch'egli ha del suo valore, del quale in molte cose non si dà punto ad intendere il falso."—(Lettere n. 284. Opere, tom. ix. 188.) [Because I knew the duke to be naturally very prone to malice, and full of a certain overweening arro-

comprehended Ferrara. All that remained, then, to be asked was, whether a pope had not the power to make special determinations in special cases? The congregation did not venture to give a negative to this; it laid it down, however, as a condition, that the necessity should be urgent, and the utility obvious\*. A great step was thus gained. It is not improbable that had speed been used, and a new investiture prepared forthwith in favour of some individual by name, the object desired might have been accomplished. Alfonso, however, would not name his heir. Moreover the Sfondrati and he were not fully agreed on this subject; they would have preferred the marchese Filippo di Este, while the duke was more inclined to his nearer kinsman, Cesare. Time was wasted in discussions on this matter, and Gregory, too, died before any thing was settled†.

Meanwhile negotiations had also been entered into with the imperial court. Ferrara was indeed a papal, but Modena and Reggio were imperial fiefs. The duke's previous line of policy now stood him in good stead; he was on the best of terms with the emperor's leading minister, Wolf Rumpf. Rudolph II. actually accorded him the renewal of the fief, and even allowed him an interval during which he should be free to choose whom he would name as his successor.

But Clement VIII. showed himself altogether as intractable as the emperor was compliant. It seemed more catholic, more ecclesiastical, to call in a fief than to bestow it again; such had been the rule laid down by the sainted pope Pius V. Even in the year 1592, Clement in a private consistory proposed to confirm the before-mentioned bull in its original tenour, without the addition made by Gregory XIV.; in this state it was passed‡.

And now the delay allowed by the emperor was expired, and the duke was called on to designate his successor. Alfonso I. had, late in life, married Laura Eustochia, after she had already borne him a son, from whom was sprung don Cesare d'Este, whom the duke, after much hesitation, fixed on as his heir. But even yet he did not abandon the most cautious secrecy. Without communicating his intentions to any one else, he made known his choice to the emperor in an autograph letter, most urgently requesting him at the same time not to divulge the matter to any one, not even to his own ambassador at the imperial court, and only to express his approval of the measure by sending back the letter with his imperial signature§.

\* Dispaccio Donato: "Quando ci fusse evidentissima utilità et urgente necessità . . . il che fu fatto per aprire la strada all' intenzione del Sr. Duca." Cardinal S. Severina asserts that it was he who principally frustrated this design, though with much difficulty and against much opposition, and that the pope afterwards repented of that addition.

† Cronica di Ferrara, MS. Bibl. Albani also states there is no doubt Gregory XIV. would have done something for Ferrara; that he left the congregation in a passion, and was seized with illness in consequence. Alfonso went to a villa of Cardinal Farnese's, "aspettando o vita o morte di questo papa. Venne la morte. Il duca ritornò." [Waiting to see whether the pope would live or die. He died. The duke returned.]

‡ Dispaccio Donato, 27 Dec. 1592.

§ Relazione di quello che è successo in Ferrara dopo la morte del duca Alfonso. MS. Barber. "Il duca fra l'anno concessogli di tempo alla dichiarazione scrisse di suo pugno una lettera all' imperatore e nominò Don Cesare, pregando

He was resolved to retain, unshared with any one to his last gasp, the highest consequence in his little territory; he would not have his court direct their attention to the rising sun. Cesar himself was not made at all acquainted with the favour bestowed on him, he was still forced to make an appearance somewhat restricted in splendour (he was never allowed to have more than three gentlemen in his suite), and it was not till the duke's life was at the last ebb, and the physicians had given up all hope, that he called for the young man to announce to him his good fortune. His will was opened in presence of the most distinguished inhabitants of Ferrara, who were admonished by the minister to be true to the house of Este. The duke told Cesar he left him the fairest state in the world, strong in arms, population, and allies within and beyond Italy, from whom he might expect every aid. Thereupon, on the same day, died Alfonso II. Oct. 27, 1597.

### *Conquest of Ferrara.*

Cesar took possession of the imperial fiefs without question: even those of the pope did him homage. In Ferrara he was decked with the ducal mantle by the magistrates, and hailed with loud acclamations by the people as their sovereign.

Now if his predecessor had told him of native strength and foreign aid, he was very soon in a condition to put their value to the test.

Clement remained unmoveable in his resolution to resume Ferrara. Many popes before him had made the attempt. On the receipt of the news of Alfonso's death, he declared he lamented that the duke had left no son, but that the church must repossess itself of its own. He would not hear Cesar's ambassadors, and he designated his taking possession as an usurpation, threatening him with the ban if he did not resign within fourteen days. To give force to his words he began forthwith to prepare for war. A new Joan was taken up, and a new monte founded, in order to avoid touching the money in the castle of St. Angelo\*. Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandino betook himself soon after to Ancona with a suite of experienced military men, to gather together an army. Recruiting parties were sent out in every direction, and the provinces were forced to contribute considerable levies.

Cesar, too, displayed spirit at first†. He de-

caldamente S. M. Cesa. che in confirmatione del nominato sottoscrivesse la sua, quale sigillata senza pubblicare il fatto la rimandasse indietro per il conte Erolo Rondinelli, non conferendogli altramente il negotio. Il tutto faceva S. A. acciò Don Cesare non s'insuperbisse, nè della nobiltà fusse riverito e corteggiato come lor principe."

\* Though many asserted that this was done. Deifino says on the contrary: "Con gran strettazza de' danari, senza metter mano a quelli del castello, per conservar la reputatione della chiesa, in poco più di un mese ha posto insieme un esercito di 22 m. fanti e 3 m. cavalli." [Though very much pinched for money, without touching that in the castle, to preserve the reputation of the church, he brought together in little more than a month an army of 22,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry.]

† Niccolò Contarini delle historie Venetiane, MS. tom. i. lib. i. "Cesare nel principio si mostrò molto coraggioso in voler defender le sue ragioni, o perchè non prevedeva il contrasto o pur perchè gl' inesperti come nei vicini pericoli s'atterriscono così nell' lontani si manifestano intrepidi."

clared that he would defend his just rights to the last drop of his blood; that neither his religion nor his salvation would suffer for his doing so. Accordingly he renewed the fortifications of his strongholds; the militia were put under arms; a body of troops advanced to the frontiers of the papal states, and we find an invitation addressed to him to enter Romagna, where the inhabitants were dissatisfied with the papal government, and only desired an opportunity to shake it off. In addition to this, it was his good fortune to have the neighbouring Italian states on his side. His brother-in-law, the archduke of Tuscany, declared he would not abandon him. The republic of Venice hindered the pope from recruiting in Dalmatia, and refused him the arms and muniments of war he wished to draw from Brescia. All heartily abhorred the augmentation of the ecclesiastical states.

Had Italy been in a condition like that which had existed a hundred years before, tolerably independent of foreign influence, and left to take its own course, Clement VIII. would probably not have effected more than Sixtus IV. did in his day: but those times were gone by; everything now depended on the general state of European affairs, and on the great powers of that time, France and Spain.

The inclinations of the Spaniards did not now admit of much doubt. Cesar d'Este relied so strongly on Philip II. that he proposed him to the pope as an arbitrator in their dispute. The royal governor in Milan declared roundly in favour of Cesar, and offered him Spanish garrisons for his fortresses. There was, however, no mistaking but that the king, who all his life had deprecated every commotion in Italy, now hesitated in his advanced years to give occasion to a war, and conducted himself with extraordinary caution, as did likewise his ambassador in Rome\*.

Under these circumstances so much the more depended on the decision of Henry IV.; the restoration of France as a mighty catholic power was immediately followed by important consequences for Italy. Henry IV. had retrieved his fortunes through his understanding with the Italian princes; they doubted not but that he would now evince his gratitude, and side with them in their differences with the holy see. Moreover the crown of France was under great obligations to the house of Este. During the civil war the Estes had advanced upwards of a million of scudi to the royal family, which were not yet paid, and which at this moment would have been sufficient to raise such an army as no pope could have withstood.

[Cesar at first appeared very courageously resolved on defending his claims, either because he did not foresee the struggle he would have to make, or because the inexperienced are as intrepid when danger is remote as they are terrified upon its near approach.] Contarini's narrative contains very good, exact, and striking information on this event.

\* Delfino relates how much was feared from him in Rome: "Vi e un pensiero radicato a buon fundamento che la benedizione data al re di Franza sia stata offesa tale al cattolico et a Spagnuoli che non siano per scordarsela mai, e pare a S. S. a esserne molto ben chiarita in questa occasione di Ferrara." [The opinion has taken firm hold there that the benediction bestowed on the king of France has so offended his catholic majesty and the Spaniards, that they will never forget it, and of this his holiness thinks he has had very evident token in this affair of Ferrara.]

These, however, were not the considerations that Henry IV. regarded. Notwithstanding his conversion to catholicism, he would yet be forced to do many things that could not fail to displease the court of Rome. He saw in the affair of Ferrara only an opportunity of casting these things into oblivion, and of raising the lilies (as his statesmen expressed it) once more at the court of Rome. Without the slightest hesitation or wavering, he offered the aid of France to the holy father. Not only did he declare himself ready, so soon as the pope should desire it, to send an army across the mountains, but also, in case of need, to come to his support in person, with his whole power.

It was this declaration that decided the matter. The Roman court, that had already become sensible to all the perplexities in which the coldness of its neighbours and the open resistance of Ferrara might plunge it, breathed again. "I cannot express," said Ossat, in his dispatch to the king, "what cordiality, praise, and blessing your majesty has obtained through your offer." He promises his master, if he fulfils it, a place in relation to the church like that of Pepin, or of Charlemagne. On his side the pope now made instant preparations for the formal excommunication of his adversary.

The princes were deeply shocked and alarmed: they talked of black ingratitude; they lost courage to support Ferrara, which otherwise they undoubtedly would have done, either openly or secretly, with all their might.

This had an immediate effect on the men of Ferrara. Alfonso's harsh sway had necessarily created many malcontents. Cesar was new in the affairs of government, without requisite talents, and altogether unpractised. It was in the sittings he held as sovereign that, for the first time, he became more intimately acquainted with the members of the privy council\*: having sent away to the various courts his older friends, who knew him, and in whom he personally confided, he had no one about him on whom he could repose real trust, or with whom he could have any suitable communion of opinion. It was not possible that he should escape making false steps. From himself downwards there spread

\* Niccolò Contarini. "Cesare si ridusse in camera co' suoi soli consiglieri, di quali molti, per la ritiranza nella quale era vissuto, così volendo chi comandava, non conosceva se non di faccia, et egli non sufficiente di prender resolutione da se, vacillava nel concetti, perche quelli che consigliavano erano pieni di passioni particolari e per le speranze di Roma, in qui miravano, infetti di grandi contuminationi." [Cesar held a meeting with his privy councillors, many of whom were only known to him by sight, in consequence of the great retirement in which it had been the pleasure of the late ruler that he should live; and as he was incapable of adopting any resolution by himself, his thoughts were all unsettled, for those who advised him were full of their own private interests, and their fidelity sorely infected with the hopes they reposed in Rome.] Ossat also, *Lettres*, t. 495, states, as the cause of his ill success: "le peu de fidelité de ses conseillers meemes, qui partie pour son peu de resolution, partie pour avoir des rentes et autres biens en l'estat de l'église, et esperer et craindre plus du St. Siege que de lui, regardoient autant ou plus vers le pape que vers lui." [The scanty fidelity of his councillors themselves, who, partly on account of his own lack of resolution, partly to acquire rents and other advantages in the states of the church, and because of their having more to hope and to fear from the holy see than from him, looked as much, or rather more, to the pope than to the duke.]

a feeling of insecurity, such as is the usual forerunner of ruin. The more prominent individuals, who had a share in the power of the state, already began to calculate what they might gain by a change, and tried to conclude a secret treaty with the pope. Antonio Montecatino betook himself to Rome. But unquestionably the most startling misfortune was, that dissension had broken out in the house of Este itself. Lucrecia had hated Cesar's father, she hated himself no less; and could not bear to be his subject: she herself, the sister of the late duke, scrupled not to enter into a confederacy with the pope and cardinal Aldobrandini.

Meanwhile the pope had performed the act of excommunication. On the 22nd of December, 1597, he went in state to St. Peter's, and ascended the loggia of that church with his more immediate retinue. A cardinal read the bull. Don Cesare d'Este was declared therein an enemy to the Roman church, guilty of treason, fallen under the heaviest censure, and under the sentence of anathema; his subjects were absolved from their oath of allegiance, and his officers were exhorted to quit his service. After the bull had been read, the pope, with angry looks, threw down a burning candle on the ground beneath; trumpets and drums sounded, cannons were discharged, and louder than all rose the cries of the populace.

Circumstances were in such a posture, that this excommunication could not but produce its full effect. An inhabitant of Ferrara itself conveyed a copy of the bull, sewed up in his clothes, into the city, and delivered it to the bishop\*. A canon was to be buried the next morning, Dec. 31, 1597: the church was hung with black; the people were assembled to hear the funeral sermon. The bishop ascended the pulpit and began to speak of death. "But far worse still," he said, with a sudden turn of his discourse, "than the death of the body, is the destruction of the soul that now threatens us all." He paused, and had the bull read, wherein all who would not separate from Don Cesare were threatened "to be lopped off as withered branches from the tree of spiritual life." Upon this the bull was affixed to the door, the church was filled with cries and sobs, and dismay spread through the whole city.

Don Cesar was not the man to stay the course of such an agitation. He had been counselled to enlist Swiss and Germans in his service, but he could not make up his mind to do so. Catholics he would not have, because they were adherents of the pope, but still less would he have to do with protestants, because they were heretics: "just as if," says Niccolo Contarini, "it was for him to fill the office

of an inquisitor." He now asked his father confessor what he ought to do? This was Benedetto Palma, a Jesuit, and by him he was advised to submit.

To such a pass was Don Cesar brought, that, to enable him to make this submission under favourable conditions, he was obliged to have recourse even to her whom he knew to be his most vehement enemy. He was obliged, in order to escape on tolerable terms, to avail himself of the secret, and in a certain sense treasonable, connexion into which Lucrecia had entered with Rome\*. At the duke's request Lucrecia repaired with her accustomed pomp to the hostile camp.

Cesar's adherents always maintained that she might have obtained better conditions; but that, allured by the promise of possession for life of Bertinoro, with the title of duchess, and personally captivated by the young and witty cardinal, she had assented to every thing demanded of her. On the 12th of January, 1598, the treaty was drawn up, by virtue of which Cesar surrendered his interest in Ferrara, Comacchio, and his portion of Romagna: in return for which he was to receive absolution from the church's ban. He had flattered himself with the hope of saving something at least; so sweeping a loss appeared to him very hard. He once more called together the leading magistrates of the city, the giudice de' savi, some doctors and nobles, to consult with them. They gave him no comfort or encouragement; every one already thought only how he might place himself on a good footing with the expected new authority; everywhere men vied with each other in pulling down the arms of the house of Este and expelling its officers. Nothing remained for the prince but to sign the act of abdication, and to quit the inheritance of his fathers.

Thus did the house of Este lose Ferrara. The archives, the museum, the library, and a part of the artillery which Alfonso I. had cast with his own hand, were transferred to Modena: every thing else was lost. The widow of Alfonso II. carried away fifty waggons full of her property: his sister, having married in France, asserted in her own favour the claims of her family on the crown of that country; but the conduct of Lucrecia was the most unexpected. She had no opportunity of taking possession of her duchy. Exactly a month after the conclusion of the treaty, she died, Feb. 12. When her will was opened, it was found that she had constituted her universal legatee that very man, cardinal Aldobrandini, who had driven out her family from their ancient possessions. She had even transferred to him her claims which were now to be contested against Cesar him-

\* A certain Coralta. "Ributtato al primo Ingresso da' soldati se excusò che lui ivi dimorava nè era ancora partito per Bologna (whence he was just arrived: he had dismounted from his horse some distance from the gate) e ragionando si pose fra loro a sedere; finalmente assicurato, si licentiò della guardia, entrò nella città, presentò al vescovo la scomunica con la lettera dell'arcivescovo di Bologna." (Relatione di quello che, &c.) [Being repulsed by the soldiers on his first attempt to enter, he excused himself, saying that he lived there, and had not yet set out for Bologna; he then sat down and conversed with them, and when he had made all safe he left the guard, entered the city, and presented the excommunication to the bishop, with the archbishop of Bologna's letter.]

\* Contarini: "Come chi abandona ogni speranza, più facilmente si remette nel arbitrio dell' inimico che nella confidenza dell' amico, andò (Cesare) a ritrovare la duchessa d'Urbino, et a lei, la qual ben sapeva haver pur troppo intelligenza col cl. Aldobrandino, remise ogni sua fortuna. Accettò ella allegramente l'impresa ridotta dove al principio haveva desiderato.—Con molta comitiva quasi trionfante, accompagnata dal marchese Bentivoglio, capo delle milizie del duca, faceva il suo viaggio." He describes Lucrecia as "di pensieri torbidi: benchè simulasse altrimenti, era non di meno di lungo tempo accerrima nemica di Don Cesare." [A woman of foul and troubled thoughts: though she pretended otherwise, she had nevertheless long been the most rancorous enemy to Don Cesare.]

self. It would seem as though she had wished to bequeath her old foe an adversary who might embitter all his days. There is something fiendish in the character of this woman, who felt pleasure and satisfaction in contributing to the ruin of her own house.

Now then the ecclesiastical supplanted the ducal rule. On the 8th of May the pope himself entered Ferrara. He wished to enjoy a sight of his new conquest, and at the same time to bind it to the church by suitable institutions.

He began with gentleness and clemency. Ecclesiastical dignities were bestowed on a number of the principal men of Ferrara\*; cardinal's hats, bishoprics, and auditorships fell to their lot. Among others, young Bentivoglio the historian was made privy chamberlain of the pope. The duke's power had been founded on the usurpation of municipal rights: the pope resolved to restore the burghers their ancient privileges. He instituted a consiglio of three classes; one of the superior nobility, including twenty-seven members, one of the inferior nobility and the eminent citizens containing fifty-five, and one of the trades with eighteen members. Their rights were carefully defined: those of the first class were the most important, but in return, the filling up of vacancies in their numbers rested principally with the pope. To this consiglio the pope committed the superintendence of provisions, the regulation of water courses, the nomination of judges and podestas, and even the appointment to places in the university: all of them rights which the duke had formerly jealously reserved to himself. This, as may be imagined, was the beginning of a new order of things. The lower classes too were not forgotten: considerable relaxations were made in the rigid fiscal regulations†.

But every thing could not be arranged in this spirit: even the ecclesiastical sway was not all mildness. The judicial duties of the papal officials presently became burdensome to the nobility: the first giudice de' savi, Montecatino, took offence at the restrictions imposed on the rights of his office, and resigned. It excited universal discontent that pope Clement deemed it necessary to secure his conquest by a fortress. The representations made by the inhabitants against this proceeding, urgent and imploring as they were, were in vain: precisely the most populous part of the city was chosen for the site of the castle‡. Whole streets were pulled down, churches, oratories, and hospitals, the pleasure

houses of the duke and the court, and the beautiful Belvidere, extolled by so many poets.

Perhaps it had been expected that this devastation would completely obliterate from men's minds the memory of the ducal house: on the contrary, it proved the means of reviving it; the smouldering affection for the hereditary race of sovereigns shot up again. All those who had belonged to the court turned to Modena,—Ferrara, never very animated, became still more deserted.

But it was not possible for all to follow the court who desired to do so. There is extant a manuscript chronicle by an old servant of the ducal house, in which he recounts with delight the doings of Alfonso's court, its pleasures, its concerts, and its sermons. "But now," he says at the conclusion, "all this is gone by. Now there is no duke in Ferrara, no princesses, no concerts or concert-givers: so passes the glory of this world. For others the world may be made pleasant by changes, but not for me, who am left lonely, aged, toothless, and poor. Nevertheless, praised be God\*."

#### *Commotions among the Jesuits.*

It is manifest that the great advantages which accrued to Clement VIII., in consequence of his amicable relation to the policy of France, must have made him feel more and more bound to that power. He now reaped the benefit of the moderation with which he had mingled in the affairs of the Ligue, of his having opposed no serious obstacle to the natural course of events in France, and of his having, at least at the last moment, resolved on granting absolution to Henry. The war which was now waged on the frontiers of the Netherlands and France, excited as much interest in Rome as though the cause had been its own: that interest was decidedly in favour of France. The conquest of Calais and Amiens achieved by the Spanish, excited at the Roman court a dissatisfaction "that cannot be described," says d'Ossat, "an extreme melancholy, shame, and indignation†." The pope and his nephews feared, we are told by Delfino, that the Spaniards might be inclined to vent upon them their displeasure at the grant of absolution. Fortunately Henry IV. soon retrieved the check his reputation had sustained, by the re-conquest of Amiens.

\* Cronica di Ferrara "Sic transit gloria mundi. E per tale variare natura è bella, ma non per me, che io son restato senza patrono, vecchio, privo di tutti i denti, e povero. Laudetur Deus."

† Ossat a Villeroy, 14 Mai, 1596, 20 April 1591. l. 251, 458. Delfino: "Li pericoli di Marsiglia fecero stare il papa in gran timore e li nepoti: la perdita di Calais e poi quella di Amiens apportò loro gran mestitia, e massime che si dubiò allora per le voci che andavano attorno di peggio, temendo quelli che ogni poco che cadeva più la riputazione de' Francesi, i Spagnoli non avessero mostrata apertamente lo sdegno che hanno avuto de la resolutione (absolutione?) loro e la sua mala volontà: per questa causa principalmente hanno avuto carissimo il bene della Franza." [The danger of Marseilles put the pope and his nephews in great fear; the loss of Calais and then that of Amiens caused them great grief, and especially because rumours of worse things were afloat; they feared that with every little diminution of reputation sustained by France, the Spaniards would more openly display their resentment respecting the absolution granted to Henry, and the pope's backwardness in their cause: for this reason chiefly, the pope and his nephews were most warmly interested in the prospects of France.]

\* Contarini: "Al Bevilacqua, che era di molto potere, fu dato il patriarcato latino di Constantinopoli. Il Siciato fu creato auditor di rota. Ad altri si dispensarono abbacie." [The latin patriarchate of Constantinople was given to Bevilacqua, who was a man of great weight. Siciato was created auditor di-rota. Abbeys were conferred on others].

† Frizzi: Memorie, v. p. 25.

‡ Dispiaccio Delfino, 7 Giugno, 1598. "Si pensa dal papa di far una cittadella della parte verso Bologna, per la poca soddisfazione che ha la nobiltà per non esser rispettata dalli ministri della giustitia e che non li siano per esser restituite le entrate vecchie della comunità—dolendosi di esser ingannati." [The pope thinks of constructing a citadel on the side next Bologna, because of the dissatisfaction the nobility express at the little respect paid them by the ministers of justice, and at the refusal to restore to them the old revenues of the corporation—complaining that they have been deceived.]



It was not that they had begun at Rome to love those with whom they had formerly been at strife : the conduct of those heads of the clergy who had first attached themselves to Henry IV., and founded the party of the opposition, was never forgotten or forgiven : promotion was much more willingly bestowed on the adherents of the Ligue, provided only they at last spontaneously retraced their steps, that is to say, provided they were pretty nearly in the predicament of the curia itself. But as all human opinions, however nearly they may approximate to each other, yet manifest varieties of character and tendency, there very soon arose among the king's adherents themselves a party deliberately professing rigid catholic principles, and aiming, above all things, at maintaining a good understanding with the court of Rome. The pope clung particularly to this party : he hoped that he should succeed in equalizing all the differences that might still exist between the French and Roman institutions : above all, his wishes and his efforts were directed towards the restoration of the Jesuits, who as we have seen had been expelled from France, whereby in defiance of the course things had taken in that country, a freer field would be procured there for the Roman doctrines.

In this project he was aided by a movement in the Jesuit order, which, though originating from within, had yet a great analogy to the change in the general tendency of the Roman court.

Such is often the strange complication in which the affairs of the world are involved, that at the moment in which the Parisian university urged no criminal charge so strongly against the Jesuits as their connexion with Spain, in which it was said, and believed in France, that the Jesuits prayed daily for their king Philip\*, and were bound by a fifth vow to devotion towards Spain, that even then the society was sustaining in Spain the rudest assaults on the part of the malcontent members of the inquisition, of another order, and lastly of the royal authority.

This turn of things arose out of more than one cause, but its immediate origin was as follows.

At first the elder and already educated men who entered the society, were for the most part Spaniards ; the members who joined them from other nations were generally young men who had yet to be trained. The natural consequence was, that the government of the society in the earlier years of its existence fell chiefly into Spanish hands. The first general congregation consisted of twenty-five members, eighteen of whom were Spaniards†. The first three generals belonged to the same nation ; after the death of Borgia, the third of them, in 1573, it was once more a Spaniard, Polanco, who had the best prospect of succeeding him.

It became apparent, however, that his election would not have been favourably regarded even in Spain. There were many now converts in the society, christianized Jews, to which class Polanco too belonged. It was not desired in that country that the chief authority in so powerful and so monarchically constituted a society should fall into such hands‡. Pope Gregory XIII. who had received a hint on this subject, deemed a change

\* "Pro rege nostro Philippo."

† Sacchini v. 7. 99. In the second general congregation, the disproportion was diminished, though but slightly. Of thirty-nine members twenty-four were Spaniards.

‡ Sacchini, *Historia Societatis Jesu*, pars iv. sive Eve-

advisable on other grounds likewise. When a deputation from the congregation assembled for the election presented themselves before him, he asked them how many votes each nation possessed : it appeared that the Spaniards had more than all the others put together. He further inquired, from what nation the general of the order had hitherto been taken. He was told that the order had had three generals, all of them Spaniards. "It is reasonable," replied Gregory, "that you should for once choose one from some of the other nations." He even himself proposed a candidate to them.

The Jesuits for a moment strove against this as an encroachment on their privileges ; but at last they elected the very candidate the pope had proposed. This was Eberhard Mercurianus.

This election marked the commencement of an important change. Mercurianus, a weak and irresolute man, left the management of affairs first of all to a Spaniard, and afterwards to a Frenchman, his appointed admnitor. Factions sprang up ; the one expelled the other from offices of moment ; the dominant ranks at times met with resistance on the part of the inferior.

It was however a much more important circumstance, that upon occasion of the next vacancy in 1581, the office was bestowed on Claudius Aquaviva, a Neapolitan, sprung from a family that had formerly belonged to the French party, a vigorous man, whose age did not exceed thirty-eight.

The Spaniards imagined for a time, that their nation, which had founded the society and guided its early steps, was for ever excluded from the generalship ; they were discontented at this, and refractory\*, and conceived the design of making themselves independent of Rome in some way or other, such as setting up a special commissioner general for the Spanish provinces. Aquaviva on the other hand had no thought of foregoing the least particle of the authority accorded him by the letter of the constitution. In order to curb the malcontents, he set over them superiors on whose devotion to his own person he could rely, young men who were more assimilated to himself in years and disposition†, also members of inferior merit, coadjutors not possessed of all the rights of the order, who all alike beheld their protector in the general, and lastly countrymen of his own, Neapolitans‡.

ardus, lib. 1 : "Horum origo motuum duplex fuit, studia nationum, et neophytorum in Hispania odium." [The origin of these movements was two-fold, national jealousies, and the dislike of new converts felt in Spain.]

\* Mariana : Discurso de las enfermedades de la compañía, c. xii. "La nación española está persuadida queda para sempre excluida del generalato. Esta persuasión, sea verdadera sea falsa, non puede dexar de causar disgustos y disunion tanto mas que esta nación funda la compañía, la honró, la enseñó, y aun sustentó largo tiempo con su substancia."

† Mariana, c. xii. "Ponen en los gobiernos homes mozos—porque son mas entremetidos saben lamer a sus tiempos."

‡ Besides Mariana, the reports to Clement VIII. are also important on this subject : they are printed in the *Tuba magnum clangens sonum ad Clementem XI.* p. 583. "Videmus cum magno detrimento religionis nostræ et scandalo mundi quod generalis ulla habita ratione nec antiquitatis nec laborum nec meritum facit quos vult superiores et ut plurimum juvenes et novicios, qui sine ulla meritis et sine ulla experientia cum maxima arrogantia præsent senioribus : et denique generalis, quia homo est, habet etiam suos affectus particulares, . . . et quia est Neapolitanus, melioris conditionis sunt Neapolitani." [We see how to the great



The aged, learned and experienced fathers beheld themselves excluded not only from the highest dignity, but also from the appointments in the provinces. Aquaviva pretended that this was caused by their own defects; one was choleric, another melancholy; naturally, says Mariana, distinguished men are commonly wont to be afflicted with some defect: but the real ground was, that he feared them, and wished for tools more suitable for the execution of his commands. In general men have a craving for an active share in public matters, and there is nothing a man is so little disposed to submit to as expulsion from his own holding. Bickerings began in all the colleges. The new superiors were received with sullen animosity; they could carry out no essential measures, and were glad enough if they could come off without commotions and disturbances. Yet they had power enough to retaliate. They too filled the inferior offices only with their personal adherents, for such they could not long fail to have, seeing the monarchical constitution of the order, and the ambition of the members; they sent their most pertinacious opponents abroad to other provinces, and this more particularly at the very juncture when an important debate was pending. Thus every thing merged into a system of personal offence and retaliation. It was not only the right, but even the duty of a member to point out the defects he remarked in another, a regulation, that in the innocence of a small association might have some good moral tendency, but which now was converted into the most loathsome espionage; it was an instrument of private ambition, of hatred concealed under the mask of friendship; "if any one would search the archives in Rome," exclaims Mariana, "he would perhaps not find a single honest man at least among us who are at a distance:" universal distrust crept in; no man would have spoken his mind unreservedly to his brother.

To this was added that Aquaviva could not be induced to quit Rome and visit the provinces, as Lainez and Borgia had done. The excuse offered for this was, that there was even some advantage in having things stated in writing, in an unbroken series, without the interruption arising out of the contingencies of a journey. Still in any case it followed directly from the practice, that the provincials, in whose hands the correspondence lay, acquired a greater degree of independence. It was in vain to complain of them; they could easily anticipate every thing of the kind, and render it nugatory before hand, the more so inasmuch as Aquaviva was wholly favourable to them. They retained their places virtually for life.

Under these circumstances the old Jesuits in Spain felt that a state of things, which they regarded as a tyranny, would never receive any change from within the pale of the society: they resolved therefore to look round for external aid.

First they turned to the national spiritual authority of their country, the inquisition. A multitude detrimental of our religion and to the scandal of the world, the general, utterly regardless of antiquity, and of labours and desert, appoints whomsoever he pleases as superiors, and generally young men and novices, who, entirely destitute alike of merit and experience, rule with great arrogance over their seniors: . . . and finally the general, since he is a man, has also his private affections, and since he is a Neapolitan, the Neapolitans are in better case.]

of transgressions, as is well known, were specially reserved to the tribunal of the inquisition. A malcontent Jesuit, impelled as he said by conscientious scruples, accused his order of concealing and even remitting offences of this kind when they were committed by its own members. Suddenly the inquisition caused the provincial, who was implicated in a case of this kind, and some of his most active associates, to be arrested\*. Other accusations being preferred after this beginning, the inquisition caused the statutes of the order to be delivered up, and proceeded to further arrests. There arose among the true believing Spaniards an excitement the more vehement, inasmuch as its cause was so obscure, and the opinion became current that the Jesuits had been arrested on account of some heresy.

The inquisition however was competent only to inflict punishment, but not to make any change in the constitution of the order. When matters had gone thus far, the malcontents turned likewise to the king, and beset him with memorials complaining of the defects in their constitution. That constitution had never been satisfactory to Philip II.; he used to say that he could see through all other orders, but the Jesuits alone he could not understand: he was particularly struck with the apparent truth of what was said to him respecting the abuse of absolute authority, and the monstrous system of secret accusation. Amidst the occupations of the great European struggle in which he was engaged, he bent his attention on this matter too. He pointedly enjoined bishop Maurique of Carthage to hold a visitation of the order, especially with regard to those two points.

This was obviously an attack affecting the character of the institution, and its chief himself: the more serious, since it originated in the country from which the society had sprung, and where it had first established itself.

Aquaviva was not dismayed. He was a man who concealed a profound inflexibility under an aspect of great mildness and great suavity of manners, of a character, like that of Clement VIII. and many another of that age, in the utmost degree deliberate, moderate, prudent, and taciturn. He had never ventured to pronounce a positive judgment; he would not even suffer one to be uttered in his presence, least of all upon a whole nation. His secretaries were expressly directed to avoid every offensive, every bitter word. He loved pity, and even its outward appearance. In his bearing at the altar he expressed a rapt enjoyment of the service; still he kept aloof from every tincture of enthusiasm. He refused permission to print an exposition of Solomon's song, because he thought it offensive, that the language fluctuated on the confines of sensual and spiritual love. Even when he chided he had the art of winning the feelings: he manifested the superiority of calmness: he led the erring into the right path by substantial argu-

\* Sacchini, pars v. lib. vi. no. 85. "Quidam e confessoris, seu vere seu falso, delatus ad provincialem tum Castellæ, Antonium Marcenium; erat de tentata puellæ per sacras confessiones pudicitia, quod crimen in Hispania sacrorum quæstorum judicio reservabatur." [A certain confessor was informed against, whether truly or falsely, to the then provincial of Castile, Antonio Marcenis, for having perverted the sanctity of confession to attempt the chastity of a young female, a crime which in Spain was reserved for the jurisdiction of the holy inquisitors.]

ments; the young clung to him with ardour. "One must love him," writes Maximilian of Bavaria to his father from Rome, "if one but looks on him." These qualities, his indefatigable activity, even his noble descent, and the constantly increasing importance of his order, procured him an eminent position in Rome. If his adversaries succeeded in gaining over the national authorities in Spain, he on the other hand had in his favour the Roman court, which he had known from his youth upwards (he was chamberlain when he entered the order) and with which he knew how to deal with the mastery of innate and practised talents\*.

It was particularly easy for him, considering the character of Sixtus V., to excite the antipathies of that pope against the efforts of the Spaniards. It was the conception of pope Sixtus, as we are aware, to make Rome, still more than it was, the metropolis of Christendom. Aquaviva represented to him that the object sought in Spain was no less than to make themselves independent of Rome. Pope Sixtus hated nothing so much as illegitimate birth: Aquaviva intimated to him that Manrique, the bishop selected to make the visitation, was a bastard. This was reason enough for the pope to recal the approval he had already given of the visitation. He likewise evoked the proceedings against the provincial to Rome. Under Gregory XIV. the general succeeded in obtaining a formal confirmation of the institutes of the order.

But the hostile party too was obstinate and crafty. They saw clearly that they must assail the general himself at the Roman court. They availed themselves of a momentary absence of his (he had been charged with the task of accommodating a dispute between Mantua and Parma) to gain the ear of Clement VIII. Upon the solicitation of the Spanish Jesuits and of Philip II., Clement, in the summer of 1592, commanded a general congregation without Aquaviva's knowledge.

Astonished and alarmed, Aquaviva hastened back. General congregations were as irksome to the general of the Jesuits, as a convocation of the church to the pope. If they were sedulously avoided by every other general, how much more were they to be deprecated by Aquaviva, against whom there prevailed such violent hatred. But soon observing that the arrangement was irrevocable†, he composed himself, and said, "We are

obedient sons, the will of the holy father be done." He then hastened to take his measures.

He contrived to possess himself of great influence in the elections, and it was his good fortune to see many of his most formidable opponents, for example Mariana, rejected even in Spain.

When the assembly was now met, he did not wait until he was assailed. In the very first sitting he declared that, since he had the misfortune to labour under the displeasure of some of his brethren, he begged for an inquiry into his conduct before any other business was entered on. A committee was named; grievances were specified: but how should it have been possible to convict him of the violation of a positive law? He was much too prudent to expose himself to such an accusation: he was triumphantly acquitted.

Thus personally secured, he joined with the assembly in investigating the topics advanced with respect to the institute.

King Philip had demanded some things, and others he had recommended for consideration. His demands were two, the abandonment of certain papal privileges, for instance, those of reading forbidden books, and of absolving from the crime of heresy, and a law, by virtue of which every novice on entering the order should surrender any majorate he might possess, and even all his benefices. These were points on which the society clashed with the inquisition and the government. After some deliberation these demands were conceded, chiefly through Aquaviva's own influence.

But those points which the king had merely recommended for consideration, were far more important. Foremost among them were the questions, whether the authority of superiors ought not to be limited to a definite period, and whether a renewal of the general congregation after a fixed interval should not be appointed. The essence of the institution, the right of absolute command, was thus brought in question. On this subject Aquaviva did not show himself equally compliant. After animated debates, the congregation rejected these suggestions of the king. But the pope too was persuaded of their necessity. The pope now commanded what had been refused to the king; in his apostolic plenitude of power, he determined that the superiors and rectors of the order should be changed every three years, and that every six years the general congregation should be assembled\*.

It is true, however, that the execution of these ordinances did not effect so much as was expected of them. The congregations could be gained over: the rectors were changed indeed, but within a narrow range, and the same men soon returned. But at all events it was a serious blow to the society, that it had been brought by insurrection within, and by interference from without, to make a change in its laws.

And already another storm broke out in the same region.

share in the government of the order, but on coming to Rome to attend the congregations, they would be better known, and consequently could more easily acquire a share in the said government, so that it should no longer be almost invariably confined to a few.]

\* Juvenicus gives in his first book, which he calls his eleventh, "*Societas domesticis motibus agitata*," detailed information on this head, on which the account in the text is founded.

\* Sacchini, and particularly Juvenicus, Hist. Soc. Jesu, partis quintæ tomus posterior, xl. 21. and xxv. 33—41.

† In a Consulta del padre C. Aquaviva col suoi padri assistente, MS. in the Bibl. Corinali, n. 1055, which sets forth the facts of the internal dissensions of the order on the whole very correctly and in accordance with Mariana's account, Aquaviva is made to give the following statement of a conversation he had with the pope: "S. S. disse che io non aveva sufficiente notizia de' soggetti della religione, che io veniva ingannato da falsi delatori, che io mi dimostrava troppo credulo." [His holiness said that I was not in possession of sufficient information respecting the affairs of religion, that I was deceived by false accusers, that I manifested too much credulity.] The following was also included in the list of causes rendering a congregation necessary: "Perche molti soggetti di valore, che per non esser conosciuti piu che tanto da' generali, non hanno mai parte alcuna nel governo, venendo a Roma in occasione delle congregazioni sarebbero meglio conosciuti e per conseguenza verrebbero piu facilmente in parte del medesimo governo, senza che questo fosse quasi sempre ristretto a pochi." [Because many able men, being but slightly known to the generals, never have any

The Jesuits had at first adhered to the doctrinal system of the Thomists, generally prevalent in the schools of that day. Ignatius had expressly enjoined upon his disciples the doctrines of the Doctor Angelicus.

But they very soon began to think that this doctrine helped but little in their debates with the protestants. They wished to be independent in doctrine as well as in life. It was not to their mind to follow in the track of the Dominicans, to whom St. Thomas had belonged, and who were regarded as the natural expounders of his opinions. After they had already given many tokens of this feeling, so that at times mention was made in the inquisition of the somewhat free turn of thought of the Jesuit fathers\*, Aquaviva in the year 1584, openly advanced these sentiments in his Rule of Studies. He declares his opinion that St. Thomas was indeed the author most worthy of approbation, but that it would be an intolerable yoke to be bound to follow his footsteps in all things, and to entertain absolutely no free opinions; that many old doctrines had been better established by recent theologians, many new ones brought forward by them of admirable service in combating the heretics, and that in all these it was allowable to follow these doctors.

This was enough to occasion a powerful excitement in Spain, where the theological chairs were for the most part occupied by Dominicans. The Rule of Studies was pronounced to be the most audacious, presumptuous, dangerous book of its kind: both the king and the pope were assailed with remonstrances on the subject†.

But how much greater must have been the commotion when the Thomist system was departed from in one of the most important doctrinal works of the Jesuits.

Throughout the whole range of theology, catholic as well as protestant, the questions respecting grace and merits, free will and predestination, were still the most important and the most exciting: they still continually occupied the minds, the erudition, and the speculative powers of clergy and laity. On the protestant side, the majority were at this period in favour of Calvin's rigid doctrine of God's special decrees, according to which, "some were foredoomed to everlasting blessedness, and others to damnation:" the Lutherans with their milder notions were at disadvantage, and sustained losses in sundry quarters. An opposite course of opinion took place on the catholic side. Whenever any leaning towards the notions of even the mildest protestant, or even a more rigid construction of St. Augustine's expositions, showed itself (as in the case of Bajus in Louvain), it was combated and put down. The Jesuits evinced especial zeal in this matter. They defended against every bias towards the abjured and abandoned system, that body of doctrine which had been set up in the council of Trent, and which moreover had been established in part through the influence of their brethren

Lainez and Salmeron. And even this system was not always enough to content their polemical zeal. In the year 1588, Luis Molina of Evora produced a book, in which he handled those disputed points anew, and sought to explain the difficulties still affecting them in a novel manner\*. His principal design in this book, was to vindicate for man's free will a still wider sphere of action than was admitted by the doctrines of St. Thomas or of Trent. At Trent the work of salvation had been declared to be based chiefly on the inherent righteousness of Christ, which being infused into us, excites love, leads to all virtues and good works, and finally produces justification. Molina goes an important step further. He maintains that free will can, without the help of grace, produce morally good works; that it can resist temptation, that it can elevate itself to various acts of hope, faith, charity, and repentance†. When a man has advanced thus far, then, as he asserts, God, for the sake of Christ's merits accords him grace‡, whereby he experiences the supernatural operations of sanctification; but even in the reception of this grace, and with regard to its growth, free will continues as before incessantly active. Every thing in fact depends on it: it rests with ourselves to make God's grace effectual or the reverse. Justification rests upon the union of the will and of grace, they are bound together like two men rowing in the same boat. It is manifest that Molina could not admit the notion of predestination, as entertained by Augustine or Thomas Aquinas. He considers it too stern and cruel. He will own no other predestination than such an one as is properly foreknowledge. God from his omniscient insight into the nature of each man's will, knows beforehand what each will do in any contingency, even though it be in his power to do the contrary. But a thing does not occur by reason of the fact that God foresees it; but God foresees it because it will occur.

This was a doctrine assuredly most directly opposed to that of Calvin; it was at the same time the first that undertook to rationalize this mystery, if we may so speak. It is intelligible, acute, and superficial, and therefore it could not fail of a certain success. It may be compared with the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, which the Jesuits produced about the same period§.

\* *Liberi arbitrii cum gratiæ donis concordia*. In these controversies it was always held necessary carefully to distinguish between the editions of Lisbon 1588, of Antwerp 1595, and of Venice, as they all vary.

† The "*concursus generalis Dei*" [the general co-operation of God] is always presupposed; but by that is meant no more than the natural condition of free will, which certainly is not what it is without God. "*Deus semper præsto est per concursum generalem libero arbitrio, ut naturaliter velit aut nolit prout placuerit.*" Pretty nearly in the same way Bellarmine identifies natural and divine law, because God is the author of nature.

‡ This grace he also explains very naturally: *Disput. 54. "Dum homo expendit res credendas . . . per notitias concinatoris aut aliunde comparatas, influit Deus in eadem notitias influxu quodam particulari quo cognitionem illam adjuvat."* [Whilst a man weighs matters of belief . . . collected from the discourses of the preacher, or from other sources, God's influence enters in some special manner into those means of information, whereby the perception in question is assisted.]

§ This tendency towards rationalism had also exhibited

\* Lainez himself was regarded with suspicion by the Spanish inquisition. Llorente, iii. 83.

† Pegna in Serry: *Historia congregationum de auxiliis divinæ gratiæ*, p. 8. "Y dado a censurar, fue dicho por aquellos censores (Mariana and Serry speak of the inquisition) que aquel libro era el mas peligroso, temerario y arrogante que jamas havia salido in semejante materia, y que si se metia en practica lo que contenia, causaria infinitos daños y alborotos en la republica christiana."

It could not be, however, but that by such doctrines they should excite opposition in their own church, if it were only because they departed from the Doctor Angelicus, whose "Summa Theologie" still constituted the most esteemed manual of catholic theologians. Some members even of the order, such as Henriquez and Mariana, openly censured them. But the zeal of the Dominicans in defence of their patriarch was far more energetic. They wrote and preached against Molina, and attacked him in his prelections. At last a disputation was agreed to be held between the two parties in Valladolid on the 4th of March, 1594. The Dominicans, who thought themselves the peculiar possessors of orthodoxy, were violent, "Are then," exclaimed a Jesuit, "the keys of wisdom in your hands?" The Dominicans cried out at this, considering it as an attack on St. Thomas himself.

Thenceforth the two orders became completely estranged from each other. The Dominicans would have nothing more to do with the Jesuits. Of the latter, if not all, at least by far the greater number sided with Molina. Among these were Aquaviva himself and his assistants.

But here too the inquisition interfered. The grand inquisitor, that same Geronimo Manrique who had been designed for visitor of the order, seemed disposed to condemn Molina; he gave him to understand that his book would perhaps not escape with a simple sentence of reprobation, but be condemned to the flames. He refused to receive Molina's counter-complaints against the Dominicans.

This quarrel set the whole catholic world in agitation, both on account of the doctrines and of their champions, and the hostility to the Jesuit institution, which had begun in Spain, became greatly strengthened in consequence.

And now occurred the singular anomaly, that whilst the Jesuits were expelled from France on account of their leaning towards Spain, they were by the latter country subjected to the most formidable attacks. Political and doctrinal considerations co-operated towards this result in both countries. The political motive was at bottom the same in both, a national opposition to the privileges and immunities of the order. In France it was more fierce and impetuous, but in Spain it was more

definite and better founded. With regard to doctrine, it was the new opinions that drew down hatred and persecution on the Jesuits. Their doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, and of the lawfulness of regicide, were ruinous to them in France; so were in Spain their opinions respecting free will.

This was a moment in the history of the order, of great importance in determining its future bent.

Aquaviva sought aid against the assaults of the national authorities, the parliament, and the inquisition, in the head of the church, the pope.

He seized the favourable moment when the grand inquisitor was dead, and his place had not yet been filled up, to determine the pope on evoking to Rome the decision of the disputed questions of faith. Much were gained if the decision could only be procrastinated for a brief space, since a variety of influences were to be found in Rome which might be turned to account at a critical moment. The acts relating to the proceedings were sent to Rome on the 9th of Oct. 1596, and the most learned divines on both sides, arrived to fight their battle out, under the eyes of the pope\*.

In French matters, Clement took part unservedly with the Jesuits. He thought it unjustifiable to banish a whole order on account of a single member who might have deserved punishment, and that order the very one that had contributed the most to the restoration of catholicism, and that was so strong a prop to the church. Was it not the case in fact, that the order suffered for its devotion to the papal see, and for the earnestness with which it advocated the claims of that see to supreme power on earth? It was of the last importance to the pope to put an end completely to the opposition still subsisting against him in France. The closer became his connection with Henry IV., and the greater the harmony between their respective systems of policy, the more effective did his representations become: Henry's declarations were continually a more and more decided aspect of concession†.

The cautious and discreet conduct of the order greatly aided the pope's efforts on their behalf.

The Jesuits carefully abstained from displaying any irritation or aversion towards the king of

itself elsewhere, as e. g. in the propositions of the Jesuits Less and Hamel in 1585, at Louvain: Propositiones in Lessio et Hamelio a theologia Lovaniensibus notatæ: "ut quid sit scriptura sacra, non est necessarium singula ejus verba inspirata esse a Spiritu Sancto." [That to the constitution of holy scripture, it is not necessary that every word of it should have been inspired by the Holy Spirit.] From the words of scripture they immediately proceed to its truths: "non est necessarium ut singula veritates et sententiæ sint immediate a Spiritu Sancto ipsi scriptori inspiratæ." [It is not necessary that each several truth and doctrine should be immediately communicated to the writer himself by the Holy Spirit.] These maxims involve at least in part the essence of Molina's propositions; attention is also drawn in them to their total disagreement with those of the protestants: "Hæc sententia . . . quam longissima sententia Lutheri et Calvini et reliquorum hæreticorum hujus temporis recedit, a quorum sententiis et argumentis difficile est alteram sententiam (the Augustinian and Thomist) vindicare." [How widely this doctrine departs from that of Luther and Calvin and the other heretics of the day, from whose doctrine and arguments it is hard to clear the other doctrines.]

\* Pegna: "Rotæ Romanæ decanus, istarum rerum testis locupletissimus;" as Serry calls him [Dean of the Roman Rota, whose observation and knowledge in these matters was most abundant]. "Cerniendo (Molina) lo que verisimilmente podia suceder de que su libro fuesse prohibido y quemado, porque assi se lo avia asomado el inquisitor general, luego lo avisó a Roma, donde por obra y negociacion de su general su Santidad avocó a se esta causa, ordenando a la inquisicion general que no la concluyesse ni dlesse sententia." [Molina foreseeing what would very probably be the consequence if his book was condemned and burned, of which intention the inquisitor-general had given evidence, immediately notified it to Rome, when, through the interposition of the general of the Jesuits, his Holiness evoked the cause before himself, and commanded the inquisition not to conclude the matter nor pronounce sentence.]

† The Jesuits would fain have denied that their concerns had become mixed up with politics; it appears nevertheless from Bentivoglio, Memorie, ii. 6. p. 395, how closely cardinal Aldobrandini regarded their interests in the negotiations of Lyons, and the king at the very same time made a declaration in their favour (Le Roi au cardinal Ossat, 26 Janv, 1601.)

France, nor were they inclined to plunge again into danger for the sake of the hopeless cause of the Ligue: as soon as they were aware of the turn taken by the papal policy, they adopted a similar course. Father Commolot, who even after Henry's conversion had exclaimed from the pulpit that there needed some Ehud against him, and who had been obliged to take flight on the victorious issue of the king's arms, had changed his mind when he came to Rome, and declared himself in favour of absolving the king. Amongst all the cardinals, none certainly contributed so much to the grant of absolution, as did the Jesuit Toledo\*, by his spirit of concession, his conciliatory measures, and his personal influence over the pope. The Jesuits acted thus, even whilst the parliament was constantly passing fresh resolutions against them, resolutions against which Aquaviva remonstrated, without, however, being betrayed into violence or intemperate zeal. It had been impossible to expel all the Jesuits; those that remained behind now declared for the king, and exhorted the people to be faithful to him and to love him. Some were beginning to make their way back to the places they had left; but Aquaviva did not approve of this, and directed them to wait for the king's permission. Care was taken that both facts should be made known to Henry, whereat he was highly delighted, and thanked the general in special letters. Nor did the Jesuits neglect to confirm him to the utmost of their power in these feelings. Father Rochemo, who was styled the French Cicero, composed a popular apology for the order, which appeared particularly convincing to the king†.

These combined efforts of the pope and the order were now seconded by political considerations on the part of Henry himself. He saw, as he says in a despatch, that by persecuting an order that numbered so many members of talent and learning, that possessed so much power and such a body of followers, he would raise up against himself implacable foes, and occasion conspiracies among the still so numerous class of zealous catholics. He saw that the Jesuits could not be expelled from the places where they still remained; had he attempted to do so, he would have had reason to apprehend an outbreak of popular violence‡. Besides this, Henry had by the edict of Nantes made such large concessions to the Huguenots, that he owed some fresh guarantee to catholicism; murmurs likewise were already heard in Rome; sometimes the pope hinted that he feared he had been betrayed§. At last, however, the king stood high enough to obtain a more commanding view of the general posture of things than his parliament, and to cease to entertain fear of the Jesuits' alliance with Spain. Father Lorenzo Maggio hastened in the general's name to Paris, to assure the king with solemn oaths of the fidelity of the

society. "Should it turn out otherwise, let himself and his brethren be held the blackest of traitors\*." The king deemed it more expedient to make trial of their friendship than of their enmity. He saw that he could make use of them to his own advantage against Spain†.

Induced by so many motives of external policy and internal necessity, the king declared himself, during the negotiations of Lyons in the year 1600, ready to admit the return of the order. He himself chose the Jesuit Cotton for his confessor. After many preliminary indications of favour, the edict re-establishing the Jesuits in France, appeared in Sept. 1603. Some conditions were imposed on them, of which the most important was, that for the future both the superiors and the members of the society in France, should be exclusively Frenchmen‡. Henry doubted not that he had arranged everything in a manner to justify his entire confidence.

He bestowed his favour on them frankly and unreservedly, and gave them his support in their own affairs, particularly in their disputes with the Dominicans.

Clement VIII. displayed a lively theological interest in this matter. There were held in his presence sixty-five meetings, and thirty-seven disputations upon all the points which could be brought in question: he himself wrote much on the subject, and so far as we can judge, he seemed to lean to the old established doctrine, and to be disposed to give his award in favour of the Dominicans. Even Bellarmine said, he did not deny that the pope was inclined to declare himself against the Jesuits, but he knew that the event would not be so. It would have been too hazardous, at a period when the Jesuits were in all the world the foremost apostles of the faith, to break with them upon an article of faith; and in fact, they already showed symptoms of a purpose to demand a general council: the pope is said to have cried out, "They dare everything—everything§!" The French too took

\* Sully, liv. xvii. p. 307.

† "Riconobbe chiaramente d'essere per ritrarre servizio e contentamento in varie occorrenze a prò proprio e de' suoi amici contra gli Spagnoli stessi." (Dispaccio, Siri.)

‡ Edictum regium, Juvencius, p. v. lib. xii. n. 39. Juvencius gives all that was said in those times in favour of the Jesuits: Ludovicus Lucius, Historia Jesuitica, Basilæ, 1627, lib. ii. c. ii. all that was said against them. Neither of them acquaints us with the points on which the decision turned; they are, however, more nearly indicated by the defender than by the accuser of the order.

§ Contarini also asserts that they had uttered threats: "Portata la disputatione a Roma, ventilata tra theologhi, il papa e la maggior parte de' consultori inclinavano nell' opinione de' Domenicani. Ma li Gesuiti, vedendosi in pericolo di cader da quel credito per il quale pretendono d'haver il primo luogo di dottrina nella chiesa cattolica, erano resoluti di mover ogni macchina per non ricever il colpo." [The disputation being transferred to Rome, and the matter discussed among theologians, the pope and the majority of the consultors were inclined to the opinion of the Dominicans. But the Jesuits seeing the danger that threatened them, of losing somewhat of that credit on which they based their pretensions to be the leaders of doctrine in the catholic church, were resolved to use every expedient to ward off the blow.] The doctrine which, according to Contarini, they threatened to put forward, was that the pope was certainly infallible, but that there was no article of faith commanding to acknowledge this pope or that. "La potenza di queste l'autorità di chi li

\* Du Perron a Villeroi: Ambassades, i. 23. "Seulement vous diray-je que Mr. le cl. Tolet a fait des miracles et s'est montré bon François." [I will only tell you that cardinal Tolet has done wonders, and has shown himself a good Frenchman.]

† Gretser has translated it into Latin for the benefit of those who do not understand French. Gretseri Opera, tom. xi. p. 280.

‡ Dispaccio del Re de' 15 Agosto 1603 al re Jacopo d' Inghilterra, abridged in Siri: Memorie recondite, i. p. 247.

§ Ossat à Villeroi, i. 503.

part with them too decidedly. Henry IV. was for them; whether it was that their expositions carried conviction to his mind, which may certainly have been the case, or that he supported the order that combated protestantism the better to put his own orthodoxy beyond doubt. Cardinal du Perron took part in the congregation, and upheld the Jesuit party with dexterous zeal. He told the pope that even a protestant might subscribe to the doctrines of the Dominicans, an assertion that was well calculated to make an impression on his holiness.

The contest between Spain and France that stirred the whole world, was also mixed up with this controversy. The Dominicans were as energetically protected by the Spaniards, as the Jesuits by the French\*.

Hence it ensued that Clement VIII. actually pronounced no decision. To offend the one or the other of such powerful orders, such puissant sovereigns, would have involved him in new perplexities.

#### *Political situation of Clement VIII.*

On the whole it was now one of the foremost considerations of the papal see, not to estrange from it either of the two great powers, on which rested the balance of the catholic world, to allay their mutual animosities, or at least to prevent their ever breaking out into open war, and to preserve its influence over both.

The papacy here appears to us in its laudable vocation, as a mediator and peacemaker.

The world was indebted chiefly to Clement VIII. for the peace of Vervins, concluded May 2nd, 1598. He seized the auspicious moment when the kings of France and Spain were both constrained to think of an accommodation, the former by the shattered state of his finances, the latter by the increasing feebleness of his years. He devised the preliminaries, and made the first overtures. Fra

Bonaventura Calatagirona, the general of the Franciscans, whom by a happy choice he had sent to France upon this matter; overcame the first and most formidable difficulties. The Spaniards were in possession of a multitude of places in France; they were willing to give them all up with the exception of Calais: the French insisted on the surrender of that town likewise, and it was Fra Calatagirona who prevailed on them to consent. This preliminary being arranged, the negotiations were formally begun at Vervins. A legate and a nuncio presided; the general of the Franciscans continued to mediate with the greatest skill, and his secretary Soto likewise acquitted himself with great credit. The most important result was that the king of France resolved to detach himself from his allies, England and Holland. This was regarded as an advantage to catholicism, since it appeared the crowning act of Henry's secession from the protestant system. Henry consented to the measure after long hesitation, and thereupon the Spaniards actually surrendered all their conquests, and the right of possessorship reverted to the condition in which it had been in the year 1559. The legate declared that his holiness would be more delighted at this consummation, than he had been by the acquisition of Ferrara: of far more significance than that temporal conquest, was a peace that embraced and tranquillized all Christendom\*.

At this peace there was left unsettled only one point, namely, the dispute between France and Savoy. The duke of Savoy, as we have mentioned, appropriated Saluzzo to himself, and would not consent to restore it. After much negotiation to no purpose, Henry IV. had recourse to arms against him. The pope, who had been expressly charged at Vervins with the mediation of this affair, felt the greatest possible interest in the restoration of peace, and urged it on every occasion and in every audience. As often as the king offered him assurances of his attachment, he demanded this peace as a proof of his sincerity, as a favour which must be granted himself. The special difficulty of the case consisted in this, that the restitution of Saluzzo appeared fraught with injury to the general interests of Italy. The Italians were unwilling that the French should possess any territory in their country. So far as I can discover, the minorite Calatagirona was the first to propose the accommodation, that Saluzzo should be left to the duke, and that France should be indemnified with Bresse and some adjoining districts of Savoy†. Cardinal Aldobrandino deserves the credit of having carried this proposal into effect at Lyons in the year 1600. The French, too, were grateful to him, since Lyons, by the arrangement, acquired a more extended boundary, such as it had long desired‡.

Under such auspicious circumstances, pope Cle-

protéggeva era tanta che ogni cosa era dissimulata e si mostrava di non sentirlo e sopra definire della controversia si andava temporeggiando per non tirarsi carica maggiore." [Their own influence and the authority of their protectors was so great, that everything was dissembled and overlooked, and a temporising conclusion was put to the controversy, to avoid incurring graver inconveniences.]

\* Principal passage in Du Perron: *Ambasades et Negotiations*, lib. iii. tom. ii. p. 389. Lettre du 23 Janv. 1606: "Les Espagnols font profession ouvertement de protéger les Jacobins (the Dominicans) en haine, comme je croy, de l'affection que le pere general des Jesuits et presque tous ceux de son ordre, excepté ceux qui dependent des peres Mendoza et Personius, comme particulièrement les Jesuites Anglois, ont monstéré de porter a vostre Majesté: et semble que d'une dispute de religion ils en veulent faire une querelle d'estat." [The Spaniards openly profess to protect the Dominicans, out of rancour, as I think, against the affection towards your majesty manifested by the father-general, and all the members of the order, except those dependent on the fathers Mendoza and Parsons, and especially the English Jesuits; and it seems that they are disposed to convert a religious dispute into a state quarrel.] We see from this that the Jesuits, with the exception of a small fraction of the body, were now considered in the interests of France. It appears from Serry, p. 440, that the Dominicans were at that period excluded from the French court. "Prædicatores tum temporis in Gallia minus accepti et a publicis curiæ muneribus nuper amoti."

\* At the end of the edition of the "*Mémoires d'Angoulême*," Didot, 1756, i. 131-363, there is given under the title "*Autres Mémoires*," a circumstantial account of the negotiations of Vervins, remarkable for its accuracy and impartiality: the accounts in the text are derived from it, the last p. 337.

† Ossat to Villeroi, 25th March, 1599.

‡ Bentivoglio, in the principal portion of the 2nd book of his "*Memorie*," (c. 2-c. 6) gives these transactions in detail.



ment sometimes thought of giving to the catholic world united under him a common impulse against its ancient hereditary foe. The Turkish war had again broken out in Hungary. Even at that time people thought they could detect symptoms of a constant decline of the Ottoman strength: the personal imbecility of the sultans, the influence of the seraglio, and the incessant insurrections, especially in Asia, seemed to promise the possibility of some successful attempt against Turkey. The pope, at least, did not fail to afford the project aid on his part. Already in the year 1599 the sum he had expended on this war amounted to a million and a half scudi. Shortly afterwards we find a papal army of 12,000 men on the Danube. But how much greater results might there not have been expected, if ever the powers of the west were to unite on a large scale for an eastern expedition, and if Henry IV., in particular, resolved to unite his forces to those of Austria! The pope never ceased to encourage him to this, and Henry actually wrote to the Venetians, immediately after the peace of Vervins, that he hoped within a short while to take ship at Venice, like the French of former times, for an expedition against Constantinople. He repeated his promise on the conclusion of the peace with Savoy\*. But assuredly the execution of the project required that it should be preceded by a more thorough and cordial understanding, than could immediately take place after such rude collisions.

On the other hand, the antagonism still subsisting between the two leading powers more than once turned to the advantage of the papal see in its own concerns. Pope Clement himself had once more occasion to turn this strife to account in the affairs of the ecclesiastical states.

Amidst his numerous brilliant undertakings, and his great success abroad, Clement exercised a rigorous and very monarchical authority in his court and government.

The new modifications Sixtus V. had imposed on the college of cardinals seemed to promise it for the future a due legitimate influence in public affairs. But forms are not substance; the direct contrary was the result. The course of business, encumbered with all the tedious technicalities of legal practice,—the immobility to which a deliberative assembly is condemned, chiefly on account of the conflicting opinions that are wont to appear in it, made it impossible for Clement to entrust affairs of weight to the congregations. At first he used to consult them: but even then he often departed from their judgments; afterwards he made it his practice to communicate matters to them only when on the point of being concluded: the congregations served rather as a means of publication than of counsel; lastly, he employed them only in subordinate affairs, or in formalities†.

\* Lettre du roy, in the appendix to the 2nd vol. of Ossat's Letters, p. 11.

† Delfino: "Ora li consistorj non servano per altro che per comunicare in essi la collation delle chiese e per publicar le resolutioni d'ogni qualità fatte dal papa; e le congregazioni, da quella dell' inquisitione in poi, che si è pur conservata in qualche decoro e si riduce ogni settimana, tutte le altre, anche quelle che sono de' regolari e de' vescovi, sono in sola apparenza: perche se bene resolvono ad un modo il papa eseguisce ad un altro, e nelle cose più importanti, come nel dar ajuto a principi, di spedir legati, dichiarar capi."

Undoubtedly the new turn which Clement gave to the policy of the Roman court rendered this mode of proceeding necessary on his part; but a personal proneness to autocratic power had also its share in determining him. The country was ruled on the same style: new taxes were imposed without advice asked of any one, the revenues of the communes were put under special inspection, and the barons subjected to the most rigorous application of the laws,—no respect was any longer paid to descent and privilege.

So long as the pope conducted all business in person, every thing went on well. The cardinals at least, although they did not carry all their thoughts on the surface, were full of admiration and submissiveness.

But gradually with the pope's advancing years the possession and the exercise of this monarchical power fell into the hands of the pope's nephew, Pietro Aldobrandino. He was the son of that Pietro Aldobrandino who had distinguished himself among the brothers as a practical jurist. At first sight he seemed to promise little. His person was insignificant, he was pitted with the small-pox, suffered from asthma, was continually coughing, and in youth he had even made but little progress in his studies. But when his uncle admitted him to public business, he showed a cleverness and flexibility such as no one ever expected of him. Not only did he contrive to adapt himself very well to the pope's character, to become as it were supplementary to it, to soften its asperity, and to make the weaknesses, that gradually appeared, less striking and injurious\*; but he also gave such satisfaction to foreign ambassadors, and so won their confidence, that they all wished to see business placed in his hands. Originally it had been intended that he should divide the management of public affairs with his cousin Cinthio, who likewise was not without talent, particularly for literature; but Pietro had very soon shaken off his associate. In the year 1603 we find cardinal Pietro all powerful in the court. "All negotiations," says a report of this year, "all grace and favour depend on him; prelates, nobles, courtiers, and ambassadors throng his house. It may be said that every thing enters his ear, every thing depends on his judgment, all projects issue from his mouth, all execution lies in his hands†."

Such a power, so unlimited, so searching, and at the same time by no means legitimate, in spite of all the friends it might own, excited among others

\* Relazione al Cl. Este. "Dove il papa inasprisce, Aldobrandino mitiga; dove rompe, consolida: dove comanda giustizia, intercede per gratia."

† "Orbis in urbe." Yet even Aldobrandino was subject to secret influences. "Ha diversi servitori," says the same narrative, "ma quel che absorbi i favori di tutti è il cav. Clemente Sennesio, mastro di camera, salito a quel grado di privatissima fortuna, e che per ampliar maggiormente la sua autorità ha fatto salire il fratello al segretariato della consulta, così possedendo tra lor due la somma, l'una della gratia del cardinale, l'altro della provisione d'officj e delle maggiori espeditioni." [He has several servants, but he who absorbs all favours is the cavalier Clemente Sennesio, mastro di camera, who has risen to that station from great obscurity, and who, the more to enhance his interest, has had his brother raised to the secretaryship of the consulta. Thus between them they engross, the one the cardinal's favour, the other the supply of offices and of the greater expeditions.]



a secret, profound, and general repugnance; and this burst forth unexpectedly upon a trivial provocation.

A man who had been arrested for debt managed to break his fetters at the right moment, and to rush into the Farnese palace, before which he was just then passing with his captors.

For a long while the popes had set their faces against the assumed right of illustrious families to grant asylum to criminals in their houses. Cardinal Farnese, though related to the pope by the marriage of an Aldobrandini into the house of Farnese, now asserted this right again. He had the sbirri forcibly ejected as they were proceeding to search the palace for their prisoner. He replied to the governor, who interfered in the matter, that it was not the custom of his house to surrender the accused; he gave an evasive answer to cardinal Aldobrandino, who wished to avoid scandal, and went in person to arrange the matter amicably; and he notified to him that, after the death of the pope, which might shortly be expected, a Farnese would be of more consequence than an Aldobrandino.

What encouraged him to such audacious conduct was, above all, his connexion with the Spaniards. From the renunciation of Saluzzo by Henry IV., which was regarded in Rome as rather mean-spirited, it had been concluded that the French king would not concern himself with the affairs of Italy. Upon the strength of this opinion the Spaniards rose again in consideration; and since the Aldobrandini manifestly displayed so strong a bias towards France, the adversaries of that family attached themselves to Spain. The Spanish ambassador Viglienna expressed his full approbation of Farnese's conduct\*.

Backed by a foreign power, protected by a great family, what more was wanting to the discontent of the Roman nobility to make it break forth openly? Cavaliers and nobles thronged into the Farnese palace. Some cardinals openly sided with these; others favoured them in secret†. Every one cried that the pope and the church must be freed from the captivity in which they were held by cardinal Aldobrandino. When the pope summoned troops

to Rome, the Spanish ambassador advised the confederates, to whom he even promised rewards, to invite on their part some armed bands which just then made their appearance on the Neapolitan frontier. Things were come to such a pass, that a feud, like those of former centuries, had all but broken out in Rome itself.

Cardinal Farnese, however, was resolved to prevent such an extremity. It was enough for him to have shown his independence, his power, the possibility of a resistance. He resolved to withdraw to Castro, his private property. He did this in grand style. He secured a gate, and had troops posted at it, and then left the city with an escort of ten carriages and 300 horsemen; and in fact, by this means, he accomplished all he desired. His insubordination was quite triumphant. A formal negotiation was commenced; the pope's party affected to consider the affair as chargeable upon the governor, and set about effecting a reconciliation between him and the house of Farnese. The cardinal then returned with no less pomp than he had departed. All the streets, windows, and roofs were filled with spectators. Never had the Farnesi in the time of their sway been so brilliantly received, or greeted with such loud acclamations\*.

If cardinal Pietro Aldobrandino suffered all this to occur, his conduct was not to be imputed to mere weakness or forced compliance. The Farnesi were, after all, nearly related to the papal family; besides, it would have been to no purpose to display implacable resentment: the first thing necessary was to remove the origin of the evil, which consisted in the condition of political affairs. No change of their system was to be obtained from the Spaniards, not even the recall of so unbecoming an ambassador. Aldobrandino's only prospect of help lay in his inducing Henry IV. to take a more lively interest in the affairs of Italy.

It was as refreshing to him, say his friends, "as a soft cool wind on a sultry day," when in December, 1604, three French cardinals, all of them distinguished men, arrived in Rome together. It was once more possible to form a French party there. They were welcomed with joy. The cardinal's sister, Signora Olimpia, declared to the new arrivals a thousand times, that her house would always confide itself, unconditionally, to French protection. Baronius asserted that he had learned, from historical research, that to no nation was the Roman see so much indebted as to the French. Upon seeing a picture of the king he broke out into loud vivas. He sought to acquaint himself whether, since the loss of Saluzzo, no Alpine pass by any chance remained in the hands of the French. Now this Baronius was not merely a historian; he was the pope's confessor, and saw him

\* Contarini: *Historia Veneta*, tom. iii. lib. xiii., MS., on this subject the most circumstantial and trustworthy of all authors of that day: "Viglienna mandò ordine a tutti i baroni e cavalieri Romani obligati alla corona che per servizio del re fossero immediate nella casa del cardinal Farnese." [Viglienna gave orders to all the Roman barons and cavaliers who were bound to the Spanish crown, to repair immediately on the king's service to the palace of cardinal Farnese.]

† Contarini: "Diede grand' assenso al fatto la venuta de' cardinali Sfondrato e Santiquatro, che niente mirarono trattandosi di Spagna al debito de' cardinali verso il papa: ed a questi che apertamente si dichiaravano, diversi altri in occulto aderivano, tra quali il C. Conti. . . . Ma il popolo, la plebe senza nome, sempre avida di cangiar stato, favoriva al cardinale, e per le piazze, per le strade a gran caterva applaudivano al partito di lui." [Great strength was gained by the arrival of the cardinals Sfondrato and Santiquatro, who in their attachment to Spain paid no regard to what was due by cardinals to the pope; and, in addition to these who had declared themselves openly, there were many who did so in secret, such as cardinal Conti. . . . But the populace, the nameless mob, always greedy of change, favoured the cardinal, and followed him in great multitudes through the streets and squares, loudly applauding.]

\* Contarini: "S'inviò in Roma entrando in gualsa trionfante con clamori popolari che andavano al cielo, incontrato in forma di re dall' ambasciator di Cesare, di Spagna, dalli cardinali Sfondrato, Santiquatro, San Cesareo e Conti, dal general Georgio suo cognato, tutta la cavalleria e tutte le guardie del papa, confluendo li cavalieri e baroni." [He entered Rome in triumphant guise amidst the shouts of the people, that resounded to the sky, met with royal honours by the ambassadors of the emperor and of Spain, by cardinals Sfondrato, Santiquatro, San Cesareo and Conti, by general Georgio, his brother-in-law, and all the cavalry and guards of the pope, cavaliers and barons flocking round him.]

daily. The pope and Aldobrandino were more guarded, and did not go such lengths as Baronius; but the upshot seemed the same when the nearest attendants spoke out so undisguisedly: they seemed but to repeat their masters' sentiments. As Henry IV. now resolved even to grant pensions, he had soon a party to counterpoise that of the Spaniards.

But Aldobrandino's views went still farther. He often represented to the Venetian ambassador and cardinals the necessity of setting bounds to the presumption of the Spaniards. Was it to be borne, that they should presume to act as masters in another's house\*? It was hazardous indeed for one who had soon to return to private life, to bring down on himself the dislike of that power, yet his honour would not endure that he should allow the papacy to lose in reputation under his uncle's sway. In fine, he proposed to the Venetians an union of the Italian states against Spain, under the auspices and protection of France.

He had already entered into negotiations with the other states. He loved not Tuscany,—he was constantly in dispute with Modena.—Parma was implicated in the proceedings of cardinal Farnese; but he seemed to forget every thing to be revenged on Spain. He devoted himself passionately to that purpose; he spoke of nothing else,—seemed to think of nothing else. To be nearer the states with which he wished to ally himself, he went to Ancona in the beginning of the year 1605.

He had not yet effected any thing, when his uncle died, and therewith perished his authority.

The mere agitation of the design, however, this assiduous renovation of the French influence in Rome and Italy, was of itself of much importance. It indicates a tendency of the entire policy of the Aldobrandini.

We do not, I think, push matters too far when we suffer our thoughts to be led by this association to the original position of this family in Florence. It had always belonged to the French party. Messer Salvestro especially participated in producing the insurrection in the year 1527, by which the Medici were expelled. For this he had been doomed to quit his native place, when it was again occupied by his adversaries, the Spaniards and the Medici. Could pope Clement forget this? Could he love the Spaniards and the Medici? He was of a close and reserved temper; it was but occasionally he unfolded himself to his confidential friends: when he did so, he was sure to utter the text, "Ask thy forefathers, and they will show thee thy way†." It is certain that he once had it in contemplation to reform, as he expressed himself, the government of Florence. His leaning to France was manifest: he found the papacy in the closest alliance with Spain, he led it all but to an alliance with France against Spain. If the restoration of a national power in France was called for by the interests of the church, it was likewise with him a matter of inclination and of personal gratification. Still this pope was deliberate, forecasting, and wary; he attempted nothing that he did not go through with. Instead of reforming Florence, he reformed,

as a Venetian said, his own design when he saw that it could not be put in execution without general danger\*. It was never his thought to invite the French arms into Italy. It was enough for him to restore the balance of power, to rid himself of the despotism of Spain, to give a wider basis to the policy of the church, and to do all this by peaceful means, gradually, without shock or noise, but so much the more securely.

#### *Election and first proceedings of Paul V.*

The influence of the French prevailed in the very next conclave. Aldobrandino joined them, and united they were invincible. They raised to the papal dignity a cardinal whom the king of Spain had excepted against by name, a member of the Medici family, and a near relation of the queen of France. The letters in which du Perron announces this unexpected success to Henry IV. are full of exultation: the event was celebrated with festivities in France†. It was, however, but a brief triumph. Leo XI., as this pope was named, survived his election only twenty-six days. It is asserted that the thought of his dignity, the sense of the difficulty of his office, had completely crushed the feeble powers of the old man's life.

The tumultuous scenes of an election were now renewed with so much the more violence, since Aldobrandino was no longer on such close terms of friendship with the French. Montalto powerfully opposed him. A contest began, as in former elections, between the creatures of the last and of a former pope. Sometimes each of the two rivals, surrounded by his adherents, conducted the man of his choice into one or other of the chapels; they planted themselves opposite each other; attempts were made sometimes with one, sometimes with another; even Baronias, though he struggled with might and main, was once forced away to the Cappella Paolina; still, on every occasion, the opposition appeared stronger and stronger, and of not one of all the candidates proposed was it possible to carry the election. In the choice of a pope, as in other competitions, it gradually came to be of more

\* Venier: "Vedendo le preparazioni e risoluzioni di Vra. Sà. et anco del granduca e che la nostra republica s'era dichiarata col mandar un ambasciatore espresso per questo negotio a S. Sa., conoscendo ella che si sarebbe acceso un gran fuoco in Italia e con pericolo di gravissimo incendio della chiesa, in luogo di tentar la riforma dello stato di Firenze riformò i suoi pensieri."

† Histoire de la vie de Messire Philippe de Mornay, Seigneur du Plessis, p. 305. "Ce pape de la maison des Medicis, dit Leo XI., qui avoit costé au roi 300,000 escus à faire, en la faveur duquel il faisoit grand fondement, et pour l'election duquel par un exemple nouveau furent faits feux de joie et tiré le canon en France, qui vescu peu de jours et ne laissa au roy que le reproche par les Espagnols d'une largesse si mal employée et le doute de rencontrer une succession, comme il advint, plus favorable à l'Espagnol." [That pope of the house of Medici, named Leo XI., whose election had cost the king 300,000 crowns, on whose favour he built great hopes, and for whose election the unprecedented spectacle of feux de joie and discharges of cannon was exhibited in France, who lived but a few days, and left the king nothing but the reproach cast against him by the Spaniards for such ill-directed profusion, and the apprehension, which the event fulfilled, of seeing a pope succeed more favourably-disposed towards the Spaniards.]

\* Du Perron au Roi, 25 Jany. 1605. (Ambass. I., 509.

† Delfino: "La poca inclinazione che per natura e per heredità ha il papa a Spagnoli." [The little leaning the pope has by nature and inheritance towards the Spaniards.]

moment who had fewest enemies than who had most merit.

At last Aldobrandino cast his eyes on a man amongst his uncle's creatures who had conciliated general approbation, and had been successful in avoiding formidable enemies, Cardinal Borghese. He succeeded in gaining for him the favour of the French, who had already effected some degree of reconciliation between Aldobrandino and Montalto. The latter, too, assented to the choice, and Borghese was elected before the Spaniards had even learned that he was proposed \*, May 16, 1605.

On this occasion, therefore, as in previous cases, the nephew of the last pope determined the election of the new one. The Borghese family was similarly circumstanced as that of the Aldobrandini. The former had emigrated from Siena, as the latter had from Florence, to avoid submitting to the dominion of the Medici. This was a further reason for supposing that the new government would be a direct continuation of the former.

Paul V., however, instantly displayed a harsh and eccentric character.

He had risen from the station of an advocate through all the grades of ecclesiastical dignity †; he had been vice-legate in Bologna, auditor di camera, pope's vicar, and inquisitor; he had lived quietly buried among his books and papers, and had mixed in no political affairs, for which reason he had incurred no marked enmity; no party looked on him as an adversary, neither Aldobrandino nor Montalto, neither the French nor the Spaniards, and this it was that procured him the tiara.

He himself, however, interpreted this event otherwise. His advancement to the papacy without any interference on his own part, without the use of any artful means, appeared to him a direct interposition of the Holy Ghost. He felt exalted thereby above himself; the change in his carriage and gesture, his countenance and the tone of his speech, excited the astonishment even of that court so used to metamorphoses of every kind. But he felt himself at the same time bound and pledged to solemn duties. He proposed to himself to administer the supreme authority with the same inflexibility with which he had dealt out the letter of the law in the various offices he had hitherto discharged.

Other popes had been wont to mark their elevation by acts of grace. Paul V. began with passing a sentence that even to this day excites horror.

A poor author named Piccinardi, a Cremonese by

birth, impelled by I know not what disgust, had occupied himself in his solitude in composing a life of Clement VIII., in which he compared that pope with the emperor Tiberius, small as was the resemblance between those two rulers. Not only had he not printed his strange work, but he had kept it wholly to himself, and not communicated it to any one. A woman whom he had formerly had in his house denounced him. Paul V. at first expressed himself very calmly on the subject, and seemed to care the less about it since some powerful individuals, and even ambassadors, interceded for the author. But what was the astonishment of all, when one day Piccinardi was beheaded on the bridge of St. Angelo. Whatever might be said in his excuse, still he had committed the crime of lese-majesty, for which the law appointed the punishment of decapitation. Mercy was not to be looked for at the hands of a pope like Paul; even the poor man's little all was confiscated \*.

At court the pope forthwith renewed the regulations of the council of Trent with respect to residence. He declared it a mortal sin for a bishop to reside away from his see, and yet to enjoy its revenues. He did not except even the cardinals, nor did he admit the occupation of posts in the administration to be pleaded in excuse. Accordingly many actually retired from court, others only intreated for delay †; others again, to avoid being compelled to quit Rome, without at the same time incurring the charge of neglecting their duties, gave in their resignations.

But the most serious thing was, that his canonical studies had filled him with a most overweening conception of the importance of the papacy. He was bent on upholding, in its fullest significance, the doctrine that the pope was the sole viceregent of Jesus Christ, that to his good pleasure was committed the power of the keys, and that he was to be humbly revered by all nations and princes ‡. He said, that not by men, but by God's Spirit had he been raised to that chair, with the obligation of watching over the immunities of the church and the prerogatives of God, and that he was bound in conscience to lend all his strength towards liberating the church from usurpation and violence. He would rather risk his life in the discharge of this duty, than have to answer for its neglect when he should stand before the throne of God.

With lawyer-like keenness he identified the pretensions of the church with her rights, and made it a point of conscience to renew them, and carry them out in all their strictness.

\* It is possible, however, that Montalto and Aldobrandino had come to a previous understanding in favour of Borghese. The Conclave di Paolo V. p. 370, says of them both: "Dopo d'haver proposti molti, elessero Borghese amico di Montalto e creatura confidente di Aldobrandino." [After having proposed many candidates, they elected Borghese, the friend of Montalto, and the creature and trusty friend of Aldobrandino.]

† Relazione di IV. ambasciatori mandati a Roma, 15 Genn. 1605 m. V. i. e. 1606. "Il padre Camillo non volendo più habitare Siena caduta della libertà, se ne andò a Roma. Di buono spirito, d'ingegno acuto, riuscì nella professione d'avvocato.—Il papa non vuol esser Sanese ma Romano." [Father Camillo, not choosing to reside any longer at Siena, which had lost its liberty, departed for Rome. Being of a forward spirit, and of subtle wit, he succeeded in the profession of an advocate.—The pope will not be called a Siennese, but a Roman.]

\* The four ambassadors relate this occurrence. "Si congettura," they add, "fondatamente che abbi ad esser il pontefice severo e rigorosissimo et inexorabile in fatto di giustizia." [It is conjectured that the pope must be at bottom severe and most rigorous and inexorable in matter of justice.]

† Du Perron à Villeroy, 17 May, 1606. "Le pape ayant fait entendre que sa volonté estoit que tous les cardinaux qui avoient des éveschez y allassent ou bien les resignassent ou y missent des conjuteurs . . . j'ay pensé . . ." [The pope having made known that it was his will that all cardinals who had bishoprics should go to them, or resign them, or place coadjutors in them . . . I have thought . . .]

‡ Relazione di IV. ambasciatori: "Conoscendo il pontefice presente sua grandezza spirituale, e quanto se le debba da tutti li popoli Christiani attribuir di ossequio e di obediencia, non eccettuando qualsivoglia grandissimo principe."

*Disputes with Venice.*

From the time that the papal power had again made good its footing as an opponent of protestantism, and revived the ideas on which the hierarchy is mainly founded, it had also enforced all its canonical rights with regard to the internal affairs of catholic states.

With its victory over its opponents grew likewise its authority over its own adherents.

After the bishops had been bound to more strict obedience, the monastic orders attached more closely to the curia, and all reforms completed with a view to the utmost promotion of the pope's power, there were established in every capital of Europe regular nunciatures, combining with the dignity belonging to embassies from an influential power, jurisdictional rights that afforded them an essential control over the most important affairs of social life and of public policy.

Even where the church had re-established herself in unison with the state, where they had made common cause in resisting the advancement of protestant opinions, this same circumstance very soon gave rise to disagreements.

In those days as now the Roman court was particularly intent on upholding its pretensions in Italy: we find the Italian states incessantly involved in disputes with the ecclesiastical power on this account. The old controversies between church and state had not been disposed of either in general by any decisive principle, nor severally by treaty and agreement. The popes themselves were not always consistent. Pius V., and Gregory XIII., at least in the first half of his reign, insisted most pertinaciously on their claims: Sixtus V. was much more indulgent in individual cases. The states and their envoys sought to escape out of difficult contingencies with as little prejudice as they could, and to profit by favourable moments; nor could they wholly fail of success in this: the interests of popes were transient and shifting, those of the states were permanent. Hence, in every case, the questions which arose for decision were far less concerns of the *jus canonicum* and of legal inquiry, than of policy, and of reciprocal demands and concessions.

The view, however, taken of his rights by pope Paul V. was once more wholly that of a lawyer. He held the canonical regulations of the decretals as laws of God. He ascribed not to the intrinsic necessity of things, but to the personal remissness of his predecessors, whatever concessions or connivances they might have stooped to, and deemed himself called to repair these lapses. We find him shortly after his accession involved in angry disputes with all his Italian neighbours on this account.

In Naples the regent Ponte, president of the royal council, had condemned to the galleys an ecclesiastical notary who had refused to give the civil court information respecting a marriage, and a bookseller who, in defiance of a royal order, had disseminated a book by Baronius against the Sicilian monarchy. A monitorium of Clement VIII. against the regent's proceedings had remained without effect. Pope Paul V. delayed not a moment to pronounce excommunication\*.

The duke of Savoy had disposed of some benefices, the right of conferring which was claimed by the court of Rome: Genoa had interdicted societies that were held at the Jesuit colleges, because attempts were made in them to control the elections to public offices: Lucca had wholly forbidden in general the execution of the decrees of papal functionaries without the previous assent of the native magistrates: in Venice lastly a couple of clergymen, who were guilty of grave crimes, had been brought before the civil tribunal. Precisely the universality of this resistance against the authority of the church was what kindled the official zeal and the indignation of the pope. In every quarter he interposed with stern commands and threats. Nay, at this moment he even enlarged upon the existing pretensions of church authority. He even made the unheard-of assertion, that it was not for the state to forbid the commerce of its subjects with protestants, that this was an affair of the church, and belonged exclusively to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Most of the Italian states looked on these steps as extravagances that, with more experience, would die away of their own accord. None wished to be the first to break with the pope. The grand duke of Tuscany declared he had matters on hand that would drive the pope to frenzy, but that he endeavoured to keep them back; that Paul V. was a man who judged of the world from a little town of the ecclesiastical states, where everything proceeded according to the letter of the law\*; but there would soon be a change in this; the Spaniards would be caught, and they must either be let go, or they would rend the net; such an example was to be expected. Something like this was the thought of the others, and they gave way at first. Genoa repealed its edict; the duke of Savoy transferred the disputed benefices to a nephew of the pope; the Spaniards themselves allowed that the regent should solicit and receive absolution in presence of numerous witnesses.

The Venetians alone, usually so prudent and compliant, scorned to adopt this policy.

But Venice in truth had been more irritated than the rest. The case afforded a striking example how offensive the encroachments of the Roman court could be, especially towards a neighbouring state.

This neighbourhood proved in itself a very inconvenient circumstance, especially since the acquisition of Ferrara by the church. The disputes about boundaries which the republic had had with the dukes were prosecuted far more earnestly by the Roman court: Venice was disturbed in the regulation of the Po, which she was engaged in carrying into effect at a great cost, and in the time-honoured possession of her fisheries; she had no alternative but to protect her hydraulic works with armed vessels, and to seize on papal subjects by way of reprisal for the confiscation of some of the fishing boats by the legate of Ferrara.

Meanwhile pope Paul V. laid claim to the rights of sovereignty which for centuries Venice had

\* Relazione di IV. ambasciatori: "Il granduca ricordava che il pontefice non era uso a governar come principe grande, perche aver avuto qualche governo di città della chiesa, dove si procede col rigor ecclesiastico e da prete, non basta per saper governare come capo supremo."

\* Les ambassades du cardinal du Perron, il. 683. 736.

exercised undisturbed over Ceneda: he made an attempt to carry to Rome the appeals from the episcopal court which had jurisdiction there. A sharp altercation ensued on the subject; the papal nuncio proceeded to excommunication, whilst the Venetian senate made it its care that this should be attended by no evil consequences\*.

Not less bitter were the disputes concerning the tenths of the clergy. The Venetians maintained that they had collected them in former times without question asked of the pope; they would not admit that the pope's sanction was requisite to the levying of this tax. But it was a still sorer grievance to them that the Romans day by day increased the number of exemptions therefrom. The cardinals who possessed very rich benefices, the knights of Malta, the convents, half the mendicant orders, besides all who were engaged abroad in the service of the church, or who were numbered under any title in the household of the pope, lastly those too to whom the court had assigned pensions payable out of the Venetian benefices, were declared exempt. It followed that the rich were not called on to pay anything, and the whole burden fell on the poor who could not pay. The income of the Venetian clergy was computed at eleven millions of ducats; the net tenths did not amount to more than 12,000 ducats†.

To these subjects of dispute were added an immense multitude of others, affecting individuals more than the state. I will cite but one of them.

It is well known how flourishing was the Venetian press in the beginning of the sixteenth century: the republic was proud of this honourable branch of trade, but the regulations of the curia gradually wrought its downfall. There was no end to the prohibition of books in Rome, first of those of a protestant cast, then of books reflecting on the morals of the clergy, or the immunities of the church, of all that in the least degree departed from its dogmas, and of the entire works of an author

who had once incurred censure. The book trade could only be carried on in works of indisputable orthodoxy; commercially speaking, it was a little revived by the splendid decorated missals and breviaries, for which the revival of religious sentiments provided a fair sale. But now, even this trade had declined. An emendation of these books was set on foot in Rome, where it was decided that they should be published in their new form\*. The Venetians remarked with that indignation which is always excited by the perversion of public authority to the advancement of private interests, that some functionaries belonging to the congregation of the index, which had the control of matters relating to the press, had a share in the pecuniary profits of the Roman printing offices.

Under these circumstances, the relations between Rome and Venice assumed the character of utter hatred and vindictiveness.

How much must this have contributed to promote that disposition to ecclesiastico-political opposition, which already, in 1589, had proved so serviceable to Henry IV. That king's triumph, and the whole course of European events, confirmed and advanced it. The disputes with the pope himself conducted towards gradually investing the representatives of this disposition with the conduct of public affairs. None seemed more fit than they to guard the interests of the republic against the encroachments of the church. In January 1606, Leonardo Donato, the leader of the anti-Roman party, was raised to the rank of doge, and he brought into power all the friends by whose aid he had been successful in the struggle of parties.

Whilst a pope arose, who with reckless zeal overstrained the disputed pretensions of his authority, the administration of Venice passed into the hands of men, with whom opposition to the dominion of Rome had become a personal feeling, who had risen by its means, and who now urged their favourite principle with the more energy, inasmuch as it enabled them at the same time to defeat and put down their adversaries in the republic itself.

It followed from the nature of the two powers, that the collisions between them should every day become more hostile and more extensive.

The pope insisted not only on the surrender of the clerical malefactors, but also demanded the repeal of two laws, a short while previously renewed in the Venetian senate, whereby the alienation of real estates to the clergy was forbidden, and the erection of new churches was made contingent on the sanction of the civil magistrate. He declared that he would not tolerate regulations so directly opposed to the resolutions of councils, the constitutions of his predecessors, and all the maxims of the canon law. The Venetians did not yield a hair's breadth. They said that such were the fundamental laws of their state, handed down to them from their forefathers, who had rendered such services to Christendom, and that the republic could not violate them.

The disputants, however, did not long confine themselves to the immediate subject of quarrel, but both parties speedily proceeded to allege further grievances. The church, on its part, considered

\* Nicolò Contarini: "Mentre si disputava, pareva che da alcuno fusse fugita la conversazione de' censurati, (officers of the republic who had opposed the appeals to Rome), la qual cosa giudicando il senato apportarli offesa, primieramente fece pubblicare un bando contra chi lo havesse a schivo, e dopo a questi tutti in vita li fu data annua provvisione quale era corrispondente alla loro fortuna." [While the dispute was going on, it appeared that some shunned intercourse with the persons censured, which thing, the senate regarding as an offence to itself, first published an ordinance against any one who should shun those persons, and the latter were subsequently granted annual allowances equivalent to their fortunes.]

† From a statement given in to the government in Rome. "Mentre s'esagera sopra la severità del magistrato, non si ritrovava fin hora essersi conseguiti più di 12m. ducati, per li quali non si doveva far tanti richiami, a le fortune della repubblica per gratia di Dio non erano tali che ne dovesse far conto più che tanto." [Whilst exaggerated representations were made of the severity of the magistracy, it was not found that more than 12000 ducats had been raised up to the current period, a sum which was not worth so many remonstrances being made about it, and the fortunes of the republic, by God's grace, were not such that a larger sum need have been seriously regarded.] Hereupon some arrangements were made with a view to meet the evil. But Contarini says: "In effetto montò poco, perciocché il loro era già fatto e l'abuso troppo confermato che distornarlo era più che malagevole." [But little was actually effected, because the mischief was already done, and the abuse was so confirmed, that to undo it, was more than difficult.]

\* Contarini: "Al presente s'era devenuto in Roma in questo pensiero di ristampar messali et altro, levando di poterlo far ad altri."

itself prejudiced by the constitution of Venice in general. The republic forbade recourse to Rome, excluded, under the title of papalists, from consultations on ecclesiastical matters, those who by means of clerical offices had entered into connexion with the Roman curia, and even burthened the clergy with taxes. The Venetians on the other hand declared these restrictions far from adequate. They required that ecclesiastical benefices should be bestowed only on natives, that these alone should take part in the inquisition, that every bull should be submitted for the sanction of the state, that every ecclesiastical assembly should be presided over by a layman, and that all remittances of money to Rome should be forbidden.

But matters did not stop here: from the immediate subjects of the dispute, the parties proceeded to general principles.

The Jesuits had long since deduced from their doctrine of the pope's power, the most important consequences in favour of the rights of the church, and they delayed not to repeat them.

The spirit, says Bellarmine, guides and bridges the flesh, not vice versa. Just so the temporal authority must not presume to exalt itself above the spiritual, to guide, command, or punish it; this would be rebellion, a heathenish tyranny\*. The priesthood have their prince, who commands them not only in spiritual, but also in temporal affairs; it is impossible that they should acknowledge a special temporal superior: no man can serve two masters. It is for the priest to judge the emperor, not the emperor the priest: it would be absurd were the sheep to think of judging the shepherd†. Neither must the prince exact any taxes from the property of the clergy. He may take his tribute from the laity; from the priesthood he will receive the far greater aid of prayer and sacrifice. The clergyman is exempt from all real and personal burthens, he belongs to the family of Christ. Even though this exemption be not founded on the express commands of holy writ, it is yet founded on the consequences that follow from thence and on analogy. To the clergy of the New Testament belongs exactly the same right that was formerly conceded to the Levites under the old dispensation‡.

This was a doctrine which promised that spiritual republic, to which was to accrue so great an influence over the state, a no less complete independence of any reaction on the part of the lat-

ter; one which it was sought in Rome to establish by innumerable proofs from scripture, from councils, and from imperial and papal constitutions, and which was considered on the whole as irrefutable. Where was the man in Venice who should venture to stand before a Bellarmine or a Baronius?

The Venetians possessed in Paul Sarpi, their consultant of state, a man whom nature and circumstances had moulded to such a frame of mind, and conducted to such a position, that he could venture to take up arms against the power of the clergy.

Paul Sarpi was the son of a merchant who had come from St. Veit to Venice, and of a lady of the Venetian family of Morelli, which enjoyed the privileges of *cittadinanza*. His father was a little, swarthy, impetuous, quarrelsome man, who had ruined himself by croneous speculations. His mother was one of those beautiful Venetian blondes not unfrequently to be seen; her figure was large, and her character marked by modesty and good sense. Her son resembled her in his features\*.

A brother of hers, Ambrosio Morelli, was then at the head of a school which enjoyed peculiar reputation, and was principally devoted to the education of the young nobility. Of course the master's nephew was admitted to share the instruction. Nicolo Contarini and Andrea Morosini were Paolo's schoolfellows, and were very intimate with him. In the very threshold of his life he formed the most important connexions.

Nevertheless, he did not suffer himself to be restrained either by his mother or by his uncle, or by these connexions, from following his inclination for solitude, and entering a convent of Servites as early as in his fourteenth or fifteenth year.

He spoke little, and was always serious. He never ate meat, and till his thirtieth year drank no wine; he abhorred lewd discourse: "Here comes the maiden," his companions used to say when he appeared, "let us talk of something else." Every wish, inclination, or desire he was capable of, was fixed on those studies for which he was endowed with remarkable aptitude.

He possessed the inestimable gift of rapid and just apprehension; for instance, he always recognized again a person he had once seen, or when he entered a garden, he saw and remarked everything in it at a glance; his vision, both mental and bodily, was clear and penetrating†. Hence he applied himself with particular success to natural sciences. His admirers ascribe to him the discovery of the valves in the blood vessels, and of the dilatation and contraction of the pupil‡, the first

\* Risposta del C. Bellarmino ad una lettera senza nome dell' autore (Pamphlet of 1606). "La ragione indirizza et regge e comanda alla carne e talvolta la castiga con digiuni e vigilie, ma la carne non indirizza nè regge nè comanda nè punisce la ragione: così la potestà spirituale è superiore alla secolare e però la può e deve dirizzare e reggere e comandarla e punirla quando si porta male; ma la potestà secolare non è superiore alla spirituale nè la può dirizzare nè reggere nè gli può comandare nè punirla, se non di fatto per ribellione e tirannide, come hanno fatto talvolta li principi gentili o heretici."

† Bellarminus, de Clericis, l. c. 30. "Respondet principem quidem ovem ac spiritualem filium pontificis esse, sed sacerdotem nullo modo filium vel ovem principis dici posse, quoniam sacerdotes et omnes clerici suum habent principem spiritualem, a quo non in spiritualibus solum sed etiam in temporalibus reguntur."

‡ These maxims are to be found verbatim either in the above named Risposta, or in Bellarmine's book, *De Clericis*, particularly in lib. i. c. 30.

\* Sarpi, born August 14, 1552. His father's name was Francesco, his mother's Elizabetha. Fra Fulgentio, Vita di Paolo Sarpi. Griselin, Memorie di Fra Paolo Sarpi, translated into German by Lebrt, p. 13.

† According to Fra Fulgentio, he himself spoke of his "gran passibilità, perchè non solo l'oggetto in lui facesse moto, ma anco ogni minima reliquia." "Come perito suonatore," continues Fulgentio, "ad un sol tocco fa giudicio del istrumento, così con far parla le persone con prestezza ammirabile conosceva i fini, gl' interessi," &c. [his great delicacy of perception, for not only did present objects impress him, but even the least traces of them. As a man of practised ear, continues Fulgentio, judges of an instrument upon a single touch, so he, by causing people to speak, discovered with admirable quickness, their purposes, their intentions, &c.]

‡ See also Fischer: *Geschichte der Physik*, i. 167.



observation of the dip of the needle, and of a great many other magnetic phenomena, and it cannot be denied that he took a lively share both in the way of suggestion and discovery, in the labours of Aquapendente, and still more of Porta\*. To his physical studies he added mathematical calculations, and the observation of intellectual phenomena. In the Servite library in Venice, was kept a copy of the works of Vieta, in which many errors of that author were corrected by the hand of Fra Paolo: there was also preserved there, a little treatise of his on the origin and decline of opinions among men, which, if we may judge from the extracts given from it by Foscarini, contained a theory of the intellectual powers, which regarded sensation and reflexion as their foundations, and had much analogy to the theory of Locke†, if it did not quite so strictly coincide with it, as some have asserted. Fra Paolo wrote only as much as was necessary: he had no natural promptings to original composition: he read continually, and appropriated what he read or observed: his intellect was sober and capacious, methodical and bold; he trod the path of free enquiry.

With these powers he now advanced to questions of theology and of ecclesiastical law.

It has been said he was in secret a protestant; but his protestantism could hardly have gone beyond the first simple propositions of the Augsburg confession, even if he subscribed to these: at all events, Fra Paolo read mass daily all his life. It is impossible to specify the form of religion to which he inwardly adhered: it was of a kind often embraced in those days, especially by men who devoted themselves to natural science,—a mode of opinion shackled by none of the existing systems of doctrine, dissentient and speculative, but neither accurately defined nor fully worked out.

Thus much, however, is certain, that Fra Paolo bore a decided and implacable hatred to the temporal authority of the pope. This was perhaps the only passion he cherished. Attempts have been made to attribute it to the refusal of a bishopric for which he had been proposed: and who may deny the effect which a mortifying rejection, barring the path of natural ambition, may have even on a manly spirit? Nevertheless, the true cause lay far deeper. It was a politico-religious habit of thought, bound up with every other conviction of Sarpi's mind, corroborated by study and experience, and shared with his friends, his contemporaries, the men who once had assembled at Morosi-

ni's, and who now swayed the helm of the state. Before the keenness of his penetrating observation vanished those chimerical arguments, with which the Jesuits laboured to prop up their assertions, and those doctrines, the real foundation of which was, in fact, to be looked for only in a devotion to the Roman see, created by a by-gone condition of society.

It was not without difficulty that Sarpi first convinced the minds of the jurists in his own country. Some held, with Bellarmine, that the exemption of the clergy was an ordinance of Divine law: others asserted, that at least the pope had a right to appoint it; they appealed to the resolutions of councils in which the exemption was proclaimed. Now what a council might do was surely much more within the competence of a pope. The first class of objectors were easily refuted; to the others, Fra Paolo proved chiefly that the councils on which their arguments relied, having been called by the sovereign, were to be regarded as assemblies of the empire, from which, too, a multitude of other political enactments had issued\*. This is a point on which the doctrines put forward by Fra Paolo and his friends were mainly grounded.

They set out from the principle which had been triumphantly asserted in France, that the sovereign authority is derived immediately from God, and is subject to no one. It is not for the pope even to enquire whether the proceedings of a state are sinful or not. For whereto should this tend? Was there any that might not be sinful,—at least, as regarded its object? The pope would have to probe every thing, to interfere in every thing: the temporal authority would by such means be annihilated.

To this authority the clergyman is equally subject as the layman. All powers, says the apostle, are of God. No one is exempt from the obedience due to the magistracy, any more than from the obedience due to God. The prince imposes the laws, he judges every man, he exacts tribute: in all these respects the clergy owe him the same obedience as the laity†.

The pope by all means possesses a jurisdiction, but one purely spiritual. Did Christ exercise a temporal jurisdiction? He cannot have transferred either to St. Peter or his followers what he did not claim in his own person.

In no degree, therefore, can the exemption of the clergy be traced to an original Divine right‡:

\* "A quo," says Porta of him, "aliqua didicisse non solum fateri non erubescimus, sed gloriamur, quum eo doctorem, subtiliorem, quotquot adhuc videre contigerit, neminem cognoverimus ad encyclopediam." *Magis Natur.* lib. viii. præf. Grisellini, I. § 20 21. [Not only do we not blush to own that we have learned some things from him, but we are even proud of it, never, among all those it has been our lot to meet, having known any man more learned or more acute than he, in the whole circle of knowledge.]

† The explanation of substance would be a particularly striking point of comparison. Paolo Sarpi, according to Foscarini and Grisellini, infers substance from the multiplicity of ideas, resting on a basis we cannot comprehend; and in this basis, he says, consists what we call substance. Grisellini, I. p. 46, German translation. Locke, *Human Understanding*, book ii. ch. 23. "Not imagining how the simple ideas can subsist by themselves, we accustom ourselves to suppose some substratum wherein they do subsist, and from which they do result, which therefore we call substance."

• Letter from Sarpi to Leschasser, 3rd Feb., 1619, in *Lebret's Magazine*, i. 479. An observation the more important for those times, inasmuch as Mariana, for instance, deduced the most extensive temporal prerogatives for the clergy from the decrees of the Spanish councils. It may, however, be constantly remarked, that already in those times spiritual and temporal pretensions were either confounded together or were at variance. The old Gothic monarchy in Spain possessed, in reality, a very strong infusion of spirituality; for old laws are generally based on old conditions of things.

† Risposta d'un dottore in theologia ad una lettera scritta gli sopra il breve delle censure. "Sono dunque tutti gli ecclesiastici et i secolari de jure divino soggetti al principe secolari. Omnibus anima potestatis sublimioribus subdita sit. E la ragione si è, perchè siccome niuno è eccettuato dall'ubbidienza che deve al principe; perchè, come soggiunge l'apostolo, Omnia potestas a Deo."

‡ Difesa di Giovanni Marsilio a favore della risposta delle otto proposizioni, contra la quale ha scritto l'illmo. e revmo.



it depends alone on the consent of the prince. The prince has bestowed possessions and jurisdiction on the church; he is her protector, her common patron; on him, of right, depends the nomination of the clergy, and the publication of bulls.

The prince cannot surrender this power even if he would; it is a trust committed to him; he is bound in conscience to transmit it unimpaired to his successor.

Thus boldly did the theory of the state and its claims array themselves against those of the church. The tendencies of conflicting powers manifest themselves in opposite systems. The intimate blending of spiritual and temporal interests in the European states afford a wide field of action in which both meet and mingle. The church had long claimed this whole field as her own, and now did so anew. The state on its part had at times asserted similar pretensions; but never before, perhaps, had it put them forward so boldly and systematically as in the doctrines before us. These claims on either side could never be adjusted legally: politically it was possible only by mutual concessions; so soon as these were withheld war was the alternative. Each party was impelled to try the utmost reach of its strength; and when the contest was concerning the right of obedience, it remained to be shown broadly and palpably which of the two was able to enforce it.

On the 17th of April, 1606, the pope pronounced sentence of excommunication in the stern form of past ages, with express reference to predecessors as omnipotent as Innocent III., on the doge, the senate, and the whole body of the Venetian authorities, and especially upon the consultors. He granted the condemned only the shortest intervals for recantation, three of eight and one of three days. After the lapse of these, all the churches in the Venetian territory—those of the convents and private chapels not excepted—lay under interdict, divine service in them was forbidden. The clergy of the land were enjoined to publish this damnable brief before the assembled congregations, and to have it affixed to the church doors\*. The whole body, from the patriarch to the parish priests, were commanded to do this, under pain of heavy punishment, human and divine.

Such was the attack: the defence was not so vigorous.

It was proposed, in the college of Venice, to make a solemn protestation, as had been done in times past; this, however, was not approved of, on the principle that the pope's sentence was in itself null and void, and had not even a show of

justice. In a short proclamation, contained in a quarto sheet, Leonardo Donato made known to the clergy the resolution of the republic to uphold the sovereign authority, "which in temporal things acknowledges no superior but God;" her faithful clergy would of themselves perceive the nullity of the censure issued against them, and would continue uninterruptedly in the discharge of their functions, in the care of souls, and the service of God. No alarm, no threats were uttered: the proclamation was simply a declaration of confidence. Probably, however, something more was expressed by word of mouth\*.

And now, out of the question of claim and of right, arose immediately a question of power and of possession. Challenged by their two chiefs, the pope and the republic, to tender contradictory proofs of obedience, the Venetian clergy had to decide with which of the two calls they would comply.

They did not hesitate, but clung to the republic. Not a single copy of the papal brief was posted up†. The delay allowed by the pope expired. The clergy every where conducted public worship as usual. The regular clergy acted like the secular.

The newly-founded orders formed the only exception: those orders namely which more particularly represented the principle of ecclesiastical restoration,—the Jesuits, the Theatines, and the Capuchins. The Jesuits were not very well decided in their own minds; they consulted their provincial in Ferrara, and the general in Rome, and the latter applied to the pope; the answer of Paul V. was, they must either observe the interdict, or ~~shake~~ shake the dust from off their feet and quit Venice. A hard resolve, assuredly, since they were flatly told there they should never be permitted to return. But their principles allowed them no choice; they betook themselves in a few vessels to the papal dominions‡. Their example was followed by the other two orders§. A middle course, which the Theatines had proposed, was rejected, as inexpedient, by the Venetians, who were unwilling to have any division in their land; they required either obedience or departure. The deserted churches were easily supplied with other priests, and care was taken that no one should detect any lack of spiritual aid. The next Corpus Christi day was celebrated with special pomp, and an unusually numerous procession||.

At all events, here was a complete rupture.

The pope was astounded; the reality of things stood in rude contrast with his overstrained pre-

St. C. Bellarmino: Venezia, 1606. The author, who has expressed himself somewhat obscurely, explains himself in the following way, and the explanation is at least authentic, as coming from the same quarter: "Dice l'autore due cose: la prima si è che le persone ecclesiastiche non siano esente dalla potestà secolare ne meno i beni di esse, intendendo in quelle cose alle quali la detta potestà si estende (i.e. not in purely spiritual matters): la seconda che l'esentione ch' hanno li detti ecclesiastici non è de jure divino, ma de jure humano." (p. 62.)

\* "Mentre in esse si troverà adunata maggior moltitudine di popolo per sentir li divini officj." [When a considerable number of persons shall have assembled there to hear divine service] which had been done in Ferrara with such vast effect. Breve di censure et interdetto della S<sup>a</sup> de N<sup>re</sup>. P. Paolo V. contro li S<sup>ni</sup>. Venetiani, 1606.

\* This proclamation of the 6th of May, 1606, is printed by Rampazetto, stampator ducale. On the title-page is represented St. Mark, with the gospel and the drawn sword. In the senate they investigated, as Priuli says, "le nullità molte e notorie" [the many and notorious nullities] of the papal brief.

† P. Sarpi, *Historia particolare*, lib. ii. p. 55, affirms that persons who had attempted to post the bull were arrested by the inhabitants themselves.

‡ Juvencius, *Hist. Soc. Jesu*, v. ii. p. 93.

§ The mention made by V. Sandi (vi. 1110,) of "i riformati di S. Francisco," an error into which many authors have fallen, as well as he, arose out of the fact that the Capuchins are reformed Franciscans, and were so designated by A. Morisini on this occasion.

|| A. Maucensis, *Hist. Ven.* tom. iii. p. 350.

tensions ;—were there any means of overcoming it ?

Paul V. thought at times of the employment of armed force, and in the congregation, too, warlike views once predominated. Cardinal Sauli cried out that the Venetians should be chastised ; legates were appointed, and an army was equipped. But at bottom they durst not venture on war. They would have had reason to dread that Venice should call in protestant aid, and cast Italy,—nay, the whole catholic world,—into the most perilous commotion.

The settlement of questions of ecclesiastical right was after all to be attempted, as in former instances, by political means : not that this could be done by the contending parties, the rupture between whom was too violent ; but it devolved on the mediation of the two leading powers, Spain and France. The private interests of the mediators would of course likewise play a part in the matter.

There was a party in both kingdoms that would have welcomed the outbreak of hostilities. Among the Spaniards it consisted of the zealous catholics, who hoped once more to enslave the Roman see to the monarchy, and the governors of Italian districts, whose power would be augmented by war : Viglienna, the ambassador at Rome, also entertained this wish, expecting, by means of the event, to promote his house to ecclesiastical dignities. In France, on the other hand, the war party was comprised of the zealous protestants. Sully and his adherents would have gladly hailed an Italian war, were it for no other reason than its causing a diversion in favour of the Netherlands, which were then pressed hard by Spinola. On both sides these parties came to open demonstrations. The king of Spain dispatched a letter to the pope, in which he promised him aid, at least in general terms. In France the Venetian ambassador also received offers from men of eminence ; it was his belief that he could bring together an army of 15,000 Frenchmen within a month. These impulses, however, did not prevail. The leading ministers, Lerma in Spain, and Villeroy in France, wished for tranquillity. The former rested his reputation above all on the restoration of peace ; the latter belonged to the strict catholic party, and would never have consented to an attack by the French on the pope\*. The princes agreed with their ministers. Henry IV. justly observed that, should he draw his sword for the republic, he would hazard his reputation as a good catholic. Philip III. sent a new declaration to the pope. He would willingly assist him, but not without security for the expense to be incurred, and if he aided him it should be for good and not for evil†.

\* Relazione di Pietro Priuli ritornato di Francia, 4 Sett. 1608, contains a copious account of the interest taken by the French in these proceedings. Villeroy declared : "Esser questa opportunissima e propria occasione di guadagnare l'animo del papa.—Il re assicurato dal suo ambasciatore presso la repubblica che V. S. non metteria in mano d'altri questo negotio che della M. S. ebbe mira di guadagnare et obbligarsi con questa occasione l'animo del pontefice." [That this was a most opportune and fitting occasion for conciliating the pope.—The king, assured by his ambassador to the republic, that your Signory would not put this affair into any other hands than his majesty's, aimed at employing this opportunity to gain a hold upon the pope's good will.]

† Francesco Priuli: Relazione di Spagna, 20 Ag. 1608.

Thus perished the possibility of war. Both the great powers only vied which should most contribute towards peace, and thereby best secure its own influence. To this end Francisco de Castro, Lerma's nephew, was sent from Spain to Venice, and cardinal Joyeuse from France.

I have neither the disposition nor the means of detailing the whole course of their negotiations ; it is enough if we touch only on the most important points.

The first difficulty consisted in this, that the pope demanded above all things the repeal of the Venetian laws that had given him such offence, and he made the suspension of his ecclesiastical censure dependent thereon.

Now the Venetians were wont, with a certain republican pride, to declare their laws sacred and inviolable. When the pope's demand came to be discussed in January 1607, although the college vacillated, it was at last decidedly rejected\*. The French, who had pledged their word to the pope, succeeded in bringing the question forward again in March, upon which occasion one, at least, of the four opponents of the measure in the college gave

"Venne il contestabile a trovarmi a casa, e mi disse costantemente che gli ordini dell'ammassar genti non erano per altro se non per non star in otio mentre tutti potenze del mondo si armavano, ma che però non s'erano provveduti di danaro : raccomandò la pace d'Italia, non potendo perder la repubblica nell'esser liberale di parole ossequenti, per haver in effetto quello che desiderava. . . . In quel tempo che il duca di Lerma delle forze da ammassarsi parlò iperbolicamente al ambasciatore d'Inghilterra, . . . scrissero al papa che S. M. gli aveva ben promesso d'ajutarlo, ma che ciò s'intendeva al bene e non al male, . . . che il cominciar le guerre stava in mano degli uomini et il finire in quelle di Dio." [The constable came to my house and assured me, that the orders for levying men were given only to avoid being idle while all other powers of the world were arming, but that nevertheless they were not provided with money : he recommended peace in Italy, whereby the republic would obtain in reality what it desired, while on the other hand it could not lose by any liberality in obsequious words. . . . At the time that the duke of Lerma spoke hyperbolically to the ambassador of England of the forces in process of collecting, . . . they wrote to the pope that his majesty had indeed promised to aid him, but that thereby was meant for good but not for bad, . . . that the beginning of war was in the hands of men, its termination in those of God.]

\* Ger. Priuli: Cronica Veneta, 20 Zener. 1606 (1607): "Dopo lunga disputa di otto giorni e varie pendente di giudicio deliberò il senato rispondere agli ambasciatori di Francia e di Spagna, che il devenir a qualsivoglia forma di sospensione non si può accomodar la repubblica, essendo cosa di perpetuo pregiudicio: il che fu proposto da S. Bembo et Al. Zorzi savj del consilio et A. Mula et S. Venier savj della terra ferma." [After a lengthened debate of eight days, and various fluctuations of opinion, the senate resolved to reply to the ambassadors of France and Spain that the republic cannot consent to any forms of suspension whatever, inasmuch as the same would be permanently injurious ; this was proposed by, &c.] Others were for a more moderate decision. Nor was it improbable that they would carry their point ; but meanwhile news arrived that there was nothing to be feared from the Spanish arms in consequence of the troubles in Naples. "E fu perciò preso la total negativa di sospensione." [For that reason the question of suspension was absolutely negatived] by ninety-nine votes to seventy-eight, that is to say a majority of twenty-one. On the 9th of March, however, Bembo withdrew his support from his own proposal. The more moderate decision was carried on the 14th of March in spite of the opposition of Zorzi, Mula, and Venier.

way. After the arguments on both sides had been gone over a second time, the result on this occasion was not indeed a formal and express repeal of the laws in question, but a resolution was passed in which it was said, that "the republic would conduct itself with its accustomed piety." Obscure as was the language, the ambassador and the pope nevertheless regarded it as importing the fulfilment of their wishes. The pope now, on his part, suspended his censure.

But another very unexpected difficulty now presented itself. The Venetians refused to receive back the Jesuits, who, after their departure from the dominions of the republic, had been excluded by a solemn decree.

But could the pope suffer his faithful followers, whose only fault was their inviolable attachment to him, to be left at such disadvantage?

He employed every device to change the purpose of the Venetians. The Jesuits, too, had the French on their side; they had, by a special mission, secured the king's favour on this emergency, and Joyeuse interested himself strongly for them. The Venetians, however, remained immovable.\*

The most striking thing was, that the Spaniards rather declared against the order than for it. The Dominican interest was predominant in Spain: Lerma did not like the Jesuits, and held it to be a bad principle in general that a state should be compelled to receive back disobedient subjects. In short, Francisco de Castro avoided at first making mention of the Jesuits, and at last directly opposed the intercession made for them by the French †.

This phenomenon, though naturally arising out of the position of things, was yet so striking that the pope himself was startled by it, and suspecting some deep mystery at the bottom of it, gave up insisting on the restoration of the Jesuits ‡.

But the resolution must have cost him dear. He had seemed determined to embroil the world for the sake of a couple of insignificant laws, and now he abandoned his most trusty adherents to perpetual exile from a catholic, an Italian territory §.

On the other hand the republic now consented

to deliver up the two clergymen she had imprisoned.

But even while doing so, she claimed a right to make a protest, which the pope absolutely refused to hear of. The expedient at last resolved on to end the difficulty was a very singular one\*. The secretary of the Venetian senate led the prisoners into the palace of the French ambassador, and delivered them up to him "out of consideration," he said, "for the most Christian king, and with the proviso that the right of the republic to judge its own ecclesiastics should not thereby be impaired or diminished." "So I receive them," replied the ambassador, and led them before the cardinal, who was walking up and down in the loggia. "These are the prisoners," he said, "who are to be delivered up to the pope;" but he made no mention of the proviso. The cardinal, then, without uttering one word, handed them over to the papal commissioner, who received them with the sign of the cross.

How far were the several parties from any thing like a good understanding: all they desired was an outward show of reconciliation.

To this end the removal of the censure and the grant of absolution were still requisite.

But even upon these points the Venetians had objections to propose. They persisted in asserting that the censure was in itself null and void, and in no way whatever affected them, consequently that they needed no absolution. Joyeuse declared to them that he could not change the forms of the church. At last it was agreed on that the absolution should not be performed with the usual publicity: Joyeuse appeared in the college, and pronounced it privately as it were. The Venetians have always persuaded themselves that they came off altogether without absolution †. It is true, indeed, it was not given in full form, but given it certainly was.

On the whole, it is plain that the strife did not terminate so thoroughly to the advantage of the Venetians as is commonly asserted.

The laws which the pope complained of were suspended; the clergymen whose surrender he demanded were delivered up to him; absolution even was received. Still all this took place but under extraordinary restrictions. The Venetians proceeded as in an affair of honour, with a painful sensitiveness to the preservation of their reputation; they narrowed every concession they made with restrictive clauses, and stifled its force to the utmost of their power. The pope, on the other hand, was in the disadvantageous position of being constrained to a remarkable and little creditable concession, which attracted the attention of the whole world.

Subsequently the relations between Rome and Venice returned, outwardly at least, to their old course. Paul V. cried out to the first ambassador of the Venetians, "Let old things be done away

\* Pietro Priuli: *Relatione di Francia*, adds to this, "Solamente l'ulicio dell'ambasciatore ritenne la disposizione che aveva S. M.<sup>a</sup>, eccitata dall'efficaci istanze che furono fatte da un padre Barisoni Padoano mandato in Francia espressamente dalla sua congregazione con pensiero d'ottenere di interessarsi acciochè fossero di nuovo ricevuti." [Only the embassy continued in the disposition excited in his majesty by the efficacious appeals of father Barisoni of Padua, who was sent expressly to France by his congregation, with the intention that he should take such measures as might lead to their recall.]

† Francesco Priuli: *Relatione di Spagna*: "Sentendo (i Spagnuoli) che Franciosi insistevano nell' introduzione de' Gesuiti, scrissero a Roma et a Venezia che non trattassero di ciò, dando ragione alla republica di non voler capitolare con gente suddita che l'aveva sì gravemente offesa."

‡ Francesco Priuli. "Venuto l'avviso dell' intero accomodamento, desiderarono dal procurare che si trattasse di loro con la S.<sup>a</sup> V., non solo per non aver voluto parlar di loro, ma per essersi attraversati agli gagliardi ufficj di Francest: che fece dubitare il papa di qualche recondito mistero, e non vi volle insistere con che essi non sapevano che dire."

§ Ger. Priuli: "Peso molto a S. S.<sup>a</sup> questa cosa de' Gesuiti, non per loro, ma per la sua propria riputazione." [His holiness felt sorely this affair of the Jesuits, not on their account, but for his own reputation.]

\* Joyeuse thus mentions it as a condition: "Che levandosi le censure siano consignati li due prigionieri a chi li riceve in nome di S. Santità. li quali, se bene S. S.<sup>a</sup> Sorenità (Venice) dico di darli in gratificazione di S. M. Chr.<sup>a</sup>, si dovessero consignare senza dir altro."

† Daru, at the close of his twenty-ninth book, gives Joyeuse's letter, doubtless the only thing of importance he brings forward concerning the matter, but he makes some objections to it, very untenable, as I think.

with, let all things become new." He complained at times that Venice would not forget what he on his part had forgotten, and he displayed as much mildness and indulgence as any of his predecessors\*.

But after all, this in reality but enabled him to avoid fresh hostilities: the latent discords remained: a proper mutual confidence was not very speedily restored.

#### *Issue of the Affairs of the Jesuits.*

Meanwhile the contest between the Jesuits and the Dominicans was settled in a similar, that is to say, an imperfect manner.

Clement died, as we have seen, before pronouncing his decision. Paul V. who took the matter up with all the zeal which in general marked the beginning of his reign (from September, 1605, till February, 1606, seventeen assemblies were held in his presence), was no less inclined than his predecessor to the old system, and to the views of the Dominicans. In October and November, 1606, assemblies were already held to fix on the form in which the doctrine of the Jesuits was to be condemned. The Dominicans thought the victory was in their hands†.

But just then the Venetian affairs had assumed the perplexed aspect we have just been considering: the Jesuits had given the Roman see a proof of attachment, in which they far surpassed every other order, and Venice made them pay the penalty of their fidelity.

Under the circumstances, it would have seemed barbarous had the Roman see thought of visiting these its most faithful servants with a decree of condemnation. When everything was prepared for the act, the pope paused. He let the matter drop for a while, and at last, on the 29th of August, 1607, he published a declaration, by which Disputatores and Consultores were dismissed to their homes: the decision would be made known in due time; meanwhile, it was the pope's most earnest desire that neither party should revile the other‡.

Thus did the Jesuits, after all, reap an advantage from the loss they had sustained in Venice. It was a great gain for them, that their assailed doctrine, though not formally ratified, had yet not been repudiated. They even boasted of victory. With the public prejudice once for all enlisted in favour of their orthodoxy, they now followed up with unabating ardour that line of doctrinal speculation to which they had begun to apply themselves.

The only question was, would they be able to put an end to their own internal discords.

There was still a violent fermentation in the order. The alterations in the constitution proved insufficient, and the Spanish party did not desist

from their efforts to displace Aquaviva. At last, the procurators of all the provinces took the yet unprecedented step of declaring a general congregation necessary. It met in the year 1607, and sweeping changes were once more talked of.

We have already frequently remarked the close connexion into which the Jesuits had entered with France, and the favour which Henry IV. extended to them. He took an interest also in the internal dissensions of the order, and was entirely for Aquaviva. He not only assured the latter in a special letter of his good will, but also intimated his wish to the congregation, that no change should be made in the constitution of the society\*.

Aquaviva managed to turn so powerful a protection to admirable account.

The resistance offered him existed principally in the provincial congregations. He now carried a law, by virtue of which, in the first place no proposition should be regarded as adopted by a provincial assembly, unless it was supported by two thirds of the whole number of votes, and secondly, that even a proposition so approved, should not be admitted for discussion in the general assembly unless a majority of the latter previously gave their assent thereto. By these regulations, it is manifest that the influence of the provincial congregations was diminished in an extraordinary degree.

But besides this, a formal condemnation was also pronounced on the adversaries of the general, and the provincial superiors were expressly enjoined to proceed against the so called disturbers of tranquillity. Hereupon peace was gradually restored. The Spanish members gave way, and ceased to contend against the new tenour of their order. A more plastic generation gradually arose under the ruling influence. On the other hand, the general endeavoured by double devotedness, to make a return to Henry IV. for the favours he had received at his hand.

#### *Conclusion.*

Thus all these dissensions once more gave promise of being allayed.

But if we reflect on their course, and the events by which it was marked, we shall perceive that they introduced the greatest changes into the heart of the catholic church.

We began from the point at which the papal power, engaged in a career of victory, was advancing to still greater plenitude of might. Closely allied with the policy of Spain, it conceived the design of hurrying onward all catholic powers in one direction, and of overpowering the refractory in one great current. Had it succeeded, it would have exalted the ecclesiastical spirit to unlimited supremacy, bound together all catholic countries in an unity embracing ideas, faith, social existence and policy, and thereby have likewise acquired a paramount influence in their domestic concerns.

But at this very moment the most violent internal dissensions manifested themselves.

In France, the feeling of nationality arrayed itself against the pretensions of the hierarchy. The

\* Relazione di Mocenigo. 1612. The pope declared, "Che conveniva per servizio d'Italia che fosse sempre buona intelligenza fra quella sede e questa repubblica." [That it was for the interest of Italy that there should always be a good understanding between that see and that republic.]

† Serry, *Historia congregationum de auxiliis*, p. 562, et seq., gives the documents relating to this affair. "Gratie victrici," he says himself, "jam canebantur 'Io triumphe.'"

‡ Coronelli, secretary to the congregation, in Serry, p. 589: "Tra tanto ha ordinato (S. Sa.) molto seriamente che nel trattare di queste materie nessuno ardisca di qualificare e censurare l'altra parte."

\* *Litteræ Christianissimi regis ad congregatos patres*, iv. Kal. Dec. 1607, in Juvencius v. ii. lib. ix. n. 108: "Vosque hortamur ad retinendam instituti vestri integritatem et splendorem."

very adherents of the catholic faith would not make themselves dependent on all points upon the actuating principles of the church, or upon the guidance of its head: there remained other principles of temporal policy, and of national independence, which resisted the designs of the pope with unconquerable energy. We may assert on the whole, that these principles proved triumphant: the pope was constrained to acknowledge them; the French church itself sanctioned them by assuming them for its own basis.

Hence, however, it ensued, that France was again plunged into hostilities against the Spanish monarchy, that two great powers, natural rivals, and always prone to strife, confronted each other in the midst of the catholic world. So little possibility was there of maintaining unity. The circumstances of Italy had even the effect of making this discord, and the balance of power that thence ensued, a source of advantage to the Roman see.

Meanwhile, new theological ruptures likewise occurred. Acutely conceived, and pointed as were the decisions of the council of Trent, they could not yet prevent this; even within the boundaries traced by them, there was still room for new controversies of faith. The two most powerful orders met each other in the lists; the two great powers even took part, in some degree, in the conflict; and Rome had not the courage to pronounce a decision of the strife.

Next came the disputes respecting the boundaries between the ecclesiastical and the secular jurisdiction, disputes which had a local origin,

carried on with a neighbour of no very great strength, but maintained on the part of that neighbour, with a spirit and force that elevated them to general importance\*. Justly is the memory of Paolo Sarpi held in high estimation in all catholic lands. He it was, that successfully established the basis for those ecclesiastical rights which they all enjoy. The pope was not able to put him down.

These conflicts between ideas and dogmas, between constitutions and might, now violently impeded and threatened utterly to annihilate that ecclesiastico-secular unity, which the pope desired to establish.

The course of events shows, however, that the conservative ideas were the stronger. The internal discord there was no preventing, but an open conflict was avoided. Peace was restored and maintained between the great powers; the Italian states had not yet risen to full consciousness of their strength, nor to an effective use of it; silence was imposed on the contending orders. The disputes between church and state were not pushed to extremities. Venice accepted the proffered accommodation.

The policy of the papacy was, to assume as much as possible a position raised above parties, and to act as a mediator in their differences. It still possessed authority enough to effect this.

Without doubt this policy was reacted upon by that which was in part its effect, the continued progress of the movement without, of the march of reform, and of the conflict with protestantism.

We must now return to this latter subject.

## BOOK THE SEVENTH.

### COUNTER REFORMATION. SECOND PERIOD.

1590—1630.

#### *Introduction.*

I do not think I deceive myself, or that I wander from the province of history, if I here take note of what appears to me to be a general law of life.

It is indisputable that the great movements that stir society from the very bottom, are always impressed on it by forces of the living mind. Prepared through the foregone ages, these forces arise when their time is come, at the call of some master spirits, out of the unfathomed depths of the human soul. It is their nature to strive to carry the world with them, to possess it wholly with their impulse. But the more they succeed in this, and the wider the range of their action becomes, the more do they encounter peculiar and independent elements of social life, which they cannot wholly subdue or absorb. Hence it happens, since they are in a state of ceaseless fashioning, that they themselves experience a transformation. The foreign elements they embrace, become, in fact, incorporated with them; tendencies spring up in them, and they exhibit manifestations that are not

unfrequently at variance with their general character: nor can these fail to grow and expand with the general progress of the movement. The only matter of importance is, that they do not become predominant; otherwise, they would utterly destroy all unity and the principle on which it rests.

We have seen how violently internal discrepancies and profound contrasts wrought within the restorative papacy; still the primary idea triumphed: the higher principle of unity maintained the ascendancy, even though it were not with its ancient all-embracing power, and it advanced incessantly to new conquests even in the moments of inward strife, from which it rather seemed even to gather fresh energy for conflict.

These enterprises now solicit our attention. It

\* "V. Sà," exclaims P. Priuli on his return from France, "ha dichiarato, si può dire, sin a qual termini sia permesso al pontefice estendere la sua temporale e spirituale autorità." (Relazione di Francia, 1608.) [Your serenity may be said to have declared to what limits the pope may be allowed to extend his temporal and spiritual authority.]

is a very weighty consideration for the world how far they succeeded, what metamorphoses ensued from them, what resistance they encountered from within or from without.

## CHAPTER I.

### PROGRESS OF THE RESTORATION OF CATHOLICISM..

1590-1617.

#### § 1.—*Measures taken on behalf of catholicism in Poland and the adjoining countries.*

THE opinion has been expressed, that the protestants, who, as we have seen, long possessed the upper hand in Poland, might have been able to put a king of their own creed on the throne; but that they themselves, after all, thought a catholic king preferable, as having in the pope a higher authority, and a judge over him.

If they thought so, these very unprotestant sentiments were the means of drawing down on them a heavy chastisement.

For it was precisely through a catholic king that the pope was enabled to make war on them.

Of all foreign ambassadors in Poland, the papal nuncios alone had the right of discoursing with the king without the presence of a senator. We know well what sort of men they were; they had prudence and skill enough to cultivate and profit by the more confidential intercourse thus afforded them.

At the beginning of the eightieth year of the sixteenth century, cardinal Bolognetto was nuncio in Poland. He complains of the inconveniences of the climate, the cold, which was doubly painful to an Italian, the dampness of the small heated apartments, and the mode of life altogether strange to him; but, notwithstanding all this, he accompanied king Stephen from Warsaw to Cracow, from Wilna to Lublin,—throughout the kingdom: at times in rather a melancholy mood, but not the less indefatigable. During the campaigns he kept up a correspondence with the king, and altogether he kept the Roman interests in unbroken connexion with the royal person.

We have a circumstantial report of the manner in which he exercised the duties of his office, from which we learn what were his undertakings, and how far they prospered\*.

Above all things, he called on the king to fill the offices of state with none but catholics, to allow no other than the catholic worship in his towns, and to re-establish tithes; measures which were adopted about the same time in other countries, and which promoted or marked the renovation of catholicism.

But he was not successful. King Stephen did not think he could venture so far, and declared that his power was not sufficient.

\* Spannochi: "Relatione all Illmo. Revmo. Cardinal Rusticucci, segretario di N. S. Papa Sisto V., delle cose di Polonia intorno alla religione e delle azioni del cardinal Bolognetto in quattro anni ch' egli è stato nunzio in quella provincia."

Yet that sovereign was not only inspired with catholic convictions, but even with an innate zeal for the interests of the church. In many other particulars he yielded to the nuncio's representations.

The Jesuit colleges in Cracow, Grodno, and Pulask were established by the direct patronage of the king, the new calendar was introduced without difficulty, and the regulations of the council of Trent fully enforced. But the most important point was the royal determination for the future to bestow the vacant bishoprics only on catholics\*. Protestants had made their way even into those exalted spiritual offices; these the nuncio was now empowered to summon before him and to depose: a matter of the more consequence, since the episcopal rank conferred likewise a seat and a vote in the senate. The nuncio sought to turn this political significance of the spiritual institution to account. He urgently required of the bishops unanimity of proceedings in the diet, and prescribed to them the measures they should pursue. He formed a close personal intimacy with the most powerful of them, the archbishop of Gnesen and the bishop of Cracow, which was of singular advantage to him. In this way he succeeded not only in infusing a new fire of zeal into the clergy, but acquired also a great influence in secular affairs. The English were proposing a commercial treaty with Poland, that promised great advantages for Dantzic in particular; it was the nuncio alone who defeated the project, chiefly because the English demanded the express promise that they should be allowed peacefully to ply their traffic without being troubled on account of their religion†.

In short, however moderate king Stephen may have been, under him catholicism first essentially resumed its empire.

Now this was of the more consequence, since the most powerful party in the country, the Zamoisky faction, to which, through the king's favour, the

\* "Sendosi (il re) determinato che nessuno possa tenere chiese che non sia della vera fede romana." (Spannochi.)

† Spannochi: "Il che non prima venne agli orecchi del Bolognetto, che andò a trovar S. Ma. e con efficacissime ragioni mostrò quanta esorbitante cosa sarebbe stata che avesse concesso per publico decreto una tanto obbrobriosa setta, e come non senza nascosto inganno e speranza d'importantissime conseguenze quella scelerata donna voleva che si dichiarasse così per decreto potersi esercitar la setta Angliana in quel regno, dove tutto il mondo pur troppo sa che si permetta il credere in materia di religione quel che piace a chi si sia: con queste ed altre efficacissime ragioni il re Stefano rimase talmente persuaso che promesse non voler mai far menzione alcuna di religione in qualunque accordo avesse fatto con quella regina o suoi mercanti." [This no sooner came to the ears of Bolognetto than he went to his majesty and pointed out to him, with the most cogent arguments, what a monstrous thing it would be, were he, by public decree, to acknowledge so scandalous a sect, and that it was not without some lurking trickery, and hope of most important consequences, that nefarious woman sought to have him proclaim permission for the exercise of the English sect in that kingdom, where it is but too universally notorious that every one is at liberty to believe in matters of religion just what he pleases. \*These and other most impressive arguments so prevailed with King Stephen, that he promised he would never make any mention of religion in whatever compact he should enter into with that queen or her merchants.]



most important posts in the country accrued\*, also assumed a catholic complexion, and since it was this party that after Stephen's death determined the election of his successor. The Zamoisksys placed on the throne that Swedish prince whom Catherine Jagellonica had borne in captivity, and who, from his youth up, had, in the midst of a protestant country, remained unswervingly stedfast in the catholic faith, whether it were from natural inclination, or from the influence of his mother, or from the hope he entertained of the Polish crown, or from all these causes together. This was Sigismund III., a sovereign, the bent of whose mind was in thorough accordance with those catholic impulses which then agitated Europe.

Pope Clement says in one of his instructions, that he had, when cardinal legate in Poland, counselled that prince for the future to bestow all public posts only on catholics. The advice had already been frequently given, by Paul IV., by cardinal Hosius†, and by Bolognetto. But now it fell upon an ear more ready to receive it. What could not be obtained either from Sigismund Augustus, or from Stephen, Sigismund III. assented to with alacrity. He made it his principle, in fact, to promote none but catholics, and pope Clement was perfectly right in ascribing the progress of catholicism in Poland to this regulation.

The highest attribute of the kingly power in Poland consisted in the bestowal of offices and dignities. The king disposed of all spiritual and secular places, great and small, of which there were said to be twenty thousand. What an effect it must have had when Sigismund III. began to fill, not alone all the ecclesiastical places, but those of every description whatever, exclusively with catholics, to extend the beneficence of the state, as the Italians once expressed it, the full right of citizenship in the highest sense of the words, only to his co-religionists. A man's success in life was proportioned to his credit with the bishops and the Jesuits. The Starost Ludwig von Mortangen owed his advancement to the waiwodeship of Pomerellia principally to his having bestowed his house on the society of Jesus. In consequence of this system, there arose, at least in Polish Prussia, a feud between the towns and the nobility, which assumed a religious complexion. Originally both had adopted protestantism, but now the nobility recanted. The examples of Kostka, Dzialinsky, and Konopat, who had risen to power by a change of faith, had a great influence on the rest. The schools of the Jesuits were frequented chiefly by the young nobility. We soon find quarrels breaking out between the pupils of the Jesuits and the citizens' sons in the towns that continued protestant. But the new measures displayed their effects principally among the nobility. The college of Pultusk numbered four hundred students, all of

noble blood\*. The general impulse commenced by the spirit of the times, the teaching of the Jesuits, the newly-awakened zeal of the whole body of the clergy, and the favour of the court, all these combined to dispose the Polish nobility to return to catholicism.

But, as matter of course, the government went still further, and let those who would not recant feel the weight of its displeasure.

In Poland the catholic clergy insisted particularly on the principle, that the ecclesiastical edifices, having been founded by orthodox catholics, with the co-operation of the bishops, and in many cases of the popes, were the unalienable property of their church. In every place where the catholic worship was excluded from the parish churches, the bishops took legal proceedings, relying on this principle. The tribunals were now filled with zealous catholics; the same suits were prosecuted against town after town, and the same judgments were pronounced. In vain were appeals made to the king,—in vain was he reminded of the confederation by which equal protection had been promised to both confessions; the answer was, that equal protection consisted exactly in helping each party to its lawful rights; that the confederation did not comprise any assurance of the possession of church buildings†. In a few years the catholics were in possession of all the parish churches in the towns. "In the parish churches," exclaimed the pope, "the ancient God is worshipped." In the smaller towns of Prussia the evangelical service could only be performed in a room in the council-house; of the larger towns Dantzic alone retained its parish church‡.

Thus rapidly prosperous, the catholics did not confine their aggressions to the protestants, but began to turn their eyes upon the Greek community.

On this point too the king and the pope combined their influence; but what had most efficacy, as far as I can learn, was the threat of excluding the Greek bishops from sitting and voting in the senate; the result was, that the Wladika of Wladimir and some other Greek bishops resolved, in the year 1595, to unite themselves to the Roman church according to the standard fixed by the council of Florence. Their delegates proceeded to Rome; Roman and royal envoys appeared in the provinces; the ceremony of reconciliation was gone through, and a Jesuit, the king's confessor, delivered an animated discourse on the occasion. In this part of the Polish dominions likewise, some churches were restored to the catholics.

This was an extraordinary advance to be made in a few years. "A little while ago," says a papal nuncio in the year 1598, "it might have seemed as though heresy would totally supplant catholicism in Poland; but now catholicism is carrying heresy to the grave."

If we enquire what were the chief causes of this revolution, we shall find them to have consisted above all things in the personal inclinations of the

\* Spannocchi: "Alle dignità senatorie et all' entrate del regno dicono hoggi non ammetterai se non i dipendenti da esso cancelliero, accò che da nessuno venga impedito di far quello che ad esso ed al re più tornerà di piacere di fare."

† In a despatch of the 14th of March, 1568, he requests the king to declare "nullis se deinceps vel honores vel præfecturas vel quæcunque tandem alia munera publice mandaturum nisi qui Christum aperte confessus fuerit et omni perfidia sive Lutheristica sive Calvinistica sive anabaptistarum nuntium remisit."

\* Maffei, ii. 140.

† The circumstantial letter of the Waywode of Culm, translated in Lengnich: *Polnisch-preussische Geschichte*; Theil iv. S. 291, particularly explains these motives.

‡ Lengnich: *Nachricht von der Religionsänderung in Preussen*, § 27.



king; and to these the peculiar position of that monarch immediately opened out still wider prospects.

#### *Attempt on Sweden.*

By the death of his father John in the year 1592, Sigismund became king of Sweden.

In that kingdom indeed, neither was his authority intrinsically absolute, nor was he personally free from the ties of engagements. He had signed an undertaking in the year 1587, that he would make no change in the ceremonies of the church, and that he would even promote no one who was not a protestant; and now too he further bound himself, that he would maintain the privileges both of the clergy and the laity, that he would neither love nor hate any one for religion's sake, and that he would in no wise seek to prejudice the national church. Notwithstanding all this, all the hopes of the catholics were instantly awakened, and all the anxieties of the protestants.

The catholics had now attained what had always been an object of their fervent desires, the accession of a king of their own faith to the crown of Sweden. Attended by a catholic suite, in which there lacked not even a papal nuncio, Malaspina, Sigismund arrived in his hereditary dominions in July 1593. His journey through the Prussian provinces was marked by benefits conferred on catholicism. In Dantzic a papal envoy, Bartholomæus Powsinsky, hastened to meet him with a present of 20,000 scudi, "a small contribution," as his instruction stated, "towards the expenses which the restoration of catholicism might occasion."

This instruction is very remarkable. It shows us how unconditionally this restoration was expected and commanded in Rome\*.

"Powsinsky," it states, "a confidential servant of his holiness and vassal of his majesty, was sent to testify the pope's interest in the welcome events that had occurred to his majesty; the delivery of his consort, the happy issue of the last diet, and above all that greatest good fortune that could befall him, namely, that he had now an opportunity of re-establishing catholicism in his native land." The pope delayed not to indicate some points of view in which this work might be considered.

"Doubtless through God's providence," he says, "several bishoprics, among others the archiepiscopal see of Upsala, are just now vacant†. Should the king delay a moment to depose the protestant bishops who are yet in the country, he will without fail fill the vacant sees with orthodox catholics." The envoy carried with him a list of Swedish catholics, which seemed designed to this end. The pope was convinced that those bishops would then make it their business to provide catholic parish priests and schoolmasters. Only care was to be taken to provide them with the means of doing so.

"Perhaps," he suggests, "a catholic college might be forthwith founded in Stockholm. But should this not be done, the king will assuredly send as many young Swedes as he can to Poland,

to be educated at his court in the catholic faith, under the most zealous bishops, or in the Polish Jesuit colleges."

The first object aimed at in this, as in other cases, was to become master again of the clergy: meanwhile the nuncio had conceived another. He thought of setting on the catholics that were yet to be found in Sweden, to allege grievances against the protestants. Upon this the king would assume a position above the two parties, and every innovation would bear the appearance of a legal decision\*. He only regretted that Sigismund was not accompanied by a stronger armed force to give cogency to his resolutions.

There is indeed no proof that the king forthwith adopted as his own the views of the Roman court. As far as can be collected from his own declarations, his thoughts may have been in the first instance no more than to bestow some privileges on the catholics, without destroying the protestant constitution. But could he hope to check the strong religious impulse that possessed those about him, and the representatives of which he brought with him into the country? Could it be hoped that when he had reached that point he would stop there?

The protestants did not choose to wait the issue. The designs cherished on the one side called forth on the other an immediate and almost unconscious opposition.

Immediately after the death of John, the Swedish councillors of state,—names renowned in earlier and latter times: Gyllenstern, Bick, Baner, Sparre, Oxenstern—with the brother of the deceased and uncle of the new king, another of the sons of Gustavus Vasa, the zealous protestant duke Charles, "assembled to acknowledge him as governor of the realm in his nephew's absence, and to promise him obedience in all he should do for the maintenance of the Augsburg confession in Sweden." With the same view a council was held in Upsala in March 1593. The Augsburg confession was then proclaimed anew, king John's liturgy condemned, and every thing even in the oldest ritual modified, that seemed to recall to mind the usages of catholicism,—exorcism was retained, but in milder terms, and for the sake of its moral significance†: a declaration was also drawn up that no

\* Raggiungimento dell' andata del re di Polonia in Suetia. (MS. Rom.) "Erano tuttavia nel regno alcune reliquie de' cattolici: et il nuntio seguendo la forma già tenuta da Cl. Madruzzo per fortificar l'autorità dell' imperatore, cercava di costituire il re giudice tra gli cattolici e gli heretici di Suetia, inducendo quelli a querelarsi appresso il re del insolenza e delle ingiurie di questi." [There were still in the kingdom some remnants of the catholic body; and the nuncio, following the course already pursued by cardinal Madruzzo to strengthen the authority of the emperor, endeavoured to constitute the king judge between the catholics and the heretics of Sweden, inciting the former to complain to the king of the insolence and injurious conduct of the latter.]

† For we are not to believe, with Messenius, that it was done away with. The only change was that of the words "Faar här uth," into "Välsk här ifrå;" and when duke Charles required the total abolition of the form, he was answered, "retinendum esse exorcismum tanquam liberam ceremoniam propter utilem commonefactionem ad auditorium et baptismi spectatores permanentem:" a view of the matter in which duke Charles acquiesced. Baaz: Inventarium lv. x. 525. In Baaz may be found the doctrines in general tolerably complete.

\* Istruzione al Sr. Bartolommeo Powsinsky alla Ma. del re di Polonia e Suetia. (MS. Rom.)

† "Intendendosi restar vacante l'arcivescovato di Upsalia, che la divina provvidenza per più facilitare le cose del suo servizio, non ha permesso che in due anni sia stato provveduto dal re morto, haverà S. Ma. particolare pensiero a pigliare un arcivescovo cattolico."

heresy, popish or calvinistic, should be tolerated in the country\*. The vacant places were now filled in the same spirit. Many old defenders of the liturgy abjured it; but all did not escape even so; some were deposed notwithstanding. The bishoprics, on the vacancy of which such great hopes had been founded in Rome, were conferred on Lutherans; the archbishopric of Upsala was given to the most ardent opponent of the liturgy, M. Abraham Angermannus, the clergy thus placing at their head the most zealous Lutheran they could find, and by an overwhelming majority, there being two hundred and forty-three voices for him, and for his nearest competitor but thirty-eight.

Under king John there had existed to the last a more temperate state of public feeling, less keenly opposed to the papacy than in other protestant countries: Sigismund might have easily founded on this such a change as the catholics desired, but the other party were beforehand with him; protestantism had established itself more firmly than ever.

Nor were Sigismund's royal prerogatives spared. He was in reality no longer looked on purely as the king, but rather as a foreigner laying claim to the throne, as an apostate whom it was necessary to watch closely as dangerous to religion. The great majority of the nation, unanimous in their protestant convictions, adhered to duke Charles.

The king on his arrival fully felt his isolated position. He could do nothing, and only sought to parry the demands that were made upon him.

But while he held his peace and waited, the two hostile parties came into collision. The evangelical preachers stormed against the papists; the Jesuits who preached in the royal chapel, did not remain behindhand with their assailants. The catholics of the royal suite took possession of an evangelical church on the occasion of a funeral; whereupon the protestants deemed it necessary for a while to forego the use of their desecrated sanctuary. Matters speedily advanced to open violence. The heretics used force to possess themselves of a pulpit which was closed: the nuncio was charged with having suffered choir boys to be pelted with stones from his house. The rancour of either party augmented every moment.

At last the court proceeded to Upsala to celebrate the coronation. The Swedes demanded, above all things, the ratification of the decrees of their council. The king resisted. He desired only toleration for catholicism; he would have been content had he been allowed merely the prospect of confirming this at some future time: but the Swedish protestants were not to be moved. It is asserted that the king's own sister† told them that it was his character, after long and steadfast resistance to give way at last, and that she inculcated upon them that they should beset him again and again. They demanded peremptorily that the doctrine of the Augsburg confession should alone be propounded everywhere in schools and churches‡. Duke

Charles stood at their head. The position in which he had been placed gave him such an independence and power as he could never have anticipated. His personal relations with the king grew continually more disagreeable and bitter. The king, as we have said, was almost wholly without armed force; the duke collected a couple of thousand men upon his estates round the city. At last the estates flatly declared to the king, that they would not tender him their homage if he did not comply with their demands\*.

The poor monarch was placed in a painful dilemma. To accede to the demands made on him was revolting to his conscience; to refuse was to lose his crown.

In his distress he first addressed himself to the nuncio, asking him if he might not give way. There was no prevailing on Malaspina to sanction this.

Upon this the king turned to the Jesuits in his suite. What the nuncio had not ventured to do, that they took upon themselves. They declared that, in consideration of the necessity and the manifest danger in which the king was involved, he might, without offence to God, grant the heretics what they demanded. The king was not satisfied until he had this opinion from them in writing.

Then, and not till then, he complied with the desires of his subjects. He ratified the decrees of Upsala, and the exclusive use of the unaltered Augsburg confession, without the admission of any admixture of foreign doctrine either in church or school, and with a pledge that no one should be employed in the public service who was not ready to stand up in its defence†. He recognized the prelates who had been appointed against his will.

But could his catholic heart be tranquil under these circumstances? Could his Romanist court be satisfied with a result it must have so thoroughly condemned? This was not to be expected.

Accordingly the catholic party proceeded at last to a protest, similar to many other elsewhere made on like occasions.

"The nuncio," says the report sent to Rome respecting these events, the words of which I cannot do better than quote, "the nuncio exerted himself zealously to remedy the irregularity which had occurred. He caused the king to draw up a written protest for the security of his conscience, wherein he declared that what he had granted, he granted not with his will, but wholly and solely compelled thereto by force. Furthermore the nuncio induced his majesty to grant corresponding concessions to the catholics, so as to be in Sweden, as in Poland, under pledges to both parties, a condition under which the German emperor is also placed. The king was content to do this‡."

\* *Supplicatio ordinum*: "Quodsi cl. rex denegaverit subditis regiam approbationem horum postulatorum, inhibent nostri fratres domi remanentes publicum homagium esse S. R. M. præstandum."

† The words, however, were such as to leave open a chance of evasion. "Ad officia publica nulli promovebuntur in patria qui religionem evangelicam nolunt salvam, quin potius quæ eam serio defendere volunt publicis officiis præfiantur." *Generalis confirmatio postulatorum regis Sigismundi in Baaz*, p. 537.

‡ *Relatione dello stato spirituale e politico del regno di Svezia*, 1598. "Mandò alcuni senatori Polacchi a darle parte dello stato delle cose in le sue circostanze e conseguenze,

\* "Concilium definit," it says further, "ne hæreticis advenientibus detur locus publicæ conveniendi." [The council enacts that no alien heretics be allowed to assemble publicly.]

† The *Ragguaglio* calls her "ostinatissima eretica." [A most obstinate heretic.]

‡ *Messenius* vii. 19. "Absolute urgebant ut confessio Augustana, qualis sub ultimo Gustavi regimine et primi Johannis in patria viguisset, talis in posterum unica sola et ubique tam in ecclesiis quam in scholis perpetuo floreret."

A singular device this. A protest was not considered enough. To be rid in some degree of an obligation contracted upon oath, a contrary oath is pledged to the other party: thus was an engagement entered into with both parties, and the necessity incurred of extending equal rights to both.

The Swedes were astonished that the king, after such solemn pledges, immediately extended an ill-concealed protection to the catholics. This was undoubtedly the result of this secret obligation. "Before his departure," continues the author of our report with much complacency, "the king bestowed offices and dignities on catholics, and caused four governors, although they were heretics, to swear to protect the catholics and their religion. In four places he re-established the exercise of the catholic service."

Such measures as these might serve perhaps to soothe the troubled conscience of a devout king, but could have no other than a prejudicial effect on the course of events.

For these precisely were the causes that the Swedish estates, being kept in a state of continual excitement, rushed into more decided opposition.

The clergy reformed their schools in a spirit of rigid Lutheranism, and ordained a solemn thanksgiving for the maintenance of the true religion "against the designs and devices of the Jesuits." In 1595 a resolution was passed in the diet of Söderköping, that the use of the catholic ritual, wherever the king had established it, should be again abolished. "We unanimously resolve," say the estates, "that all sectarians, who are opposed to the evangelical religion, and who have taken up their abode in the country, shall within six weeks be removed out of the whole realm \*;" a resolution which was most strictly enforced. The convent of Wadstena, that had subsisted for two hundred and eleven years, and had stood its ground in the midst of so many commotions, was now dissolved and destroyed. Angermannus held a visitation such as was never paralleled. Whoever neglected to attend the evangelical church was scourged with rods; the archbishop took with him a stout student who inflicted the chastisement under his own eyes. The altars of the saints were destroyed, their relics scattered, and the ceremonies which in 1593 had been declared indifferent, were abolished in many places in 1597.

The relative position of Sigismund and Charles

to each other, gave a cast of personality to this movement.

Everything that was done was in opposition to the well known wishes and regulations of the king, and in all duke Charles had a commanding influence. The duke held the diets against the express commands of Sigismund, all attempts on whose part to interfere in the national concerns, the former endeavoured to prevent. Charles procured the passing of a resolution, by virtue of which, no rescript of the king's was to be of force, till it had first received the sanction of the Swedish administration\*.

Charles was already virtual lord and sovereign of Sweden, and the thought began to present itself to him of making himself so in name. This is indicated among other circumstances by a dream he had in 1595. It seemed to him that at a banquet in Finland, a covered double dish was set before him: he raised the cover, and beheld in one dish the insignia of royalty, in the other a death's head. Similar thoughts were afloat in the nation.

A story was current in the country, that at Linköping a crowned eagle had been seen combating with one uncrowned: the uncrowned bird had been victorious.

But when matters had gone thus far, when protestant principles had been asserted with such rigour, and their champion seemed to pretend to royal power, a party at last arose on behalf of the king. Some nobles who had recourse to his authority for support against the duke were banished; their adherents remained in the country: the country people were dissatisfied with the abolition of all ceremonies, and attributed various evils that befel the country to that cause. In Finland the governor Flenning set up the royal standard.

This was a state of things that made it on the one hand necessary, on the other expedient for king Sigismund to essay his fortune once more. This was, perhaps, the last moment in which it was possible for him to re-establish his authority. In the summer of 1598 he once more set out to take possession of his hereditary dominions.

He was this time, if possible, more strictly catholic than before. The good soul believed that many an evil which had befallen him since his last journey, amongst others the death of his wife, had been inflicted on him because, on that occasion, he had made concessions to the heretics: with anguish of heart he divulged these painful thoughts to the nuncio. He declared he would rather die than again ratify anything that could sully the purity of his conscience.

But the interests of Sigismund had now acquired some community with those of Europe in general. Catholicism was making such vast progress, that it regarded an enterprise in so remote a country as Sweden, principally in the light of a portion of a general scheme.

Already, in former times, the Spaniards had cast their eyes on the Swedish coasts during their contest with England; it had appeared to them that the possession of a Swedish port would be of the

e detti patri dichiararono che presupposto la necessità e pericolo nel quale era costituita la M<sup>te</sup>. S. la potesse senza offender Dio concedere alli heretici ciò che ricercavano, e la M<sup>te</sup>. S. per sua giustificazione ne volle uno scritto da detti patri.—Ilora fatta la coronazione e concessione pose ogni studio il nunzio per applicare qualche remedio al disordine seguito, onde operò per sicurezza della coscienza di S. M<sup>te</sup>. che ella facesse una protesta in scritto, come ella non con la volontà sua ma per pura forza si era indotta a concedere ciò che aveva concesso; e persuase al ~~re~~ re che concedesse da parte agli cattolici altrettanto quanto aveva conceduto alli heretici, di modo che a guisa dell' imperatore e del re di Polonia restasse la M<sup>te</sup>. S. giurata utrique parti. S. M<sup>te</sup>. si contentò di farlo, et immediatamente mise in esecuzione le dette concessioni: perche avanti la sua partenza diede uffici e dignità a cattolici, e lasciò in quattro luoghi l'esercito della religione e fece giurare a quattro governatori, se ben erano heretici, quali lasciò nel regno, che haverebbero protetto la religione e le cattolici.

\* Acta ecclesie in conventu Sudercop. in Baaz 567.

\* "Ausa illustrissimi principis domini Caroli Sudermannie ducis adversus serenissimum et potentissimum dominum Sigismundum III. regem Suecie et Polonie suscepta, scripta et publicata ex mandato S. R. Majestatis proprio." Daut. 1598.

greatest utility to them, and they had entered into negotiations on the subject. It was now not doubted that Sigismund, as soon as he was master in his own dominions, would grant them Elfsborg in West Gothland. In that port a fleet might easily be built, kept in readiness for service, and manned with Poles and Swedes. How much more advantageously might war be waged against England from that port than from Spain; she would then very soon be taught to cease molesting India. The king's authority, too, in Sweden, could not but derive advantage from an alliance with the catholic king\*.

• But there was yet more to be considered: the catholics contemplated the probability of their acquiring mastery in Finland, and on the shores of the Baltic. From Finland they hoped to make a successful attack on Russia, and by the possession of the Baltic sea, to be able to reduce the duchy of Prussia under their dominion. The electoral house of Brandenburg had not yet been able, by any negotiation, to obtain the investiture of this fief; the nuncio asserted that the king was resolved not to grant it, but to annex the duchy to the crown. He strove with all his might to confirm him in that design, chiefly, of course, from religious considerations; for never would the house of Brandenburg consent to the re-establishment of catholicism in Prussia†.

If we reflect, on the one hand, on the range of ulterior views which depended on the king's success,—no very improbable event after all,—and, on the other, on the general importance to which Sweden would be raised if protestantism proved victorious in that kingdom, we shall then perceive that the present moment was that of a great crisis in the history of Europe.

Zamoisky had advised the king to advance at the head of a strong army, and subdue Sweden by force. Sigismund held such a course unnecessary; he would not believe that there was any thought of offering him a forcible resistance in his hereditary dominions. He had with him, however, about five thousand men, with whom he landed without opposition in Calmar, whence he set out for Stockholm; another division of his troops had already arrived there, and been admitted into the city, whilst a body of Finlanders advanced upon Upland.

Meanwhile duke Charles had also taken up arms. If the king triumphed, there was plainly an end to the duke's power, and to the ascendancy of protestantism. Whilst his Upland peasants

held the Finlanders in check, he himself, with a regular military force, threw himself in the king's way as he marched by Stegeborg, demanding the withdrawal of the royal army, and the reference of all matters in dispute to a diet; on these terms being agreed to, he would disband his forces. The king would not yield to them, and the two hostile bodies advanced against each other.

Their numbers were inconsiderable,—a few thousand men on either side; but the result of the conflict was not the less serious and of enduring effect, than if it had been brought about by vast armies.

Every thing depended on the personal character of the princes. Charles, his own adviser, was a daring, resolute, man; and, what was most important, he was in actual possession. Sigismund, dependent on others, was weak, good-natured, no soldier; and now he was placed under the unhappy necessity of conquering the kingdom that was his own of right; the legitimate king indeed, but compelled to do battle against the king *de facto*.

Twice the troops engaged each other near Stangebro. On the first occasion they met rather by chance than design: the king had the advantage, and is said himself to have checked the carnage of the Swedes; but in the second engagement, the Dalecarlians having come to the duke's support, and his fleet being arrived, he had the upper hand. No one checked the slaughter of the Poles. Sigismund suffered a total defeat, and was forced to yield to whatever was demanded of him\*.

He even consented to deliver up the few faithful adherents he had found, to be judged by a Swedish tribunal. For himself, he promised to submit to the decision of the diet.

This, however, was only a subterfuge, caught at in the perplexities of the moment. Instead of attending the diet, where he would have had but to play the melancholy part of the vanquished, he set sail with the first favourable wind for Dantzic.

He flattered himself with the hope that some other time, in some happier moment, he would at last become master of his inheritance; but by thus withdrawing from it, he, in fact, abandoned it to itself, and to the paramount influence of his uncle, who did not scruple, after some time, to assume the title, as well as the authority, of king; and then, so far from waiting the assault of war on Swedish ground, carried it himself into Poland, where it was waged with varying success on either side.

#### *Designs on Russia.*

In a short while, however, it seemed as if the frustration of this enterprize was to be made good by happy results elsewhere.

It is well known how often already the pope had conceived hopes of gaining over Russia. Adrian VI. and Clement VII. had made the attempt; then Passsevini, the Jesuit, had tried his fortune with Iwan Wasiljowitsch. Again, in 1594, Cle-

\* *Relazione dello stato spirituale e politico.* The proposal was: "Che a spese del cattolico si mantenga un presidio nella fortezza che guardi il porto, sopra lo quale niuna superiorità habbia il cattolico, ma consegui lo stipendio per esso presidio al re di Polonia." [That a garrison should be maintained at the expense of his catholic majesty in the fortress commanding the port, over which garrison his catholic majesty should have no authority, but should consign its pay to the king of Poland.]

† *Relazione di Polonia, 1598.* "Atteso che si rimarrà il ducato nelle Brandeburghesi non si può aspettare d'introdurre la religione cattolica, si mostra S. Ma.<sup>te</sup> risoluto di voler recuperare il detto ducato." [Seeing that if the duchy remains in the hands of the Brandenburg family, there can be no hope of introducing the catholic religion there, his majesty appears resolved on recovering possession of the said duchy.]

\* *Placell Chronicon gestorum in Europa singularium, p.159.* Extracts from the letters of the princes in Geijer: *Schwedische Geschichte* ii. § 305.

ment VIII. sent a certain Comuleo to Moscow, with more than usual confidence in his success, since he was acquainted with the language. But all these efforts were vain. Boris Godunow broadly asserted that "Moscow was now the true orthodox Rome," and caused himself to be prayed for as "the only Christian ruler in the world."

The more welcome, under these circumstances, was the prospect most unexpectedly presented by the rise of the false Demetrius.

Demetrius attached himself almost more to the religious than to the political interests of Poland.

It was to a catholic confessor he first revealed himself. Fathers of the company of Jesus were despatched to examine him; after which Raugone, the nuncio, espoused his cause. The latter declared to him, at their very first meeting, that he had nothing to hope, unless he abjured the schismatic religion and adopted the catholic. Demetrius made no great difficulty in complying; he had already given a previous promise to that effect. On the following Sunday his recantation took place\*. To his great delight Sigismund hereupon acknowledged him, which he justly ascribed to the interposition of the legate, promising him in return that he would do all that lay in his power for the propagation and defence of the catholic faith†.

The promise forthwith acquired vast importance. His tale was hardly believed in Poland; but how great was the astonishment of all, when the needy fugitive shortly afterwards actually took possession of the palace of the czars. The sudden death of his predecessor, which was looked on by the populace as a Divine judgment, very probably contributed most to the event.

Demetrius now renewed his pledge; he welcomed the nephew of the nuncio with marks of high esteem and reverence; and on the arrival, soon afterwards, of his Polish consort, with a numerous suite, not only of cavaliers and ladies, but, above all, of monks,—Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits‡, he seemed bent on faithfully executing his promise.

But this was the very means that most contributed to his downfall. That which procured him the support of the Poles, deprived him of the goodwill of the Russians. They said he did not eat and bathe like them; that he did not revere the saints; that he was a heathen, and had placed an unbaptized heathen bride on the throne of Moscow;—it was impossible that he should be a son of the czars§.

Some inexplicable conviction had induced them to recognize him; by another that possessed them with still greater force, they felt themselves impelled to hurl him from the throne.

The true primary force in this case, too, was

\* Alessandro Cilli: *Historia di Moscovia*, p. 11. Cilli was present at this act. In Karamsin, x. p. 109, of the translation, there is a passage not taken so accurately from Cilli as it may appear. Karamsin did not even understand Cilli. We do not find in the latter anything like the words Karamsin has put into the mouth of Demetrius.

† Cilli: "Con rinnovare insieme la promessa dell' augmento e difesa per quanto havessero potuto le sue forze e nel suo imperio e fuori di quello della santo fede cattolica."

‡ Cilli, p. 66.

§ Müller: *Sammlung Russischer Gesch.* v. 377, remarks, that letters from the pope were found upon him.

religion. In Russia, as well as in Sweden, a power arose, which, from its very origin and nature, was opposed to the tendencies of catholicism.

#### *Internal commotions in Poland.*

Abortive enterprises against a foreign foe have commonly the effect of stirring up domestic troubles. A movement now began in Poland, that made it doubtful whether the king would be able to persist in the system with which he had begun his reign. Its causes were as follows.

King Sigismund did not always maintain a good understanding with those by whose efforts he had obtained the crown. They had called on him to oppose Austria: whereas he, on the contrary, closely allied himself with that power. Twice he selected his consort from the line of Gratz, and he once incurred suspicion of a design to make the crown pass to that family.

This conduct had been enough to disgust the chancellor Zamoisky; but what exasperated him still more was, that the king, to make himself independent even of his friends and supporters, not unfrequently advanced their rivals to the more important places, and admitted them into the senate\*.

For the senate was the chief instrument of power which Sigismund endeavoured to employ. He filled it with individuals devoted to his own person, and made it likewise entirely catholic; the bishops, nominated under the influence of the legate, constituted in that assembly a strong, and gradually a dominant party.

But this system was directly productive of a two-fold opposition of extreme moment, as regarded the constitution of Poland, and the interests of religion.

The provincial deputies set themselves in opposition to the senate as a political body. As the latter adhered to the king, so the former attached themselves to Zamoisky†, whom they held in unbounded reverence, and who derived from their devotion, a consequence almost equal to that of royalty. Such a position must have had peculiar charms for an enterprising magnate. It was filled after the chancellor's death, by Zebrzydowski, palatine of Cracow.

The protestants joined this party. It was, in fact, to the bishops they both alike attributed their grievances, these on account of their temporal, those on account of their spiritual influence. The protestants were indignant, that in a commonwealth like that of Poland, based on the free consent of parties, well-won rights were continually violated, that men of low grade were raised to eminent offi-

\* Cilli: *Historia delle sollevazioni di Polonia, 1606-1608*, Pistoria, 1627—an author the more trustworthy, as he was long in the king's service—sets forth in the very beginning how powerful was Zamoisky: "Zamoskhi al voleva alquanto della regia autorità usurpare." [Zamoisky was disposed to usurp somewhat of the royal authority:] but he tells, too, how the king withstood him, "essendo patrone S. Ma. non solo di conferire le dignità del regno, ma anco le stesse entrate." [His majesty having at his absolute disposal not only the dignities of the kingdom, but also the revenues themselves.]

\* Piasecius: "Zamoyscius cuius autoritate potissimum nitebatur ordo nunciatorum." From this time forth the country delegates grew powerful; one party supported the other.

ees, and men of good blood were forced to obey them. These sentiments were shared by many catholics\*.

There can be no question that this admixture of religious motives gave additional virulence to the political commotions.

After the repeated allegation of grievances, the refusal of subsidies, and the dissolution of the diet, all in vain,—the malcontents at last adopted the only remaining means, and summoned the whole body of nobility, to the Rokoss. The Rokoss was a legal form of insurrection, whereby the assembled nobles assumed the right of putting the senate and the king on their trial. In this assembly, the protestants were the more important, inasmuch as they combined with the followers of the Greek faith.

The king, however, had likewise his adherents. The nuncio kept the bishops together †; the bishops gave the senate its bias: a league was resolved on in defence of the king and of religion, and the favourable moment was prudently seized, to put an end to the old dissensions between the laity and the clergy. The king's firmness proved inflexible even in the hour of danger; his cause was just, and he relied on God.

And, in fact, he gained the upper hand. He dissolved the Rokoss in October 1606, just at the time when a great number of its members had withdrawn: in July 1607, the parties came to a regular engagement. With the cry of "Jesu Maria," the royal troops rushed upon the enemy and routed them. Zbrzydowski, for a while, still kept the field, but he was compelled to submit in 1608. A general amnesty was proclaimed.

Now, therefore, the administration was at liberty to pursue the catholic course it had entered upon.

The anti-catholics were excluded from public employment, and Rome was incessant in its praises of the effects produced by this system ‡. "A protestant prince,—a prince who should bestow appointments in equal proportions on both parties, would fill the land with heretics; for men are evermore ruled by private interest: but since the king is so steadfast, the nobility follow his will."

Restraints were also imposed on the protestant service in the royal towns. "Without recurring to open force," says a papal instruction, "the in-

habitants are yet compelled to become converts\*."

The nuncio took care that the supreme courts should be filled with judges well disposed to the catholic church, and conducted "in accordance with the holy canonical maxims." Mixed marriages were then matters of peculiar importance. The supreme court would not acknowledge any which were not solemnized in presence of the parish priest and some witnesses: but the parish priests refused to hallow mixed marriages; it was no wonder therefore, if many persons became catholics simply to avoid prejudicing their children. Others were compelled to take the same course, because the possession of church patronage by protestants, was made subject of litigation. A state possesses a thousand means of promoting a system of opinion which it regards with favour; and these were all employed in the present case, as far as was possible without direct compulsion; the work of conversion went on noiselessly, but unceasingly. Undoubtedly the earnestness and energy with which the nuncios administered the affairs of the church, had a great share in this result. They made it their care that the bishoprics should be filled by none but well qualified men, they visited the convents, and put a stop to the practice of sending to Poland disobedient and turbulent members from other places, where they were glad to be rid of them. They also directed their attention to the parochial clergy, and they endeavoured to introduce psalmody and schools into the parishes. They insisted on the establishment of episcopal seminaries.

The Jesuits were particularly active agents of the nuncios. We find them at work in all the provinces, among the docile Livonians; in Lithuania, where they had to root out the lingering relics of the old serpent worship; among the Greeks, where the Jesuits were frequently the only catholic priests; they had often to baptize youths of eighteen, and they fell in with men in years who had never partaken of the Lord's supper. But above all, they were employed in Poland Proper, where, as a member of the order boasts, "hundreds of learned, orthodox, and godly men of the order, were busy in rooting out errors, and sowing the seeds of catholic piety, by schools and associations, with voice and pen †."

Here too, they awoke the same enthusiasm as usual in the minds of their followers; but it was most unhappily combined with the insolence of an overbearing young nobility. The king avoided overt acts of violence: the pupils of the Jesuits deemed themselves authorized to commit them.

They not unfrequently celebrated Ascension day by making an assault upon the evangelical party, breaking into their houses, pillaging and destroying. Woo to him whom they caught in his house, or even met in the streets.

In 1606, the church of the evangelists in Cracow was stormed, and the church yard in 1607: the

\* Celli: "Gli eretici spalleggiati da cattivi cattolici facevano gran forza per ottenere la confederazione."

† "Il nuntio Rangone con sua destrezza e diligenza tenne e conservò in fede molti di principali." [The nuncio Rangone, by his address and perseverance, kept many leading men fast in their faith.]

‡ Instruzione a V. Sca. Mre. di Torres: "Il re benchè nato di padre e fra popoli eretici, è tanto pio e tanto devoto e di santi costumi guerrito, che dentro a Roma non avrebbe potuto nascere o allevare un migliore, imperocchè havendo esso con la longhezza del regnare mutati i senatori eretici, che se tre ne toglì erano tutti, gli ha fatto divenire, levatine due o tre, tutti quanti cattolici." [The king, though born of a heretic father, and among a heretic people, is so pious and devout, and adorned with such sanctity of conduct, that a better man could not have been born or reared in Rome; for having, in the course of his reign, changed the senators from heretics, as they were all except three, he has made them, all but two or three, become catholics.] Their principle was: "Le cose spirituali seguono il corso delle temporal." [Spiritual things follow the course of temporal.]

\* Instruzione a Mr. Lancelotti: "La conforti (the king) grandemente a vietare che nella città regia, che da lei dipendono altro esercitio di religione che il cattolico si comporti, nè permetta che v'abbiano tempj nè sinagoge loro, poichè si vengono per tal dolce modo senza violenza espressa a far convertire o a mutar paese."

† Argentus de rebus societatis Jesu in regno Poloniae, 1615: it might easily be more instructive.



dead bodies were torn out of the graves. In 1611, the churches of the protestants in Wilna, were demolished, and the priests abused or killed. In 1615, there appeared, in Posen, a book maintaining that the evangelicals had no right to reside in that city: next year the Jesuit students destroyed the Bohemian church, not leaving one stone on another, and the Lutheran church was burnt. The like doings were seen in other places: in some, the protestants were constrained by the incessant attacks on them to dispose of their churches. Ere long, the mischief was not confined to the towns: the students of Cracow burned the neighbouring churches in the country. In Podlachia an aged evangelical clergyman named Burkow, was walking before his carriage, leaning on his staff; a Polish nobleman, driving in the opposite direction, ordered his coachman to run his horses straight at him; before the old man could step aside, he was knocked down, and he died of the injuries he received\*.

But with all that was done, protestantism was not to be extinguished. The king was bound by a promise which he had not the power to retract. The nobles remained free from constraint, and did not all recant immediately. At times, after numerous judgments unfavourable to the protestant cause, a favourable one was given, and here and there a church was restored to the Lutherans. In the towns of Polish Prussia, the protestants always constituted the majority. It was still more difficult to get rid of the Greeks; the union of 1595, excited disgust much more than imitation. The dissenting party consisting of protestants and Greeks, was always one of great importance; the most industrious towns, and the most warlike tribes, such as the Cossacks, lent peculiar cogency to their demands. Their opposition was the more formidable, as it was day by day more strongly backed by their neighbours the Russians and Swedes, who had successfully withstood all efforts to subdue them.

## § 2. Continuation of a counter-reformation in Germany.

Wholly different were the principles entertained in Germany, where every prince held it to be his undoubted right to arrange the religion of his own dominions according to his own notions.

The movement begun in favour of catholicism proceeded therefore without much assistance from the imperial power, and without attracting extraordinary attention.

The ecclesiastical princes in particular, conceived it to be their duty to bring back their territories to catholicism.

We now find among them men trained in the schools of the Jesuits: Johann Adam von Bicken, elector of Mainz from 1601 to 1604, was a pupil of the Collegium Germanicum in Rome. He once heard in the castle of Königstein, the Lutheran congregation of the place singing hymns in the funeral service over their deceased pastor. "Let them," he exclaimed, "give their synagogue decent burial!" The next Sunday a Jesuit ascended the pulpit, and from that day forth it was never again filled by a Lutheran preacher. The same occurred elsewhere†. What Bicken left incomplete, his

successor Johann Schweikard zealously continued. He was a man who loved the pleasures of the table, but he held the reins of government for all that in his own hands, and displayed uncommon talent as a ruler. He succeeded in completing the counter-reformation in his whole diocese, and even in Eichsfeld. He sent a commission to Heiligenstadt, which, within the space of two years, brought back 200 citizens to the catholic faith, among them many who had grown grey in protestantism. Some still held out, whom he admonished personally "as their father and shepherd," as he said, "out of the sincerity of his inmost heart," and he prevailed on them to conform. It was with extraordinary satisfaction he saw a city return to catholicism, that for forty years had been entirely protestant\*.

Similar were the proceedings of Ernest and Ferdinand of Cologne, both of them Bavarian princes, and of the elector Lothaire of the house of Metternich of Trier, a distinguished prince of shrewd understanding, with a happy talent for overcoming the difficulties that beset him, prompt in his justice, vigilant in promoting the interests both of his dominions and of his family, and in general an affable man and not over rigorous, provided religion was not in question: he tolerated no protestants at his court†. To these distinguished names Neithard von Thüngen, bishop of Bamberg, added his own. When he took possession of his capital he found the great council wholly protestant, with the exception of two members. He had already stood by bishop Julian in Würzburg, and now resolved to adopt the measures of that prince in Bamberg. He immediately published his reformation edict to take effect at Christmas 1595. Its tenour was, the Lord's Supper according to the catholic ritual, or banishment; and although chapter, nobles, and landed proprietors opposed him, and the most urgent remonstrances were addressed to him by his neighbours, yet we find the reformation edict regularly published every year, and enforced in all its provisions‡. Theodore von Fürstenberg, rivalled in Paderborn the efforts of the bishop of Bamberg. In the year 1596, he imprisoned all the priests of his diocese who administered the Lord's Supper in the two kinds. This naturally produced a rupture between him and his nobility, and we find bishop and nobles engaged in driving each other's cattle and horses. He also became involved at last in an open feud with the city. Unfortunately a turbulent demagogue arose in Paderborn, who was not possessed of the powers adequate to the high station into which he had thrust himself. In the year 1604, Paderborn was forced to do homage anew. Thereupon the Jesuit college was most sumptuously endowed, and an edict was promulgated as in Bamberg, allowing but the alternative of the mass or exile. Bamberg and Paderborn gradually became wholly catholic§.

Most remarkable is the rapid, yet persistent change which was effected in all these countries.

\* Wolf: Geschichte von Heiligenstadt, S. 63. Between 1581 and 1601 there were counted 497 converts, of which 1598 had proportionally the greatest number, viz. 73.

† Masenius, Continuatio Browerij, p. 474.

‡ Jäck: Geschichte von Bamberg, c. g. iii. 212. 199: or, indeed, passim, for this history treats particularly of the anti-reformation.

§ Strunk: Annalen Paderborn. lib. xxii. p. 720.

\* Wengerscii Slavonia reformatina, p. 224. 232. 236. 244. 247.

† Serarius. Res Moguntinae, p. 973.



Are we to suppose that protestantism had not taken firm root in the hearts of the multitude, or are we to attribute the phenomenon to the operations of the Jesuits? At least they showed no lack of zeal and prudence. From every point where they fixed themselves they spread in wide circles. They possessed the arts requisite to captivate the crowd; their churches were the most frequented; they always boldly grappled with the most prominent difficulties; was there anywhere a Lutheran strong in Scriptural knowledge, in whose judgment his neighbours placed some reliance, they used every effort to gain him over, and in this, their practised skill in controversy seldom left them without success. They were forward in acts of charity and kindness, they healed the sick and strove to reconcile enemies. Those whom they prevailed over and converted they bound to them by sacred oaths. Multitudes of the faithful were seen visiting every place of pilgrimage under their banners; men who had been the most zealous of protestants joined the processions.

The Jesuits had educated not only spiritual but also temporal princes. At the close of the sixteenth century their two illustrious pupils Ferdinand II. and Maximilian I. came forward on the stage of Europe.

It is asserted, that when the young archduke Ferdinand celebrated Easter in the year 1596 in his capital of Grätz, he was the only individual who received the sacrament according to the catholic ritual, and that there were but three catholics in the whole city\*.

In fact, after the death of the archduke Charles, the efforts in favour of catholicism had dwindled away during the minority of his successor, under a not very strong regency. The protestants had resumed the churches of which they had been despoiled, and strengthened their schools at Grätz by the accession of new and able teachers, and the nobility had formed a committee to resist all attempts that might be made to the prejudice of protestantism.

Despite of all this, Ferdinand instantly resolved on proceeding to the prosecution and completion of the counter reformation. To this he was impelled by motives of religion and policy combined. He too, he said, was determined to be master in his own dominions, as well as the elector of Saxony, or the elector Palatine. If the peril was suggested to him which might attend an inroad of the Turks during the existence of civil discord in his dominions, his answer was, that it was not till after the act of conversion should have been accomplished, that his people could count on Divine assistance. In the year 1597, Ferdinand betook himself to Rome by way of Loretto to cast himself at the feet of Clement VIII. He made a vow to devote himself to the restoration of catholicism in his hereditary estates even at the peril of his life, and in this design he was strengthened by the pope. He returned home with the same feelings, and proceeded

immediately to work. In September 1598, appeared his decree, commanding all Lutheran preachers to quit Grätz within fourteen days\*.

Grätz was the focus of protestant doctrine and strength. No effort was left untried to shake the archduke's resolution, neither entreaties, nor warnings, nor even threats; but the duke was, to use the expression of the historian of Carniola, "fixt as marble †." A similar decree was promulgated in Carniola in October, and in December in Carinthia.

And now the estates displayed the utmost intractability, and that even in their separate local assemblies, for Ferdinand no longer sanctioned a general assembly. They refused to pay their subsidies, and the soldiers on the frontiers already showed symptoms of turbulence. But the archduke declared he would rather lose all he had derived from God's grace, than yield a single step. The danger to be apprehended from the Turks, who meanwhile had taken Canischa, and were daily advancing and showing a more threatening aspect, at last obliged the estates to vote the supplies, without having previously been granted any concessions.

After this there was no longer any check on the archduke's proceedings. In October 1599, the protestant church in Grätz was shut up, and the evangelical service forbidden on pain of corporal or capital punishment. A commission was formed which traversed the country with an armed retinue. Styria was first reformed, then Carinthia, and lastly Carniola. From place to place the cry resounded, "The reformation is coming." The churches were pulled down, the preachers banished or imprisoned, the inhabitants compelled either to conform to the catholic faith or to quit the country. There were many, however, as for instance fifty citizens in the little town of St. Veit, who preferred exile to apostasy‡. The exiles were compelled to pay the tenth penny, which was for them no slight burthen.

Such was the extreme rigour of the proceedings, in return for which their author had the satisfaction of reckoning, in the year 1603, upwards of 40,000 communicants more than before.

This immediately produced further effects upon all the Austrian provinces.

The emperor Rudolf had at first given his advice against the proceedings of his young cousin, but when these proved successful, he himself imitated them. From 1599 to 1601, we find a re-forming commission actively employed in Upper Austria, and from 1602 to 1603 in Lower Austria §. Preachers and schoolmasters who had grown grey in the service of the Gospel, were driven out from Linz and Steier: the blow was a painful one: "Now," cried the rector of Steier, "in the decrepitude of age I am driven into beggary and exile ||." "Ruin daily threatens us," writes one of those

\* Khevenhiller: *Annales Ferdinandei*, iv. 1718.

† Valvassor: *Ehre des Herzogthums Krain*, Th. 2, Buch 7, p. 464; undoubtedly the most valuable account of this occurrence. "Such a petition, mingled with warning, fell upon a block of marble, which no pen of theirs could pierce or soften."

‡ Hermann: *St. Veit in die Kärnthnerischen Zeitschrift*, v. 3, p. 163.

§ Ranpach: *Evangel. Oestreich*, i. 215.

|| "Jam senio aequalis trudor in exilium." Valentin Pruenhuebers, *Annales Styrenses*, p. 326.

\* Hantsitz *Germania Sacra*, ii. p. 712. "Numerus Lutheri sectatorum tantus ut ex iniquis Gracensisibus pæne cunctis invenirentur avitæ fidei cultores tres non amplius." [Such is the number of Luther's sectaries, that not more than three adherents to the ancient faith could be found among almost all the inhabitants of Grätz.] The "pæne cunctis," [almost all] it must be owned, makes the matter ambiguous.

who remained behind; "our adversaries lie in wait for us, mock us, and thirst for our blood \*."

In Bohemia the protestants thought themselves better protected by the ancient privileges of the Utraquists, in Hungary by the dependance and power of the estates. But Rudolf seemed now disposed to disregard both alike. He had been persuaded that the old Utraquists had ceased to exist, and that the Lutherans had no title to the enjoyment of those privileges. In 1602 he promulgated an edict commanding the immediate closing of the Moravian brethren's churches, and forbidding their meetings †. All the other sects felt that the case was their own, and they were not left in doubt as to what they might expect. Open violence was already exercised in Hungary. Basta and Belgioso, who commanded the imperial troops in that country, took possession of the churches of Caschau and Clausenburg; and the archbishop of Coloesa endeavoured with their help to bring back the thirteen towns of Zips to catholicism. In reply to the complaints of the Hungarians, the emperor issued the following resolution:—"His majesty, who from his heart acknowledges the holy Roman faith, wishes also to propagate it in all his realms, and especially in the Hungarian: and hereby confirms all the decrees that have been issued in favour of that faith since the times of St. Stephen, the apostle of Hungary ‡."

Thus, in spite of his advanced age, the wary emperor had thrown aside his moderation; the whole body of the catholic princes pursued the same policy. The flood of catholicism spread its inundations as far as their power extended; moral influence and force combined to urge it onwards, and the constitution of the empire presented no means of checking its progress. On the contrary, the efforts of catholicism were so strong and so bold, that at this moment they even began to interfere with the affairs of the empire, and to put in peril the still existing rights of the protestant party §.

Changes in the constitution of the imperial tribunals, which afforded both opportunity and means to this end, had already occurred, through the influence in some degree of the papal nuncios, especially of cardinal Madruzzi, who was the first to turn his attention to the matter.

The Kammergericht too had at last, towards the

\* Hofmaricus ad Lyserum: Raupach, iv. 151.

† Schmidt: Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen, iii. 260, an extract from the appendices to the apology for the Bohemians of the year 1618, which are frequently wanting in the later editions.

‡ Art. xxii. Anno 1604. In Ribiny, Memorabilia Augustanæ Confessionis, i. 321.

§ Relazione del nuntio Ferrero, 1606, gives a summary of the results. "Da alcuni anni in qua si è convertito alla nostra santa religione una grandissima quantità d'anime, restorate le chiese, rivotati molti religioni di regolari alli loro antichi monasteri, restituito in bona parte le ceremonie ecclesiastiche, moderata alquanto la licenza degli ecclesiastici, e domesticato il nome del pontefice Romano riconosciuto per capo della chiesa universale." [Within some few years past there have been a vast number of souls converted to our holy religion, churches restored, many monks recalled to their monasteries, the ceremonies of the church re-established to a considerable extent, the licentiousness of the clergy somewhat abated, and the name of the Roman Pontiff brought home to men's minds as the recognized head of the universal church.]

beginning of the seventeenth century, acquired a more catholic complexion: judgments had been pronounced by it, that accorded with the catholic interpretation of the peace of Augsburg. The worsted parties had adopted the legal remedy of suing for a revision of judgment; but revisions had been suspended as well as visitations; business accumulated and was left untouched \*.

The consequence of these things was, that the Aulic council rose in credit. In that court there was at least a hope of seeing business terminated, since the beaten party could not have recourse to a legal process that could never be executed. But the Aulic council was not only still more decidedly catholic than the Kammergericht, but it was also entirely dependant on the court. "The Aulic council," says the Florentine minister Alidosi, "pronounces no definitive judgment till it has previously communicated it to the emperor and the privy council, who seldom send it back without some alterations †."

But what generally effective institutions were there in the empire besides the judicial ones? The unity of the nation was bound up with them. But they too were now under the influence of catholicism, and subservient to the convenience of the court. Complaints were already heard from various quarters of partial judgments, and arbitrary executions, when the affair of Donauwerth prominently displayed the danger impending over the country from this source.

The conduct of the populace in interrupting and insulting a catholic abbot in a protestant town, who wished to celebrate his processions with more publicity and solemnity than usual ‡, was consi-

\* Missive and memorial from the Reichskammergericht to the diet of 1608, in the Acts of the Diet at Frankfurt on Main, of which I was only permitted to take a cursory view. The Kammergericht declares it to be "land- und reichskündig in wass grosser und merklicher Anzahl seit Ao. 86 die Revisionen deren von gedachtem Kammergericht organen und aussgesprochenen Urtheil sich gehäuft, dergestalt dass derselben nunmehr in die Einhundert allbereit beim kaiserlichen Collegio denunciirt und deren vielleicht täglich mehr zu gewarten." [known to the country and the empire in how much greater and more notable number the revisions of the judgments passed and pronounced by the said Kammergericht had accumulated since the year 86, insomuch that a hundred of them were already notified to the Imperial College, and more were, perhaps, daily to be expected.]

† Relazione del Sr. Rod. Alidosi, 1607-1609. "E vero che il consiglio aulico a questo di meno che tutte le definitioni che anno virtù di definitiva, non le pronuntia se prima non dia parte a S. Ma. o in suo luogo al consiglio di stato, il quale alle volte o augmenta o toglie o modera l'opinione di questo consiglio, e così fatto si rimanda a detto consiglio tal deliberatione e così si publica."

‡ The report "respecting the Donawerth execution" in the Acts of the Diet of the 4th of Feb., 1608, states, in common with the other reports and informations, that the abbot had "allein so viel herbracht dass er mit niedergelegten und zusammengewickelten Fahnen, ohne Gesang und Klang, und zwar allein durch ein sonderes Gässlein beim Kloster hinab bis ausser der Stadt und ihrem Bezirk gangen, und die Fahnen nicht eher aufrichten und fliegen oder singen und klingen lassen, er sey denn ausser deren von Donawerth Grund." [All the abbot could claim by custom was, the right to walk with banners folded and depressed, without singing or ringing, only through a special bye-lane along by the convent beyond the town and its jurisdiction, and not to lift or unfurl his banners, or to sing or ring till he should be out of Donawerth ground.] The abbot now broke through these restrictions.

dered by the Aulic council sufficient ground for visiting the town with a harassing process, with mandates, citations, and commissions, and finally placing it under the ban of the empire. A neighbouring prince of rigid catholic principles, Maximilian of Bavaria, was charged with the execution of the sentence. He did not content himself with taking possession of Donauwerth, but immediately called thither Jesuits, permitted no other religion than the catholic, and proceeded in the usual course of counter-reformation.

Maximilian himself regarded this matter in its true light, as one of general significance. He wrote to the pope that it might be looked on as a test of the decline of the protestant cause.

He was deceived, however, if he thought that the protestants would submit patiently. They saw clearly what they had to expect if things went on in the same course.

The Jesuits already made bold to deny the validity of the peace of Augsburg, asserting that it could not be authentically ratified without the consent of the pope; that in any case it could only have been binding down to the time of the council of Trent, and was to be looked on as a kind of interim.

Even those who recognized the validity of the treaty, were yet of opinion that at least all the property confiscated by the protestants since its ratification must be restored. They paid no regard to the construction put upon it by protestants.

What now if these views, as already began to be the case, were adopted by the highest tribunal of the empire, and judgments pronounced and executed in accordance with them?

When the diet assembled in Ratisbon in the year 1608, the protestants would proceed to no deliberative measures till the validity of the treaty of Augsburg should have been absolutely confirmed\*. Even Saxony, which on other occasions always inclined to the emperor's side, now required the abolition of processes of the Aulic council, in so far as they were at variance with ancient usage, reforms in the administration of justice, and not only the renewal of the religious peace as concluded in Augsburg in 1555, but also a pragmatic sanction, whereby the Jesuits should be prohibited from writing against it.

But on the other side, the catholics were zealous and united. The bishop of Ratisbon had previously issued a circular letter, in which he admonished his brethren in the faith to inculcate on the delegates above all things unanimity in defence of the catholic religion, "to stand together firm and fast as a wall;" by no means to temporize; there was nothing at present to be feared, since they had staunch and zealous defenders in most illustrious princely houses. Though the catholics actually

\* Protocollum in Correspondenzrath, 5th April, 1608, in the acts of the diet: "Die Hauptconsultation jetziger Reichsversammlung sey bisher darumben eingestellt verblieben, das die Stend evangelischer Religionsfriden zu confirmir en begert, und der papistische Theil die Clausulam dem Abschied zu inseriren haben wollen: das alle Güter die sinthero a. 55 von den Evangelischen Stenden eingezogen worden restituirt werden sollen." [The chief consultation of the present imperial assembly has hitherto stood still, because the estates professing the evangelical religion have desired to confirm the peace of Augsburg, whilst the papal party have been desirous of inserting in the edict the clause, that all possessions which had been laid hold on by the evangelical estates since the year 55 should be restored.]

showed a disposition to ratify the peace of Augsburg, still it was with the addition of the clause, "that whatever was done in contravention to the same, should be abolished, and things restored as before," a clause which contained just what the protestants feared and wished to avoid.

This disunion on the main question made it impossible that an unanimous resolution should be adopted on any point, or that the emperor should be granted the aid he needed and desired against the Turks.

Now it would seem that this had made some impression on the emperor; that a resolution was once for all taken at court to comply without subterfuge with the desires of the protestants.

Such at least is the import of a very remarkable statement of the proceedings of the diet by the papal envoy.

The emperor had not attended in person, the archduke Ferdinand supplied his place: neither was the nuncio in Ratisbon, but he had sent thither in his own name Fra Felice Milensio, an Augustine friar, and vicar-general of his order, who laboured with uncommon zeal in support of the interests of catholicism.

This Fra Milensio, the author of our report, assures us that the emperor had actually determined on promulgating an edict in accordance with the wishes of the protestants. This purpose he attributes to the direct influence of Satan; the suggestor of it had undoubtedly been one of the emperor's privy chamberlains, of whom one was a Jew and the other a heretic\*.

Let us hear from himself the further account he gives of the matter. "Upon receiving intelligence of the edict that had come to hand," he says, "and which was communicated to me and some others, I went to the archduke and asked him was such a decree arrived. The archduke replied in the affirmative. And does your imperial highness intend to publish it? The archduke answered: Such are the commands of the imperial privy council: the reverend father himself sees in what a situation we are placed. Upon this I replied †:

\* Ragguaglio della dieta imperiale fatta in Ratisbona, 1608, nella quale in luogo dell' eccmo. e revmo. Monsr. Antonio Gaetano arcivescovo di Capua nuntio apostolico, rimasto in Praga appresso la Ma. Cesarea, fu residente il padre Felice Milensio maestro Agostiniano vicario generale sopra le provincie aquilonari. "E certo fu machinato dal demonio e promosso da suoi ministri, di quali erano i due cameriere intimi di Rodolfo, heretico l'uno, Hebreo l'altro, e quei del consiglio ch' eran Iussiti o peggiori."

† "Sovengale, Sermo. Altezza, di quella cattolica pietà con la quale ella da que nacque fu allevata, e per la quale pochi anni a dietro non temendo pericolo alcuno, anzi a rischio di perdere i suoi stati, ne bandì tutti gli heretici con ordini che fra pochi mesi o si dichiarassero cattolici o venduti gli stabili sgombrassero via dal paese: sovegnale che nella tavola dipinta della chiesa dei padri Capuccini in Gratz ella sta effigiata con la lancia impugnata come un altro Michele e con Luthero sotto i piedi in atto di passarli la gola: ed ora essendo ella qui in persona di Cesare, non devo credere che sia per soffrire se perdano i beni dotati della chiesa il patrimonio di Christo, e molto meno che la diabolica setta di Luthero sia con questa moderna concessione confermata, e per peggio quella ancor di Calvino già incorporata, la quale non riceve mai tolleranza alcuna imperiale. Questo e più dissi et ascoltò il piissimo principe. . . Priegola, dissi, a sospender questa materia fino alla risposta del sommo pontefice: e così feci, differendo i decreti degli huomini per non offendere i decreti di Dio."

Your imperial highness will not belie the piety in which you have been educated, the piety with which you recently dared in defiance of so many dangers to expel all heretics without exception from your territories. I cannot believe that your highness will sanction by this new concession the loss of the church's property, and the establishment of the devilish sect of Luther, and that of the still worse Calvin, which have never yet enjoyed legal and public toleration in the empire. The pious prince listened to me. But what is to be done? he said. I entreat your highness, I said, to lay this matter before his holiness the pope, and to take no step before receiving his answer. The archduke did so, having more regard to the commands of God than to the decrees of men."

If all this actually occurred, we see what an important place this obscure Augustine friar occupies in the history of Germany. He postponed at the critical moment the publication of a concession which would perhaps have satisfied the protestants. In its place Ferdinand put forth an edict of interposition, which left the chance of establishing the objectionable clause as open as before. At a meeting on the 5th of April, 1608, the protestants agreed in determination not to give way, and not to receive the edict\*. But since the other party too did not yield, and as nothing was to be obtained from the emperor or his representative which could allay the fears of the protestants, they resorted to the extreme measure of quitting the diet. For the first time the diet separated without passing any decree, much less voting any supplies: it was the moment in which the unity of the nation was virtually destroyed.

It was impossible that things could remain at this point. The protestants severally were too weak to maintain singly the position they had taken up; in the exigency of the moment, therefore, they now carried into effect such an union as they had long contemplated, discussed, and projected. Immediately after the diet, two palatine princes, the elector Frederick, and the count Palatine of Neuburg, two Brandenburg princes, the Margraves Joachim and Christian Ernest, the duke of Würtemberg and the margrave of Baden, met together at Ahausen, and concluded a league known by the name of the Union. They pledged themselves to stand by each other in every way, even with arms, especially with respect to the grievances brought forward at the late diet. They immediately put themselves into a state of military organization, and each member took upon himself to engage such of his neighbours as he could in the confederacy. Their purpose was, since the existing state of things in the empire afforded them no security, to look to their own safety, and to help themselves.

\* Vote of the Palatinate in the *Correspondenzrath*: "Dass die Confirmation des Religionsfriedens keineswegs einzugehen, wie die Interpositionsschrift mit sich bringe: dann selbige den evangelischen Ständen unendlich, weilen der Abschied anno 66 eben die Clausulam habe so jetzt disputirt werde." [That the confirmation of the peace of Augsburg, as laid down in the edict of interposition, is by no means to be received: for the same is of no service to the evangelical estates, since the decree of the year 66 contains the very clause that is now contested.] It was not contained in the decrees of 1557 and 1559. The edict of interposition referred only to 1566. It was also rejected because it treated the emperor as judge in matters of religion.

This was an innovation full of the most wide spreading consequences, the more so since an event in close correspondence with it took place in the hereditary dominions of the emperor.

The emperor was at variance with his brother Matthias on many grounds, and the estates of Austria, oppressed in their civil and religious freedom, looked upon this dissension as affording them an opportunity of maintaining both, and sided with the archduke.

In the year 1606, the archduke, with their concurrence, concluded a peace with Hungary without consulting the emperor. They alleged in excuse, that the emperor neglected public affairs, and that they had been constrained by the situation of things. But upon Rudolf's refusing to ratify the peace, they forthwith rose in insurrection, in pursuance of their mutual agreement†. The Hungarian and Austrian estates first entered into a confederacy for mutual aid and protection; afterwards they were joined by the Moravians, chiefly through the interposition of a member of the house of Lichtenstein, and all pledged themselves to stake life and fortune in the cause of the archduke. Thus disposed, they took the field under their self-elected captain on May 1608, on the very day the diet of Ratisbon broke up. Rudolf was forced to abandon Hungary, Austria, and Moravia to his brother.

Now it followed of course that Matthias should make concessions to the estates, in recompense for the services they had rendered him. The emperor had abstained for forty-eight years, from naming a palatine in Hungary: but now a protestant was advanced to that dignity. Religious freedom was most solemnly assumed not only to the magnates, but also to the towns, and to all conditions of men, even to the soldiers on the frontiers†. The Austrians refrained from doing homage till they were granted the free exercise of their religion in castles and villages, as well as in private houses of the towns.

What the Austrians and the Hungarians gained by aggressive, defensive measures procured for the Bohemians. From the very first, Rudolf was forced to consent to great concessions, in order, in some degree, to make head against his brother. After the high privileges acquired from the latter by Hungary and Austria, the emperor, on his part, could not deny the demands of the Bohemians, notwithstanding all the papal nuncio and the Spanish ambassador could urge in objection. He bestowed on them the imperial letter, which not only renewed the old concessions made by Maximilian II., but also sanctioned the establishment of a special magistracy for their protection.

\* The treaty contained the clause: "Quodsi propter vel contra tractationem Viennensem et Turcicam . . . hostis aut turbator aliquis ingruerit, tum serenissimum archiducem et omnes status et ordines regni Hungarie et archiducatus superioris et inferioris Austrie mutuis auxiliis sibi et suppetiis non defuturos." *Reva ap. Schevandtner: Scriptt. Rerum Ung. II. Kurz: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Landes Oestreich ob der Ens B. iv. p. 21.* [But if, on account of, or in contravention of, the Viennese and Turkish treaty, any enemy or disturber should come forward, then the most serene archduke, and all the estates and orders of the kingdom of Hungary, and of the archduchy of Upper and Lower Austria, will stand by each other with aid and assistance.]

† The article is given by Ribini, v. 358.

The aspect of affairs in the hereditary dominions of the imperial house, and that of the rest of Germany, now suddenly assumed a marked contrast. The Union spread widely in Germany, and vigilantly repulsed every aggression made by catholicism. In the Austrian provinces, the estates had wrought out their old claims into the shape of a well constructed constitutional power. The difference between the two cases was not inconsiderable. In the empire, catholicism had again filled the territories of the catholic princes; it was not till it proceeded to ulterior measures, not till it interfered arbitrarily in matters pertaining to the empire at large, and perilled the existence of free estates, that it encountered resistance. In the hereditary dominions it was insuperably opposed by the strength of protestant land-holders, even within the range of the territorial prerogatives of the house of Austria. On the whole, however, one common feeling actuated both divisions of the opposition. In Austria it was said, very significantly, that one sword must be kept in the scabbard by another.

For the other party too immediately put itself in an attitude for war. On the 11th of July, 1609, a defensive league was made between Maximilian of Bavaria, and seven ecclesiastical lords, the bishops of Würzburg, Constance, Augsburg, Passau, and Ratibon, the provost of Ellwangen and the abbot of Kempten, by which, after the pattern of the ancient treaty of Landsperg \*, the duke of Bavaria was invested with extraordinary powers. Ere long, the three spiritual electors joined the league, retaining, however, a certain degree of independence. The archduke Ferdinand wished to be admitted a member; Spain declared its approval; and the pope promised to leave nothing undone to promote the object of the confederacy. It is not to be doubted that the pope, chiefly through Spanish influence, became gradually more and more strongly engaged in the interests of this league †.

Thus, two hostile parties stood forth against each other, both armed, both in constant dread of being surprised and attacked, and neither capable of bringing matters to a decisive crisis.

It necessarily followed, that it was henceforth impossible to overcome any difficulty in Germany, or to dispatch any affair relating to the common weal.

In the year 1611, a king of the Romans should have been elected: the electors assembled to no purpose: they could not come to an agreement.

Even after the death of Rudolf in 1612, it was long before a new election could be effected. The three temporal electors demanded the establishment by the elective capitulation of an aulic council equally constituted: the three spiritual electors opposed this demand. No election could have taken place, had it not been that Saxony, which in all these matters manifested great deference to the house of Austria, went over to the catholic side.

But what could not be carried in the electoral council, was demanded with so much the more impetuosity by the union of princes in the diet of 1613,

whilst the catholics resisted them with equal determination. All deliberation ceased; the protestants would no longer submit to the yoke of the majority.

In Jülich and Cleves, where in spite of the vacillating views of the weak government of the last native prince, strong measures for the re-establishment of catholicism had been at last adopted through the influence of his wife, a princess of the house of Lorraine, it seemed for a while inevitable that protestantism should gain the upper hand: the next heirs were both protestants. But even here the principle of religious disunion prevailed. One of the protestant pretenders went over to catholicism, and upon this the parties divided. As they recognized no supreme arbiter, they proceeded to acts of violence in 1614. Aided, the one party by Spanish, the other by Netherlandish support, they each seized all they could lay their hands on, and straightway reformed, after their own way, the portions that had fallen to their several shares.

Attempts indeed were made at reconciliation. An electoral diet was suggested; but the elector palatine would not hear of it, because he had no confidence in his colleague of Saxony: again a general diet of composition was proposed; but the catholic estates had innumerable objections to make to this. Others looked to the emperor, and advised him to support his authority and his dignity by an imposing muster of troops. But what could have been expected of Matthias, who by the very origin of his authority belonged to both parties, and who, crippled by the clogs he had imposed on himself, could display no independent energy.

The pope complained loudly of him, declared him unfit to occupy so high a station in such times, remonstrated with him in the strongest language, and only wondered that the emperor took it as he did. Subsequently the catholics were not so dissatisfied with Matthias. Even the zealots among them declared that he had proved more serviceable to their church than they could ever have expected. But in the affairs of the empire he was altogether impotent. In the year 1617, he made an attempt to dissolve the two leagues; but the Union immediately gathered fresh strength, and the League was re-constructed with increased vigour.

#### *Nunciature in Switzerland.*

A condition of equilibrium, such as had long existed in Switzerland, had now become established upon a more peaceful basis.

The independence of the several portions of the Swiss confederacy had long been pronounced: it was not competent to the general diets to entertain any mention whatever of religious matters. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the catholics had quite abandoned all hope of mastering the protestants; the latter were not only the richer and more powerful party, but they had also among them abler and more practically experienced men \*.

\* Maximilian makes mention of this treaty of Landsperg in an instruction to his ambassador to Mainz: see Wolf, ii. p. 470.

† The documents on this subject have not been published: for the present we may rest satisfied with the assertions of the Venetian ambassador.

\* *Informazione mandata del Sr. Card. d'Aquino a Monsr. Feliciano vescovo di Foligno per il paese de' Suizzeri e Grisoni* (Inff. Polit. ix.) adds likewise: "Li cantoni cattolici sino a questi tempi sono tenuti più bellicosì che i cantoni heretici, ancora che quelli siano più potenti di genti al doppio e di denari: ma hoggi li cattolici al mostrano tanto affettionati e mutati da quelli antichi Suizzeri che se non

The nuncios, who fixed their abode in Lucern, were under no illusion on this point; it is even to them we owe the delineation of this state of things. Yet notwithstanding their sphere of operation was thus limited, they still maintained a highly important position in the midst of the catholics.

Their foremost care was to hold the bishops strictly to their duty\*. The bishops of German race were fond of regarding themselves as princes: the nuncios were incessant in their representations to them that they owed that rank only to their special calling, the high responsibilities of which they constantly urged upon them. We find indeed a very lively spirit animating the Swiss church. Visitations were held, synods appointed, convents reformed, and seminaries established. The nuncios endeavoured to keep up a good understanding between the spiritual and secular authority, and in this they succeeded tolerably well by gentleness and persuasion. They were enabled to prevent the importation of protestant books, though they were obliged to resign themselves to the people's retaining their bibles and their German prayer books. The Jesuits and Capuchins laboured with great success. Confraternities of the Blessed Virgin were founded, including old and young; preaching and the confessional were zealously attended, pilgrimages to miracle working images were again in vogue, and it even became necessary at times to mitigate the severities which some devotees inflicted on themselves†. The nuncios were un-

fosse particolare gratia del Signore, humanamente parlando, poco o veruno vantaggio haverebbero questi sopra gli avversarii heretici, e non sarebbe sicuro senza aiuto straniero il venir a rottura con essi, oltre che li medesimi protestante hanno persone più dotte, pratiche, giudiciose e potenti in ogni affare." [The catholic cantons have continued to these times more warlike than the heretic cantons, although these have twice the population and more wealth: but now a days the catholics are so changed and degenerated from the character of the Swiss of old, that if it were not the Lord's peculiar grace, humanly speaking, they would have little or no advantage over their enemies, the heretics; nor could they safely venture upon a rupture with them without foreign aid, considering, moreover, that the protestants number among them persons of more learning, practical experience, judgment, and ability in every matter.]

\* Relazione della nuntiatura de' Suizzeri: "L'esperienza mi ha mostrato che per far frutto nella nuntiatura non è bene che i nuntii si ingeriscino nelle cose che possono fare i vescovi e che spettano agli ordinarii, se non in sussidio e con vera necessità: perchè mettendosi mano ad ogni cosa indifferente non solo essi vescovi se sdegnano, ma si oppongono spesso volti e rendono vana ogni fatica del ministro apostolico, oltre che è contro la mente di monsignore e delli canonici che si metta mano nella messe aliena, mandandoli i nuntii per aiutare e non per distruggere l'autorità degli ordinarii." [Report of the Swiss nunciature: Experience has shown me that to obtain useful results from the nunciature, it is not advisable that the nuncios should interfere in matters which may be transacted by the bishops, and which belong to the ordinaries, except in the way of assistance, and in case of real necessity; for the consequence of their putting their hands to everything indifferently is, that the bishops take offence, and often oppose and frustrate every effort of the apostolic minister; besides which, his excellency's sentiments and the canons are against meddling with another's harvest, the nuncios being sent to aid, not to destroy, the authority of the ordinaries.]

† An example is given in *Literæ Annue Societatis Jesu*, 1596, p. 187. "Modus tamen rigidus illi jejuniis est a confessorio adhibitus." [Such rigorous fasting was moderated, however, by the confessor.]

bounded in their praise of the services rendered them.

Conversions of course were effected. The nuncios took up the converts, supported and recommended them, and endeavoured to establish funds from the contributions of the faithful, to be employed under the direction of prelates for the benefit of their proselytes. Occasionally they succeeded in recovering jurisdictions that had been lost, and then the mass was renewed with all speed. In this the bishop of Basel and the abbot of St. Gall displayed distinguished zeal.

All these efforts of the nuncios were greatly furthered by the circumstance, that the king of Spain had made for himself a party in catholic Switzerland. The adherents of Spain, for instance, the Lusi in Unterwalden, the Amli in Lucern, the Büller in Schwyz, and so forth, were also usually the most devoted of all to the Roman see. The nuncios failed not to foster that disposition with all their might. They complied with every conceivable claim of courtesy; they listened patiently to the longest and most wearying discourses, were no niggards of titles, and professed themselves intense admirers of the ancient deeds of the nation, and of the wisdom of the republican institutions. They found it particularly necessary to keep their friends together by means of regularly recurring entertainments; they even replied to every invitation, every mark of respect made to them with a present. Presents were here found peculiarly efficacious: he who was named a knight of the golden spur, and received in addition to the honour a gold chain or medal, felt himself bound to them for ever. All they had to guard against was promising more than they could perform; if they performed more than they promised so much the better. It was necessary that their domestic economy should always be well ordered, and allow no room for censure.

Thus it happened that the catholic interests, even in Switzerland, in general attained a fair state of prosperity and smooth progress.

There was only one point where the discrepancies between catholics and protestants, coinciding in one and the same district with an unsettled condition of politics, might occasion danger and strife.

In the Grisons the government was essentially protestant, while among their dependencies the Italian, especially Valtellina, were unshakably catholic.

Hence arose interminable bickerings. The government tolerated no foreign priest in the valley; and had even forbidden the inhabitants to send their children abroad to a foreign school; it had prohibited the bishop of Como, in whose diocese Valtellina lay, from discharging his episcopal functions there. On the other hand, the natives beheld with great dissatisfaction protestants residing in their country, and that too as lords and masters; they clung with secret attachment to the Italians, to orthodox Milan, and their zeal was constantly kept warm by a succession of young theologians from the Collegium Helveticum, in which alone six places were reserved for the Valtelline\*.

Now this state of things was the more perilous

\* Relazione della nuntiatura: "Il collegio Elvetico di Milano è di gran giovamento, et è la salute in particolare della Val Telina, che quanti preti ha, sono soggetti di detto collegio, e quasi tutti dottori in teologia."



since France, Spain, and Venice, were labouring with all their might, each to establish a party in the Grisons : these parties not unfrequently came to open violence, and drove each other from their places. In the year 1607 the Spanish party, first, the Venetian immediately afterwards, seized possession of Coire. The former broke the league, the latter restored it. The Spanish party had catholic, the Venetian protestant sympathies, and in accordance with these the whole policy of the country was shaped. The main question now was with which party would France side. The French had their pensioners throughout all Switzerland, not only in the catholic, but also in the protestant cantons, and they possessed an ancient influence in the Grisons. About the year 1612, they declared for the catholic interest ; the nuncio succeeded in gaining their friends for Rome : the Venetian alliance was even formally dissolved.

These party feuds would merit of themselves but little attention, but they acquired a higher importance from the fact, that upon them depended the opening or the closing of the Grison passes for the one or the other of the great powers. We shall see that their weight affected the balance, in which hung the general relations of European politics and religion.

#### *Regeneration of Catholicism in France.*

The question of most moment at this juncture is, what was the general position assumed by France with respect to religion ?

The first glance shows us that the protestants were still in great strength in that country.

Henry IV. had granted them the edict of Nantes, whereby not only were they confirmed in the possession of the churches actually in their hands, but they had also conferred upon them a share in the public educational institutions, equality with the catholics as regarded the composition of the chambers of parliament, and the occupation of a great number of fortified places ; and in general they were allowed a degree of independence, of which it might well be questioned, whether it was consistent with the idea of a state. About the year 1600, there were reckoned seven hundred and sixty parishes of French protestants, all well ordered : four thousand of the nobility belonged to that confession, and it was computed that they could bring with ease twenty-five thousand men into the field, and possessed about two hundred fortified places : a power capable of exacting respect, and not to be assailed with impunity\*.

But close by them and opposed to them, there rose at the same moment another power, the corporation of the catholic clergy of France.

The great possessions of the French clergy, gave them a certain degree of intrinsic independence, which was made obvious and palpable when they took upon themselves a part of the public debt†.

\* Badoer : *Relations di Francia*, 1605.

† In the *Mémoires du clergé de France*, tom. ix.—Recueil des contrats passés par le clergé avec les rois—are to be found the documents relating to this matter from the year 1561. In the convocation of Poisy in that year, the clergy took upon itself to pay not only the interest but the capital of a considerable portion of the public debt. The payment of the capital did not take place, but the obligation to pay the interest remained. The debts answered for by the clergy

For their obligation in this respect was not so involuntary, as not to require that it should from time to time be renewed with the forms of a free-will act.

Under Henry IV., the meetings which were held to this end, acquired a more regular form. They were to be renewed every ten years, to take place each time in May when the days are long, and allow of the transaction of much business. Lesser meetings were to be held every two years to pass accounts.

It was not to be expected that these meetings, especially the greater ones, should confine themselves to their mere financial objects. The fulfilment of these was enough to give them courage for wider purposes. In the years 1595 and 1596, they resolved to renew the provincial councils, to withstand the interference of the civil jurisdiction in matters pertaining to spiritual functions, and to permit no simony ; and what was of still more moment, the king after some wavering gave his sanction to these determinations\*. It was customary for the clergy to make general representations in relation to churches and church discipline. The king could not possibly withhold his attention from these, and they never failed to produce new concessions. At their next meeting the first enquiry entered into by the clergy was, whether their suggestions had been carried into effect.

Henry's position was thus very peculiar, placed as he was between two corporations, both possessed of a certain independence, both holding their meetings at certain stated times, and then besetting him with conflicting representations, which he could not well oppose, whether coming from the one side or from the other.

His general intention undoubtedly was, to maintain an equilibrium between them both, and not suffer them again to come in collision with each other ; but if we ask to which of the two he was the more inclined, and which of them he more actively promoted, the answer is, manifestly the catholic party, although his own rise had been due to the protestant.

Henry's gratitude was not a whit stronger than his vindictiveness : he was more bent on gaining new friends, than on rewarding and favouring his old ones.

Had not the protestants, in fact, found it necessary to extort the edict of Nantz from him ? He granted it to them only at the moment when he was pressed by the forces of Spain, and when the protestants, too, had put themselves in a very warlike attitude†. The use they made of their immunities corresponded with the mode in which they had won them. They constituted themselves into a republic, over which the king had but little

were principally those contracted by the Hotel de Ville of Paris, and the interest accrued to that city ; a fixed rent was yearly paid it by the clergy. We perceive why Paris, even had it not been so thoroughly catholic, could never have been brought to consent to the ruin of the clergy, and the destruction of church property which was mortgaged to itself.

\* Relation des principales choses qui ont esté resolues dans l'assemblée generale du clergé tenue à Paris les années 1595 et 1596 envoyée à toutes les diocèses. *Mémoires du clergé*, tom. viii., p. 6.

† This appears beyond question from the account given by Benoist, *Histoire de l'édit de Nantes*, l. 185.



influence; and from time to time they even talked of seeking for themselves some foreign protector.

The clergy, on the contrary, attached themselves to the king; they asked for no aid, but bestowed it; their independence could not become formidable, since the king held in his own hand the nomination to vacancies. In so far as the position of the Huguenots imposed restrictions, as it manifestly did, on the royal authority, the extension of the latter was clearly identified with the progress of catholicism\*.

As early as the year 1598, the king declared to the clergy, that it was his purpose to make the catholic church once more as flourishing as it had been in the preceding century: all he asked of them was patience and confidence; Paris had not been built in a day†.

The rights of the concordat were now exercised in a totally different manner from that of former times: benefices were no longer bestowed on women and children; in the collation to ecclesiastical posts the king looked narrowly to learning, mental disposition, and exemplary conduct.

"In all outward things," says a Venetian, "he shows himself personally devoted to the Roman catholic religion, and averse to her opponent."

It was this feeling that prompted him to recall the Jesuits. He thought that their zeal would surely contribute to the re-establishment of catholicism, and thereby to the enlargement likewise of the royal authority, in the light in which he now contemplated it‡.

Yet all this would have availed but little, had not the internal regeneration of the catholic church already at this period made vast progress in France. Within the first twenty years of that century it had assumed a new form. Let us cast a glance at this change, especially as regards the renewal of monastic discipline, which was its most characteristic feature.

Great zeal was displayed in the reformation of the old orders,—the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Benedictines.

The sisterhoods vied with them in zeal. The Feuillantines practised such exaggerated penances, that it is said fourteen of them perished thereby in one week; the pope was obliged to admonish them

to mitigate the austerity of their discipline\*. Community of goods, silence and vigils, were again introduced in Port Royal, and the mystery of the eucharist was adored there day and night†. The nuns of Calvary observed the rules of St. Benedict in all their rigour; by incessant prayer before the cross, they sought to make a sort of expiation for the outrages offered by the protestants to the tree of life‡.

At that time St. Theresa had, in a somewhat different spirit, reformed the order of the Carmelites in Spain. She, too, enjoined the strictest seclusion; she strove to restrict even the visits of relations at the grating, and even the confessor was subject to inspection. Still she did not regard austerity as the aim and end of monastic institutions. She sought to elicit a condition of the soul attuned to a nearer harmony with the Divine nature. She now found that no seclusion from the world, no self-denial, no discipline of the mind, was sufficient to keep the votary within the needful bonds, unless some further help was added; and this she sought in work, plain household occupation and female handiwork,—the salt that preserves the soul of woman from corruption, the guardian that shuts the door against unprofitable wandering thoughts. But this work, as she further directed, was not to be costly or curious, or to be set for an appointed time; it was not to be of a kind to busy the mind. Her object was to promote the tranquillity of a soul conscious of its existence in God,—“a soul,” as she says, “that ever lives as though it stood before the face of God, that knows no pain but that of not enjoying his presence.” She desired to produce what she calls the prayer of love, “in which the soul forgets itself, and hears the heavenly Master’s voice§.” This was an enthusiasm which, in her at least, was pure, noble, and unaffected, and it made the greatest impression on the whole catholic world. It was very soon admitted in France, that something more was needful than mere penitential practices. Pierre Berulle was specially deputed to visit the order in Spain, and he at last succeeded, though not without difficulty, in propagating it in France, where it very soon took root, and bore the fairest fruit.

The monasteries founded by François de Sales were also of this milder character. In all his occupations de Sales used to comport himself with cheerful serenity of soul, without painful effort or hurry. With his associate, Mère Chantal, he founded the order of Visitation, expressly for such as were forbidden, by the delicacy of their bodily constitution, from entering the more austere communities. In his rules, he not only avoided all direct penance, and dispensed from the performance of severer duties, but he warned also against all inward aspirations. “We must,” he said,

\* Helyot: *Histoires des ordres monastiques*, v., p. 412.

† Felibien: *Histoire de Paris*, ii. 1339: a work generally valuable as regards the history of this restoration, and in many places grounded on original authorities.

‡ La vie du véritable père Josef, p. 53. 73.

§ Diego de Yepes: *Vita della gloriosa vergine S. Teresa di Giesu, fondatrice de' carmelitani Scalzi*, Roma, 1623, p. 303. *Costituzioni principali*, § 3, p. 208. The *Exclamaciones o meditaciones* de S. Teresa, con algunos otros tratadillos, Brussels, 1682, exhibit an enthusiasm almost too highly pitched for our taste.

\* Niccolò Contarini: “Il re, se ben andava temporeggiando con le parti, e li suoi ministri e consiglieri fussero dell’ una e l’altra religione, pur sempre più si mostrava alienarsi dagli Ugonotti e desiderare minori: la ragione principal era perche tenendo essi per li editti di piace molte piazze nelle loro mani, delle quali ben trenta erano di molto momento, senza di queste li pareva non essere assolutamente re del suo regno.” [Although the king temporized with the parties, and though his ministers and councillors were of both religions, nevertheless he seemed constantly to become more alienated from the Huguenots, and to wish for their reduction: the principal reason was, that the edict of pacification having put many places into their hands, of which fully thirty were of much moment, the king seemed to himself without these not to be absolutely king of his own realm.]

† *Memoires du clergé*, tom. xiv. p. 259.

‡ “Per abbassamento del quale (del partito degli Ugonotti) s’immaginò di poter dar gran colpo col richiamar li Gesuiti, pensando anco in questa maniera di toglier la radice a molte congiure.” [He thought he could strike a great blow towards lowering the Huguenot party by calling back the Jesuits, and that he would hereby also eradicate many conspiracies.] He made answer to the parliaments, let but his life be secured, and the exile of the Jesuits should never cease.

"place ourselves simply, and without overcurious pondering, in the sight of God, and not to desire to enjoy more than He is pleased to vouchsafe; pride readily beguiles us under the guise of religious rapture; our walk must be only in the common path of the virtues." For this reason he enjoined upon his nuns the care of the sick as their foremost duty. The sisters were always to go abroad two by two, a superior and an associate, and visit the needy sick in their dwellings. Works and labours of love are our best prayers, was the maxim of François de Sales\*. His order exercised a beneficent influence over all France.

It is easy to perceive in this course of things a progress from austerity to moderation, from extasy to calmness, from ascetical seclusion to the fulfilment of social duties.

The Ursuline nuns, whose fourth vow it is to devote themselves to the instruction of young girls,—a vow they fulfilled with admirable zeal,—had already been received in France.

A similar spirit, as might of course be expected, was also in vigorous activity among the religious communities for men.

Jean Baptiste Romillon, who till his 26th year had borne arms against catholicism, but who then became a convert to that faith, founded, in conjunction with a friend of similar views, the order of the Fathers of Christian Doctrine, which established a new-modelled system of elementary instruction in France.

We have already made mention of Berulle, one of the most distinguished ecclesiastics of France in those times. From his earliest youth he had manifested a hearty zeal to fit himself for the service of the church: to that end he had daily, as he said, kept before him "the truest and most intimate thought of his heart," which was "to strive after the greatest perfection." Perhaps the difficulty he experienced in this task may have had some share in impressing him with the paramount necessity of an institution for the education of clergymen with an immediate view to the service of the church. He took Philip Neri for his example, and like him he established priests of the oratory. He permitted no vows, and only imposed simple obligations: he had sufficient largeness of mind to allow that every one who did not discover in himself the requisite cast of mind should be at liberty to retire. His institution had great success: its mildness attracted pupils even of higher rank; and ere long Berulle found himself at the head of a brilliant body of able and docile youth. Episcopal seminaries and high schools were entrusted to him; a new and lively spirit animated the clergy formed in his institution. It gave to the world a host of eminent preachers; from its day was determined the character of the French pulpit †.

Can we in this place omit mentioning the congregation of St. Maur? The French Benedictines, in adhering to the reformation of that order effected in Lorraine, added to their other obligations that of devoting themselves to the education of the young nobility and to the pursuits of learning. At

the very commencement of this change appeared among them that justly famous man, Nicolas Hugo Ménard, who gave their studies that bent towards ecclesiastical antiquities, to which we are indebted for so many noble works\*.

Mary of Medici had already introduced into France the Brothers of Mercy: an order founded by that indefatigable minister to the sick, Johannes a Deo, a Portuguese, to whom a Spanish bishop had given that by-name in a moment of admiration. In France the order adopted still stricter rules, but its success was so much the greater. Within a short space of time we find thirty hospitals established by it †.

But what a task it is to remodel the religion of a whole kingdom,—to give a new direction to its faith and doctrine! In the more sequestered regions, among the rural population, and even among the parish priests, the old abuses were still in many places in full operation. At last, amidst the general religious excitement, appeared likewise the great missionary of the common people, Vincent de Paul, who founded the congregation of the Mission, the members of which, passing from place to place, served to spread the devotional spirit into the remotest corners of the land. Vincent was himself the son of a peasant,—humble, full of zeal and practical good sense ‡. To him also is due the establishment of the order of the Sisters of Charity, in which the more delicate sex, at an age when its hopes might naturally be fixed on domestic happiness or worldly splendour, devotes itself to the service of the sick, often of the reprobate, without being permitted to give outwardly more than a passing expression to the religious feelings that prompt to all this earnest labour.

Efforts like these for the nurture and instruction of the young, the teaching of the pulpit, encouragement of sound learning, and the exercise of benevolence, have happily been ever renewed in Christian countries. No where can they succeed without the union of manifold powers with religious enthusiasm. Elsewhere, their cultivation was left to each successive generation, to the promptings of present necessity: but here it was sought to give an unalterable basis to the associations for these purposes, an established form to the religious impulses directed towards them; and this, in order to devote them all to the service of the church, and insensibly to mould the minds of future generations to the same shape and bent.

The most important results were soon manifested in France. Even in the reign of Henry IV. the protestants felt themselves crippled and endangered by the searching and extensive activity of their antagonists: for a while they ceased to make any progress, and ere long they began to experience losses: already under Henry IV., they complain that desertion from their ranks had begun.

And yet Henry was constrained by the very

\* Filipe le Cerf: Bibliothèque historique et critique des auteurs de la congrégation de St. Maur, p. 355.

† Approbatio congregationis fratrum Johannis Dei, 1572, Kal. Jan. (Bullar. Cocquel. iv. 111, 190.)

‡ Stolberg: Leben des heiligen Vincentius von Paulus. Munster, 1818. Honest Stolberg, however, should not have looked on his hero in the light of "einen Mann durch den Frankreich erneuert ward" (p. 6. p. 399). [A man by whom France was regenerated.]

\* E. g. in Gallia: Leben des h. Franz von Sales, ii. 285. But his sentiments are most clearly and most pleasingly portrayed in his own works, particularly in his Introduction to a devotional life.

† Tabaraud: Histoire de Pierre de Berulle, Paris, 1817:

nature of his policy to deal favourably with them, and to reject the suggestions of the pope, such, for instance, as his proposal, that they should be excluded from all public offices.

But this line of policy was abandoned under Mary of Medici; a much closer connexion was formed with Spain, and a decidedly catholic spirit predominated in all public affairs domestic and foreign. That spirit ruled both at court and in the assemblies of the estates. The first two estates expressly demanded in the year 1614, not only the publication of the system of Trent, but even the restoration of church property in Bearn.

It was highly fortunate for the preservation of those protestant institutions which were likewise fostered with a lively zeal, that the party of their defenders was still so strong, and its attitude so martial. When the government coalesced with the adversaries of the protestants, the latter found support and help at the hands of powerful malcontents, of whom there never has been, and never will be a lack in that country. Some space of time yet elapsed before their enemies could directly assail them.

## CHAPTER II.

### GENERAL WAR.—TRIUMPH OF CATHOLICISM.

1617—1623.

#### *Breaking out of war.*

HOWEVER various may have been the circumstances of which we have traced the growth, they all nevertheless coincide in one grand result. On all sides catholicism had made powerful strides; on all sides too it had encountered vigorous resistance. In Poland it was unable to master its opponents, because they were invincibly backed by their neighbours. In Germany a close knit opposition had thrown itself in the way of the advancing creed and of the returning priesthood. The king of Spain had been constrained to grant the Netherlands a truce, which was very nearly tantamount to a formal recognition. The French Huguenots were provided against every attack by means of fortresses, troops well equipped for war, and pertinent financial arrangements. In Switzerland the balance of parties had long been established, and even regenerated catholicism was unable to shake it.

Europe was parted into two worlds, at every point mutually encompassed, restricted, repulsed and assailed.

If we institute a general comparison between them, we are struck in the first place, by an appearance of far greater unity on the catholic side. We know indeed, that it was not without its internal animosities, but these now for the first time mitigated. Above all, there subsisted a good, nay a confidential understanding between France and Spain; for the occasional outbreak of the old ill-will of Venice or Savoy was not of much weight; even such formidable attempts as the conspiracy against Venice passed off without any violent shock. Pope Paul V., after the severe lessons taught him by his first experience, remained quiet and moderate; he found means to uphold peace between the

catholic powers, and from time to time he gave an impulse to the common policy. The protestants, on the contrary, had not only no common centre, but since the death of Elizabeth of England, and the accession of James I., who observed a rather ambiguous policy, they had not even a leader. Lutherans and Calvinists stood opposed to each other with a mutual ill-will that necessarily led to opposite political measures. And even the Calvinists again were divided among themselves; episcopalians and puritans, Arminians and Gomarists, assailed each other with fierce hatred. In the assembly of the Huguenots at Saumur in 1611 a rupture occurred, which it was never afterwards possible entirely to heal.

Certainly this difference is not to be ascribed to a less vivacity in the religious movements on the catholic side; the very contrary is apparent. The fact is rather to be imputed to the following cause. Catholicism knew nothing of that energy of exclusive doctrine which ruled over protestantism; there were important controversies which the former left undecided; enthusiasm, mysticism, and that profounder habit of feeling, scarce admitting of being shaped into the more palpable form of thought, which ever arises from time to time as the necessary product of religious tendencies, had been adopted by catholicism, reduced to rule, and made serviceable under the forms of monastic asceticism, whilst on the contrary they were rejected, condemned, and repudiated by protestantism. For this very reason, such feelings thus left to themselves among the protestants, manifested themselves in the shape of numerous sects, and struck out their own paths with partial views but in uncontrolled freedom.

It accords with these facts, that literature in general had assumed much more shapeliness and regularity on the catholic side. It may be laid down that the modern classic forms were first established in Italy under the auspices of the church: in Spain an approach was made to them as far as was permitted by the genius of the nation; and a similar process was already begun in France, where it afterwards was so actively developed, and produced such brilliant results. Malherbe arose; he who first voluntarily submitted to rules, and deliberately rejected all licence\*, and who gave new cogency to the monarchical and catholic sentiments that inspired him, by the epigrammatic precision, and the somewhat prosaic but characteristically French popularity and elegance of the language in which he expressed them. Among the German nations this classical tendency failed to obtain sway in those days, even on the catholic side; its first action was only on Latin poetry, in which, however, it sometimes looked like parody, and that even in the works of so able a writer as Balde. All compositions in the vernacular tongue retained the simple expression of nature. Now there was still less possibility of the imitation of the ancients gaining ground among the protestants of the German stock. Shakespeare set before men's eyes the import and spirit of romantic literature

\* Respecting Malherbe's genius, and his style of writing, new and valuable additions to the poet's biography have been made by Racan in the *Mémoires* or rather *Historiettes* de Tallement des Reaux, published by Monmerqué, 1834, i. p. 195.

in imperishable forms, the spontaneous productions of a mind to which history and antiquity were but as handmaids. From the workshop of a German shoemaker \* issued poems darkling, shapeless, and unfathomable, but with irresistible power of fascination, poems marked with German depth of feeling, and a religious view of the world and of nature that have never been equalled,—spontaneous offsprings of nature.

I will not, however, attempt to pourtray the contrasts of these two opposite intellectual worlds; in order to their full comprehension, we ought to have devoted more attention to the protestant side. Let it be allowed me merely to bring forward one particular that had an immediate influence in determining the course of events.

The monarchical tendency was now paramount in catholicism. Ideas of popular rights, of legitimate opposition to the sovereign, of the sovereignty of the people, and of the lawfulness of regicide, such as had been vehemently maintained thirty years before even by zealous catholics, were no longer in fashion. There was now no notable contest between a catholic population and a protestant prince: even James I. was borne with, and the old theories found no application. It followed from this that the religious principle became more closely linked with the dynastical one, and the union, if I mistake not, was further promoted by the circumstance that there was a certain personal superiority on the side of the catholic princes: such at least was certainly the case in Germany. In that country still lived the aged bishop Julius of Würzburg, the first who had there attempted a thorough measure of counter-reformation; elector Schweikard of Mainz filled the office of arch-chancellor, with talents quickened by warm and hearty interest in public affairs, and once more greatly extended its credit and efficacy †; both the other Rhenish electors were resolute active men; by their side stood the manly, sagacious, indefatigable Maximilian of Bavaria, an able administrator, full of enlarged and grand designs of policy, and arch-duke Ferdinand, invincible in the strength of the faith he clung to with all the ardour of a vigorous soul. Almost all these men had been educated by the Jesuits, who still found means to stir the minds of their pupils to great impulses: they were reformers too in their way, and it was they who had laboriously, and by force of mind, brought about the existing state of things.

The protestant princes, on the contrary, were rather inheritors than founders: they were already the third or fourth generation. Only in some few among them was seen, I will not say energy and strength of mind, but ambition and restlessness.

On the other hand, manifest tendencies to republicanism, or at least to aristocratic freedom, appeared among the protestants. In many places in France, in Poland, and in all the Austrian dominions,

powerful nobility of protestant persuasion was at open war with the government authorities. What might be gained in such a contest, was brilliantly evidenced by the republic of the Netherlands, which was daily increasing in prosperity. Unquestionably the thought was then entertained in Austria, of throwing off the yoke of the reigning house, and constituting the country a republic on the model of Switzerland or the Low Countries. The success of such a project promised the estates of the German empire the only chance of again acquiring high importance, and they took part in it with vivacity. The internal constitution of the Huguenot body was already republican, and even with a mixture of democracy. This latter spirit was also arrayed in the persons of the English puritans against a protestant king. There is a small work extant of an imperial ambassador at the court of Paris in those days, in which the attention of European potentates is earnestly drawn to the common danger threatened them from the advancement of such a spirit \*.

The catholic world was at this period unanimous, classical, monarchical; the protestant divided, romantic, republican.

In the year 1617, everything was ripe for a decided conflict between the two. The catholic party, it seems, felt its own superiority; it is not to be disputed that it was the first aggressor.

On the 16th of June, 1617, there was issued in France an edict, long demanded by the catholic clergy, but which the court had always refused to grant, in its awe of the power of the Huguenots, and the high consideration of their leaders, whereby the church property in Bearn was to be surrendered back. It was obtained from Luines, who, though the protestants counted on him at first †, had yet gradually attached himself to the Jesuit or papal party. Relying on this disposition of the head of the government, the populace had already here and there riotously attacked the protestants, and sometimes at the summons of the tocsin. The parliament also took part against them.

The Polish prince Wladislaw once more took up arms, in the confident expectation that he should now make himself master of the Russian throne. It was thought that his armament was made with a view also against Sweden, and war was instantly resumed between Poland and Sweden ‡.

But by far the most important events were

\* *Advis sur les causes des mouvements de l'Europe, envoyé aux rois et princes pour la conservation de leurs royaumes et principautés, fait par Messer. Al. Cunr. baron de Fridembourg et présenté au roy très chrestien par le comte de Furstemberg ambassadeur de l'empereur.* Inserted in the *Mercurie François*, tom. ix. p. 342.

† This appears among other proofs from a letter from Duplessis Mornay, Saumur, April 26, 1617: "Sur ce coup de majorité," as he calls the murder of the *maréchal d'Ancre*. *La vie de Du Plessis*, p. 465.

‡ *Hilkn: Esth-Lyf-und Lettländische Geschichte*, p. 418. "The Swedes knew that the king of Poland had sent his son to Russia with a powerful army, to the end that he might surprise the fortresses which the Muscovites had ceded to the Swedes, so that if the enterprize were successful he might himself be the better enabled to attack the kingdom of Sweden: for he had been promised aid towards the reconquest of Sweden, both by the estates in the Polish diet and by the house of Austria: therefore he had bent all his thoughts on this matter more than on anything else."

\* Hans Sachs.

† *Montorio: Relazione di Germania, 1624*: "Di costumi gravi, molto intento alle cose del governo così spirituale come temporale, molto bene affetto verso il servizio di cotesta santa sede, desideroso del progresso della religione, uno de' primi prelati della Germania." [A man of serious habits, very intent on the affairs of government both spiritual and temporal, very well disposed towards the service of that holy see, desirous of the progress of religion, one of the first prelates of Germany.]

ripening in the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria. The archdukes had come to a reconciliation and mutual understanding. With the magnanimity often displayed by that house in moments of peril, the other brother surrendered, in favour of archduke Ferdinand, the pretensions that would naturally accrue to them on the death of the emperor Matthias, who had no issue; and he was shortly afterwards actually acknowledged heir to the throne in Hungary and Bohemia. This was in reality but an adjustment of personal claims; still it was pregnant with results important to the general interests.

It was certainly not to be expected from a man of Ferdinand's determined zeal, but that he should forthwith seek to establish the supremacy of his own faith in his future dominions, and then endeavour to bend their whole strength towards the propagation of catholicism.

Here was a common danger, threatening all the protestants in the Austrian dominions, in Germany, and in Europe.

An opposition speedily arose out of this danger, immediately affecting its cause. The protestants, who set themselves in array against the progress of catholicism, were not only provided for defence, but they had the courage forthwith to change their tactics into those of aggression.

The elements of European protestantism were concentrated in the person of Frederick, the elector palatine. His consort was the daughter of the king of England, and niece of the king of Denmark; prince Maurice of Orange was his uncle; the duke de Bouillon, the leader of the less peacefully inclined section of the French Huguenots, was his nearest relation. He himself stood at the head of the German union. He was a grave prince, who had sufficient self-command to abstain from the bad habits then prevalent in the German courts, and who made it much more his care to fulfil his duties as a ruler, and diligently to attend the sittings of his privy council: he was of a somewhat melancholy disposition, proud, and full of lofty thoughts\*. In his father's time there were tables in the electoral dining hall for counsellors and nobles; Frederick caused them all to be removed, and ate only with princes and persons of the highest rank. A lively feeling of a great political destiny

was cherished at this court, which industriously engaged in a thousand connexions tending to far-sought views. So long a time had elapsed since any serious war, that no clear perception was entertained of what might be achieved, of what the future might have in store: the most extravagant projects were indulged.

Such was the tone and temper of the court of Heidelberg, when the Bohemians, who, impelled especially by the threatened danger to protestantism, had broken out into dissensions with the house of Austria, that every day grew more violent and implacable, resolved to reject Ferdinand, although he already possessed their promise, and to offer their crown to the elector palatine.

Frederick pondered for a moment. It was an unexampled thing, that a German prince should attempt to wrest from another the crown that devolved on him by legitimate succession! But all his friends,—Maurice, who could not endure the truce with Spain; the duke of Bouillon; Christian von Anhalt, who had reviewed the whole mechanism of European politics, and firmly believed that no one would have the courage and the power to gainsay the event when once accomplished,—these, and all his most confidential advisers, spurred him on. The immense prospect opened to him, his ambition, and his zeal for religion, combined with these counsels to urge his resolution, and he accepted the crown (Aug. 1619). How vast must have been the consequences, had he been able to retain it! The power of the house of Austria in Eastern Europe would have been broken, and the progress of catholicism barred for ever.

And already strong sympathies awoke on his behalf in every quarter. In France a general movement took place among the Huguenots; the Bearnese opposed the royal commands; the assembly of Loudun espoused their cause; nothing would have been more welcome to the queen mother than to gain over that warlike opposition to her own side; Rohan had already joined her, and promised to bring over to her the rest of his co-religionists. In the ever restless Grisons, too, the Spanish catholic party had now been once more put down, and the protestant had risen on its fall. The court at Davos received with pleasure the ambassador of the new king of Bohemia, and promised him to keep the passes of the Alps for ever closed against the Spaniards\*.

It is well worthy of remark, that these movements were likewise accompanied by the display of republican tendencies. Not only did the Bohemian estates maintain a natural independence towards their elected king, but attempts were made to follow their example in all the hereditary dominions of Austria. The estates of the German empire conceived new hopes, and, in fact, the amplest supplies of money Frederick received towards his enterprise came to him from that quarter.

But precisely for these reasons, on the double motives of religion and policy, the catholic princes also now bestirred themselves more than ever.

Maximilian of Bavaria, and Ferdinand, who had had the good fortune to be chosen emperor at this

\* *Relazione di Germania, 1617*: "Federico V. d'età di anni 20, di mezzana statura, d'aspetto grave, di natura malinconico, di carnagione buona, uomo di alti pensieri, e rare volte si rallegra, e coll' appoggio del accasamento fatto con la figliuola del re d'Inghilterra e di altri parenti e confederati aspirerebbe a cose maggiori se egli rappresentasse occasione a proposito: onde essendo ben conosciuto suo naturale per il colonello di Scomburg già suo ajo, seppa così ben valersene, accomodandosi al suo umore, che mentre visse fu più d'ogni altro suo confidente." [Frederick V. is about twenty years of age, of middle stature, of a grave countenance, of a melancholy disposition, of good constitution, a man of lofty thoughts, and one who rarely indulges in gaiety. Relying on the support afforded him by his marriage with the daughter of the king of England, and on that of other relations and confederates, he would aspire to higher things, were a favourable opportunity presented to him. His disposition being well known to colonel Schomburg, formerly his tutor, the latter made such good use of that knowledge, and so accommodated himself to Frederick's humour, that, whilst the colonel lived, he was more in his confidence than any one else.]

\* Contemporaries felt the connexion of these events, which in subsequent times was no longer attended to. *Fürstl. Anhaltische Geh. Canzlei Fortsetzung*, p. 67.

period, formed the strictest league with each other; the king of Spain armed and prepared to afford effectual aid, and pope Paul V. consented to contribute considerable and very welcome subsidies.

As the wind sometimes in the stormy seasons of the year shifts suddenly round, so the current of fortune and success now all at once turned back.

The catholics succeeded in gaining over the elector of Saxony, one of the most powerful protestant princes, but who, as a Lutheran, cordially detested the movements which had been set on foot by Calvinism.

This alone sufficed to inspire their rising in the assured hope of victory. A single battle, that of the Weiss Berg, fought on the 8th of November, 1620, put an end to the power of the elector palatine and to all his projects.

For even the Union did not support its leader with sufficient energy. It may very possibly be, that the republican temper we have spoken of may have alarmed the confederate princes; they refused to open the Rhine to the Dutch, fearing the analogies which their constitution might awaken in Germany. The catholics in Upper Germany likewise achieved an instantaneous victory. The Upper Palatinate was invaded by the Bavarians, the Lower by the Spaniards; and in April, 1621, the Union was dissolved. All who bestirred themselves, or took up arms in favour of Frederick, were driven out of the country, or utterly crushed. In a moment, immediately after the greatest danger, the catholic principle was omnipotent in Upper Germany, and in the Austrian provinces.

Meanwhile a decisive struggle was completed in France likewise. After a successful battle, fought by the royal forces, against the opposing court factions and the party of the queen mother, with whom the Huguenots were certainly in close correspondence\*, the papal nuncio insisted that the happy moment should be seized for an enterprize against protestantism in general. He would hear of no postponement, asserting that whatever was once postponed in France was for ever abandoned†; and he forced de Luines and the king to coincide in his views. The old factions of the Beaumonts and the Grammonts, that had been at feud for centuries, still subsisted in Bearn, and gave occasion to the king to make continual incursions into the country, disband its forces, annul its constitution, and restore the ascendancy of the catholic church. True, the protestants in France proper made a show of seconding their co-religionists, but they were beaten in the year 1621 in every quarter.

About this time Jacopo Robustelli, a captain of the Valtelline, had gathered round him the catholic exiles from the country, and some banditti from the Milanese and Venetian territories, with the determination of putting an end to the domination of the Grisons, whose protestant tendencies were so oppressive to his countrymen. A capuchin friar fired the bloodthirsty band to fanaticism; they broke into Tirano on the night of the 19th of

July, 1620; at the dawn of day they rang the bells, and when the protestants rushed out of their houses at the sound, they were attacked, overpowered, and massacred. The fate of Tirano was shared by the whole valley. In vain did the Grisons rally more than once from the heights of the mountains to retrieve their lost dominion: as often as they came they were beaten. In the year 1621 the Austrians penetrated from the Tyrol, the Spaniards from Milan, into the very heart of the Grison confederacy. "The bleak mountain was filled with murderous yells, and fearfully illumined by the flames of lonely dwellings." Possession was taken of the passes, and of the entire country.

These grand successes awoke all the hopes of the catholics.

The papal court represented to the Spanish that the Netherlands were divided, and now without allies; there could not be a more favourable opportunity for making war upon those ancient rebels to Spain: these representations produced their intended effect\*. Peter Pectius, chancellor of Brabant, appeared in the Hague on the 25th of March, 1621, and instead of proposing the renewal of the truce, which just then expired, he proposed the recognition of the legitimate sovereign†. The states general declared this suggestion to be unjust, unexpected, nay, inhuman;—hostilities broke out again. Here, too, the Spaniards had the advantage in the first instance. They wrested Juliers from the Netherlands, thus putting a grand conclusion to their operations on the Rhine. They were masters of the left bank of the Rhine, from Emmerich to Strasburg.

These numerous concurring victories happening at once in so many various quarters, and brought about by such diversified means, when viewed in the light thrown on them by the general course of European affairs, do really constitute but a single fact. Let us now contemplate that which is the most important point for our consideration, namely, the use to which these victories were applied.

### Gregory XV.

In the procession held to celebrate the victory of the Weiss Berg, Paul V. had an apoplectic stroke, which was shortly after followed by another, from the effects of which he died, Jan. 28, 1621.

The new election was effected on the whole after the manner of preceding ones. Paul V. had reigned so long, that he had seen nearly the whole college filled anew; accordingly, by far the greater part of the cardinals were attached to his nephew, cardinal Borghese. After some hesitation, the latter pitched upon the man whom all his adherents united in approving,—Alessandro Ludovisio, of Bologna, who was forthwith elected on the 9th of February, 1621, and took the name of Gregory XV.

He was a little, phlegmatic man, who in earlier years had acquired a reputation for dexterous

\* Even Benoist says, ii. 291, "Les réformés n'auoient attendu que les premiers succès pour se ranger au même parti (de la reine)." [The Huguenots would immediately, upon the first successes of the queen's arms, have joined her party.]

† Siri: *Memorie recondite*, v. p. 148.

\* Istruttione a Mrs. Sangro. "Là onde S. M.<sup>a</sup> non può voltare le sue forze in miglor tempo ovvero opportunità."

† The proposal was literally for an union "sub agnitione dominorum principumque legitimorum." [Under the cognizance of legitimate lords and princes.] The demand and the reply are to be found in Leonis ab Alitzema, *Historia Tractatum Pacis Belgicæ*, pp. 2. 4.



negociation, and for the art of quietly and unobtrusively compassing his ends \*. At present, however, he was bent with years, weakly, and in ill health.

What was to be expected befitting that strife on which hung the destinies of the world, from a pope to whom people often feared to communicate important business, lest any shock should be given to his feeble constitution † ?

But by the side of this tottering old man stood a vigorous man of five and-twenty, his nephew Ludovico Ludovisio, who immediately possessed himself of the powers of the papacy, and displayed talents and boldness fully adequate to all that was demanded by the existing state of things.

Ludovico was a lover of pomp and splendour, and was not negligent in securing wealth, forming advantageous family connexions, and favouring and promoting his friends : he lived, and let live : still he bore a watchful eye to the great interests of the church : even his enemies grant him the possession of genuine talents for the conduct of affairs, a sound sagacity that could discover a satisfactory issue out of the most embarrassing perplexities, and all the coolness and presence of mind required to desery a possible contingency through the dim haze of the future, and to shape his course accordingly ‡. Had he not been crippled by his uncle's infirmities, which forbade him to hope for any long duration of his power, no timid suggestions of expediency would ever have moved him.

It was a very important circumstance that the nephew, as well as the uncle, was filled with the idea that the world's weal was identified with the outspread of catholicism. Cardinal Ludovisio had been educated by the Jesuits, and was their earnest patron. The church of St. Ignatius at Rome was built chiefly at his expense : he laid considerable stress on the fact that he was protector of the Capuchins, declaring that he thought this the most important patronage he enjoyed. He devoted himself with warm predilection to the most rigid and orthodox forms of Romanist opinions §.

To form a general conception of the spirit of the

\* Relazione di iv. ambasciatori, 1621 : "Di pelo ehe avvicinasse al biondo. La natura sua e sempre conosciuta placida et flemmatica, lontano dall' imbaracciarsi in rotture, amicissimo d' andare in negotio destreggiando et avanzando li propri fini."

† Rainier Zeno: Relazione di Roma, 1623 : "Aggiugendosi all' età cadente una flachissima complessione in un corpicevolo stenuato e mal affetto."

‡ Rainier Zeno : "E d'ingegno vivacissimo: l'ha dimostrato nel suo governo per l'abondanza dei partiti che in ogni grave trattazione gli suggerivano suoi spiriti nati per comandare, i quali se bene in molte parti aberravano del uopo della bona politica, nondimeno l'intrepidezza con la quale si mostrava pronto ad abbracciare ogni ripiego appreso da lui per buono, poco curandosi di consigli di chi gli haveria potuto esser maestro, davano a credere che la sua natura adognava una privata conditione." [He is a man of most lively genius, of which he has given proof in his government by the abundant resources furnished him in every difficult occasion of business by the powers of a mind naturally fitted to command; and although those powers have in many instances wandered from the interests of sound policy, nevertheless his intrepidity and promptness in seizing on every remedy he judged serviceable, regardless of counsels backed by whatever weight of authority, gave reason to believe that his nature disdained a private condition.]

§ Giunti : Vita e fatti di Ludovico Ludovisio, MS.

new administration, we need but call to mind that it was Gregory XV. under whose pontificate the Propaganda was founded, and Ignatius and Xavier, the founders of the Jesuits, were canonized.

The origin of the Propaganda is properly to be sought in an edict of Gregory XIII., by which the superintendence of missions in the east, and the printing of the catechism in the less known tongues, was committed to a number of cardinals \*. Still the institution was neither firmly established, nor provided with the requisite means ; nor was it comprehensive in its purposes. Now there flourished in those days in Rome a great preacher, named Girolamo da Narni, universally venerated for a life that had gained him the reputation of a saint ; and whose discourses from the pulpit displayed a richness of thought, a purity of expression, and a majesty of delivery, that enchanted all hearers. Bellarmine once said, on coming out from hearing a sermon by him, he believed he had just been granted one of St. Augustine's three wishes,—that of hearing St. Paul. Cardinal Ludovisio was likewise one of his patrons : he defrayed the expense of printing his sermons. This Capuchin now conceived the idea of extending the institution in question †. By his advice a congregation was established in due form, which was to hold regular sittings for the guidance and government of the missions in all parts of the world : it was to assemble at least once every month in presence of the pope. Gregory XV. supplied the first funds ; his nephew contributed from his private resources ; and as the institution was adapted to meet an actual want, the pressure of which was just then felt, its prosperity grew day by day more brilliant. Who is there that knows not what the Propaganda has done for philological learning ? In all respects indeed it has ever striven, and perhaps most successfully in its earliest periods, to fulfil its calling upon a vast and noble scale.

The canonization of the two Jesuits coincided with the same views. "At the time," says the bull, "when new worlds had been discovered, and when Luther had stood up in the old to assail the catholic church, the soul of Ignatius Loyola was stirred to found a society, which should devote itself especially to the conversion of the heathen and the bringing back of the heretics to the fold. But, above all its members, Francis Xavier proved himself worthy to be the apostle of the newly discovered nations. Therefore they are now both of them received into the list of the saints : churches and altars, on which men shall offer their sacrifice to God, shall be consecrated to them ‡."

In the spirit that breathes in this document, the new administration made instant arrangements for following up the triumphs of the catholic arms with conversions, and justifying and consolidating their conquests by the restoration of religion. "We must bend all our thoughts," says one of the first

\* Cocquelines : Prefatio ad Maffei Annales Gregorii XIII. p. 5.

† Fr. Hierothei Epitome Historica rerum Franciscanarum, etc., p. 362. Fra Girolamo had incited the pope, "publicis suasionibus et consiliis privatis," [to public exhortations and private counsels.] Compare Corri, Etat présent de l'église Romaine, p. 289, where is also to be found a circumstantial account of the institution and of the increase of its wealth.

‡ Bullarium, Cocquelines, v. 131. 137.



instructions issued by Gregory XV., "towards deriving the utmost possible advantage from the happy change and victorious condition of the affairs of the church." A purpose most brilliantly fulfilled.

### CHAPTER III.

#### GENERAL OUTSPREAD OF CATHOLICISM.

##### I. *Bohemia and the hereditary dominions of Austria.*

THE attention of the papal power was first directed to the rising fortunes of catholicism in the Austrian provinces.

Gregory XV., whilst granting the emperor double the subsidies previously paid to him\*, and promising him at the same time no inconsiderable extraordinary present, though, as he said, he had hardly left himself enough to support life, urged him not to lose a moment in following up his victory with the utmost speed, and proceeding therewith in the restoration of the catholic religion†. By that restoration alone could he evince his gratitude to the God of victory. He argues from the principle that rebellion had entailed upon the nations the necessity of more rigorous control, and that they should be compelled by force to abandon their godless ways.

The nuncio whom Gregory XV. sent to the emperor was Carlo Caraffa, well known to German history. From the two reports of his that have been preserved, the one printed, the other in manuscript, we may confidently infer what measures he adopted to obtain the ends proposed by the pope.

His first care in Bohemia, where his official duties began, was to remove the protestant preachers and schoolmasters, "who were guilty of treason against human and divine majesty."

This was no very easy task. The members of the imperial government at Prague thought it still too hazardous; nor did they venture upon it till the 13th of December, 1621, when Mansfeld had been driven out of the Upper Palatinate, all danger from without had been repelled, and a couple of regiments, enrolled at the request of the nuncio, had marched into Prague; and even then the two Lutheran preachers were spared in deference to the elector of Saxony. The nuncio, representing a principle that knew no respect of persons, would not hear of this, and complained that the whole people clung to those men; that a catholic priest had nothing to do, and could not procure a subsistence‡. He carried his point at last in October

1622, and the Lutheran preachers were banished. For a moment the fears of the government counsellors seemed likely to be justified by the event; the elector of Saxony issued a threatening letter, and assumed a hostile attitude: with regard to the most important questions, even the emperor said once to the nuncio that he had been too precipitate, and that he would have done better to wait a more favourable opportunity\*. The fit means, however, to hold Ferdinand steadfast to his purpose were known; the old bishop of Würzburg represented to him "that danger would never appal a glorious emperor; it were better for him in any case to fall into the power of men than into the hands of the living God." The emperor yielded. The nuncio had the triumph of seeing the elector of Saxony submit at last to the removal of the preachers, and withdraw his opposition.

The way was now smoothed. Dominicans, Augustines, and Carmelites, succeeded to the places of the protestant preachers, for as yet there was a sensible dearth of secular clergy. A whole colony of Franciscans arrived from Guesen; Jesuits were not wanting; when a dispatch arrived from the Propaganda, requesting them to take upon themselves the duties of parish priests, they had already done so†.

And now the only possible question remaining was, whether the national Utraquist ritual might not be partially at least retained, according to the determinations of the council of Basel. The government council, and the governor himself, prince Lichtenstein, were for it‡: they allowed the administration of the Lord's Supper to take place

*I parrochi cattolici per vedersi da essi (Luterani) levarsi ogni emolumento.* [The catholic parish priests were driven to desperation by seeing themselves deprived by the Lutherans of all emolument.] The printed Commentarii, however, contain a more plausible ground of complaint: "*Quam diu illi hærebant, tamdiu adhuc sperabant sectarii S. Majestatem concessurum aliquando liberam facultatem.*" (p. 130.) [As long as they remained in their posts, so long the sectarians thought that his majesty would grant toleration.]

\* Caraffa, Ragguglio: "*Sua Ma. mi si dimostrò con questo di qualche pensiere, ed uscì a dirmi che si aveva havuto troppo prescia e che saria stato meglio cacciare quei predicanti in altro tempo dopo che si fosse tenuto il convento in Ratisbona. Al che io replicai che Sua Maestà poteva avere più tosto errato nella tardanza che nella fretta circa questo fatto, poichè se il Sassone fosse venuto al convento, di che non ammettono che egli avesse avuta mai la volontà, si sapeva per ognuno che haverebbe domandato a S. Maestà che a sua contemplazione permettesse in Praga l'esercizio Luterano che già vi era.*" [His majesty manifested some concern at this, and told me there had been too much haste in the matter, and that it would have been better to expel those preachers some other time after the convention in Ratisbon. To which I replied, that possibly his majesty had rather erred in the matter in the way of tardiness than of speed, since, if the elector of Saxony had come to the meeting, of which they do not admit that he ever entertained an intention, it was notorious that he would have demanded of his majesty that he should endure the exercise of Lutheranism in Prague as it already existed.]

† Cordara, *Historia Societatis Jesu*, tom. vi. lib. vii. p. 38.

‡ According to the received notions, e. g. in Senkenberg, continuation of the *Reichshistorie* by Häberlin, v. 25, p. 156, note k, we should believe the contrary of Lichtenstein: this, however, would be quite erroneous, as appears from Caraffa. The nuncio, on the other hand, met with support from Plateis.

\* The subsidy was raised from 20,000 gulden to 20,000 scudi. The present amounted to 200,000 scudi. He would have wished that regiments had been supported out of this money under papal authority.

† Instruzione al vescovo d'Aversa, 12 Apr. 1621: "*Non è tempo di indugi nè di coperti andamenti.*" [It is no time for delays or for covert proceedings.] They thought at Rome that Buequoi in particular was far too slow. "*La prestezza apportarebbe il remedio di tanti mali, se dal conte de Buequoi per altro valoroso capitano ella si potesse sperare.*" [Prompt proceedings would afford a remedy for a great number of evils, if they could be expected of count Buequoi, valorous captain though he be.]

‡ Caraffa, Ragguglio, MS.: "*Conducevano in disperatione*

once more in both kinds on Holy Thursday, 1622, and a feeling already began to find voice among the people against their being despoiled of that ancient hereditary usage. But no arguments could bend the nuncio's determination: he adhered inflexibly to the views of the curia, well knowing that the emperor would in the end sanction the course he took; and in fact he succeeded in procuring from him a declaration that his temporal government had no right to interfere in religious matters. Hereupon the mass was performed every where exclusively after the Roman ritual, in Latin, with aspersion of holy water, and invocation of the saints: all thought of the celebration of the Lord's Supper in both kinds was out of the question; the boldest upholders of that usage were cast into prison. Finally, too, the symbol of Utraquism, the great cup, with the sword, displayed on the Thin church, the sight of which kept the old reminiscences alive, was taken down. On the 10th of July, which day had always been kept as a holiday sacred to the memory of John Huss, the churches were carefully closed.

This extreme enforcement of Romish dogmas and usages was now backed by the political measures of the government. Confiscations brought a considerable part of the landed property of the country into catholic hands; the acquisition of real estates by protestants was rendered next to impossible\*; the councils were changed in all the royal cities; no member would have been tolerated in them whose catholicism was liable to suspicion; the rebels were pardoned as soon as they became converts; while the refractory, those who could not be persuaded, and who would not hearken to ghostly admonitions, had troops quartered in their houses, "in order," as the nuncio says, in express terms, "that vexation might bring them to their senses †."

The effect of these combined efforts of force and argument surpassed even the nuncio's expectations. He was astonished to see how numerously the churches in Prague were attended, there being present on many Sunday mornings from two to three thousand persons; and how decent, devout, and, to outward appearance, catholic was their deportment. He attributed this to the fact, that the feelings and reminiscences of catholicism had never been wholly extinguished in Prague; as was instanced in the people refusing to allow the great crucifix on the bridge to be removed even by the wife of King Frederick: the real cause was, doubtless, that protestant conviction had never thoroughly pervaded the masses. Conversations proceeded without interruption: the Jesuits alone asserted that in the year 1624 they had brought back sixteen thousand souls to the catholic church ‡.

\* Caraffa: "Con ordine che non si potessero inserir nelle tavole del regno, il che apportò indicibile giovamento alla riforma per tutto quel tempo." (With a regulation to the effect, that they could not be inscribed in the registers of the realm, a measure of unspeakable advantage in furthering the reform during all that time.)

† "Acciò il travaglio desse loro senso ed intelletto." This is also repeated in the printed work: "Cognitumque fuit solum vexationem posse Bohemis intellectum præbere."

‡ Caraffa: "Messovi un sacerdote catolico di molta dottrina, e poi facendosi missioni ad alcuni padri Gesuiti." [A catholic priest of much learning having been sent thither, and afterwards some Jesuit missionaries.]

In Tabor, where protestantism seemed to prevail exclusively, fifty families conformed to the church in Easter, 1622, and all the remaining families in Easter, 1623. In course of time Bohemia became completely catholic.

The like events happened in Moravia as in Bohemia; and that with the more rapidity, since cardinal Dietrichstein, being at once governor of the country and bishop of Olmütz, united the powers of the spiritual and the secular authority to the end in view. But a peculiar difficulty presented itself here. The nobility would not submit to be deprived of the Moravian brethren, whose domestic and agricultural services were invaluable, and the localities occupied by whom were the most thriving in the country\*: speakers were found on their behalf even in the emperor's privy council. Nevertheless, here too the nuncio, and the principle of which he was the instrument, were victorious. About fifteen thousand were expelled.

The young count Thurn had once more led the protestant banners to victory in the Glatz country, but the Poles came to the assistance of the imperialists; the country was overpowered, the town too was captured, and the catholic worship restored with the usual rigour. Some sixty preachers were banished; they were followed by no small number of their flock, whose property was confiscated in consequence: the multitude returned to catholicism †.

Under these circumstances, the so often repeated and so often abortive attempts to restore catholic-

\* Raguaglio di Caraffa: "Essendo essi tenuti huomini d'industria e d'integrità venivano impiegati nella custodia de' terreni, delle case, delle cantine e de' molini, oltre che lavorando eccellentemente in alcuni mestieri erano divenuti ricchi e contribuivano gran parte del loro guadagno a' signori de' luoghi ne quali habitavano, sebbene da qualche tempo indietro havevano cominciato a corrompersi, essendo entrato tra di loro l'ambizione e l'avarizia con qualche parte di lusso per comodità della vita. Costoro si erano sempre andati aumentando in Moravia, percióche oltre a quelli che seducevano nella provincia e ne' luoghi convicini havevano corrispondenza per tutti li luoghi della Germania, di dove ricorrevano alla loro fratellanza tutti quelli che per debito o povertà disperavano potersi sostenere, e specialmente veniva ad essi gran numero di poveri Grisoni e di Svevia lasciandosi rapire da quel nome di fratellanza e sicurtà di avere sempre del pane, che in casa loro diffidavano potersi col proprio sudore guadagnare; onde si sono avanzati alle volte sino al numero di centomila." [Being esteemed men of diligence and integrity, they were employed in the care of lands, houses, cellars, and mills; besides which, being excellent workmen in some trades, they were become rich, and contributed a large part of their gains to the lords of the soil where they resided, though for some time past they have begun to be corrupted, ambition and avarice having crept in among them, with some degree of luxury in their habits of life. Their numbers have been constantly on the increase in Moravia, because, in addition to those whom they inveigled in the province and the adjacent parts, they kept up a correspondence with all parts of Germany, whence there flocked to their fraternity all those who, either from debt or poverty, despaired of maintaining themselves; and especially they received a great number of poor people from the Grisons, and from Suabia, who suffered themselves to be caught by the name of brotherhood, and by the assurance of always having a sufficiency of bread, which they despaired of earning at home by their own exertions, whence their numbers have amounted at times to a hundred thousand.]

† Köglers Chronik von Glatz: i. iii. 92.

cism in Austria proper were at last renewed with decided success \*. The preachers who were charged with rebellion were first banished, and afterwards all others: provided with a scanty viaticum, the poor men slowly ascended the Danube, taunted with the cry, "Where now is your strong tower?" The emperor roundly declared to the estates of the country "that he wholly and decidedly reserved to himself and his posterity the disposal of all things pertaining to religion." In October, 1624, appeared a commission, which appointed an interval for the inhabitants, during which they were to make up their minds either to profess catholicism or to quit the country. The nobility alone were granted some momentary indulgence.

It was not possible to proceed so violently in Hungary, conquered though it was; but there too the course of events, the favour of the government, and, above all, the exertions of archbishop Pazmany, brought about a change. Pazmany possessed extraordinary skill as a writer in his mother tongue. His book, called "Kalauz," full of talent and learning, was irresistible among his countrymen. He was also endowed with the power of eloquence, and is said to have personally effected the conversion of fifty families; among whom we find the names of Zrinyi, Forgacz, Erdödy, Balassa, Jakusith, Homonay, and Adam Thurzo. Count Adam Zrinyi alone expelled twenty protestant parish clergymen, and placed catholic priests in their stead. Under such influences, the political affairs of the kingdom of Hungary likewise took a new turn. The catholic Austrian party had a majority in the diet of 1625. A convert, recommended by the court, an Esterhazy, was made palatine.

But a distinction is to be noticed in this case. The conversions in Hungary were far more voluntary than in the other provinces; the magnates surrendered not a single right in consequence, but may rather be considered to have gained new ones. In the Austro-Bohemian territories, on the contrary, the entire independence, energy, and power of the estates, had thrown themselves into the forms of protestantism; their conversion was, if not in every case, yet on the whole compulsory: in those provinces the restoration of catholicism was accompanied by the establishment of the government's absolute authority.

\* This had been the emperor's first thought, even before the battle of Prague, when Maximilian first entered the territory of Upper Austria: he urged the latter to depose the preachers instantaneously, "so that the pipers might be dismissed and a stop put to the dance." His letter is in Breier's continuation of Wolf's Maximilian, iv. 414. In the year 1624 the Jesuits got the university of Vienna completely into their hands. "Imperator societatem academice intexuit et in unum quasi corpus confluxit, data illi amplissima potestate docendi literas humaniores, linguam Latinam, Græcam, Hebræicam, philosophiam denique omnem ac theologiam." *Monitum ad statuta acad.* Vindob. recentiora. Kollar Anal. ii. p. 282. [The emperor interwove the society into the university, and incorporated them as it were into one body, conferring on it the most ample power of teaching polite letters, the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues, the whole body of philosophy, and theology.]

† "Wo ist nun eure feste Burg?" In allusion, doubtless, to Luther's noble hymn, beginning with

"Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott."

"A tower of strength our God is still."—[Translator.]

‡ Hodoegus, *Igazságra vezérli Kalauz*; Presb. 1613, 1623.

## II. The Empire. Transfer of the Electorate.

We know how much greater progress had already been made in the German empire than in the hereditary dominions of Austria; notwithstanding this, the new events had an indescribable effect even there.

The counter reformation at once acquired a fresh impetus and a new field of action.

After Maximilian had taken possession of the Upper Palatinate, he did not lose much time in changing the religion established there. He divided the country into twenty stations, in which fifty Jesuits were employed: the churches were forcibly transferred to them, and the use of the protestant service universally forbidden. The more the probability increased that the country would remain permanently annexed to Bavaria, the more ready were the inhabitants to conform\*.

The conquerors looked on the Lower Palatinate as their own property. Maximilian even made a present of the Heidelberg library to the pope!

Before the conquest the pope had solicited that favour of the duke, through Montorio the nuncio in Cologne, and the duke had promised it with his usual alacrity. Upon the first intelligence of the capture of Heidelberg, Montorio enforced his claim. He had been told that the MSS. in particular were of inestimable value, and he sent a special entreaty to Tilly to protect them carefully from injury in the pillage†. The pope then sent doctor Leone Allacci, scriptor of the Vatican, to Germany to take possession of the books. Gregory XV. regarded this matter in a very exalted point of view. He declared it one of the most fortunate events of his pontificate, which would tend to the honour and advantage of the holy see, the church, and the sciences: it would also redound to the glory of the Bavarian name, that so precious a booty should be preserved to everlasting memory in the world's great theatre, Rome‡.

The duke manifested in the Palatinate his usual indefatigable zeal for reform, surpassing even the Spaniards, who were yet no indifferent catholics§. With rapture the nuncio beheld the mass celebrated, and conversions taking place in Heidelberg, "whence had issued the norma of the Calvinists, the notorious catechism."

Meanwhile the elector Schweikard reformed the Bergstrasse, of which he had taken possession, and margrave William, Upper Baden, which had been adjudged his after a long litigation, though his birth was scarcely legitimate, not to say of due nobility through both parents: he had previously given a distinct pledge to Caraffa that he would pursue that line of conduct in the event of his suc-

\* Kropff, *Historia societatis Jesu in Germania superiori*, iv. p. 271.

† *Relazione di Mr. Montorio ritornato nuncio di Colonia, 1624.* The passage is in the Appendix, No. 109.

‡ "Che così pretioso spoglio e così nobil trofeo si conservi a perpetua memoria in questo teatro del mondo." Istruzione al dottore Leon Allatio per andare in Germania per la libreria del Palatino. We will examine its authenticity in the Appendix, No. 101.

§ Montorio: "Benchè nelle terre che occupano i Spagnuoli non si camini con quel fervore con quale si camina in quelle che occupa il Sr. Du. di Baviera alla conversione de' popoli."

ceeding \*. Even in countries not immediately affected by the political occurrences of the day, the old efforts were renewed with fresh zeal, in Bamberg †, Fulda, Eichsfeld, in Paderborn, where two catholics had successively filled the episcopal chair, above all, in the diocese of Münster, where Meppen, Vechta, Halteren, and many other districts were made catholic in the year 1624. Archbishop Ferdinand established missions in nearly all the towns, and a college of Jesuits ‡ in Cönnfeld "for the revival of the ancient and much chilled catholic religion." We meet with Jesuit missionaries as far as Halberstadt and Magdeburg, and they set themselves down in Altona to learn the language, and then to advance into Denmark and Norway.

We see with what vehemence catholicism gushed from Upper into Lower Germany, from south to north. Meanwhile an attempt was made to carry a new position, bearing upon the general affairs of the empire.

Immediately upon the conclusion of the league, Ferdinand II. had given a promise to duke Maximilian, that in case of success the electorate should be transferred to him §.

It cannot be a question what was the chief consideration that actuated the catholic party in this matter. The majority of votes which that party possessed in the council of princes, had hitherto been counter-balanced by the equality of voices possessed by the protestants in the electoral college; the transfer of the electorate would for ever remove that check ||.

A close friendship had long subsisted between the papal court and Bavaria, and Gregory XV. now made this matter his own personal concern.

He caused the king to be exhorted by the very first nuncio he sent to Spain, to contribute to the ruin of the count Palatine, and to the

transfer of the electorate, measures which would for ever secure the imperial crown to the catholics \*. The Spaniards were not very easily to be moved to that course. They were engaged in the most important negotiations with the king of England, and scrupled to offend him in the person of his son-in-law, the count palatine Frederick, to whom the electorate belonged. The pope grew but more zealous in the cause; he was not content to employ the nuncio only, but in the year 1622, we find also the adroit Capuchin brother Hyacinth, who possessed the special confidence of Maximilian, engaged in a special mission from the pope to the Spanish court †. It was with extreme reluctance the Spaniards ventured to commit themselves more explicitly in the matter: all that could at last be obtained from the king, was a declaration that he would rather see the electorate in the house of Bavaria than in his own. This was sufficient for brother Hyacinth, and with that declaration he hastened to Vienna, to allay whatever scruples the emperor might have conceived in deference to Spain. There he was aided by the wonted influence of the nuncio Caraffa, and even by a fresh brief from the pope himself: "Behold," exclaimed the pope to the emperor in that document, "the gates of heaven are opened, the heavenly hosts urge thee on to win so great an honour; they will fight for thee in thy camp." The emperor was further wrought upon by a special consideration which very strikingly characterises the man. He had long pondered the transfer, and had given expression to that purpose in a letter which fell into the hands of the protestants, and was published by them. The emperor felt himself as it were bound by this. He thought it essential to the maintenance of his imperial dignity to adhere to a purpose once conceived by him, so soon as its existence was made known. In fine he made up his mind to proceed to the transfer at the next diet ‡.

The only question was, as to whether the princes of the empire would consent. Most depended on Schweikard of Mainz, and the nuncio Montorio at least assures us that at first that thoughtful prince was averse to the measure; that he had declared to the emperor that war would break out afresh, and rage more fiercely than before; that moreover, if a change was by all means to take place, the count Palatine of Neuburg had the nearer right to the electorate, and could not possibly be passed over. The nuncio does not tell us how he at last persuaded the prince. His words are: "In the four or five days I passed with him at Aschaffenburg I obtained the desired decision." All we know is, that earnest support was promised on the pope's part, should war break out anew.

But the resolution of the elector of Mainz was decisive of the matter. His two Rhenish colleagues followed his opinion. Though Brandenburg and Saxony still opposed the measure (the opposition of Saxony was not overcome till a later period by the archbishop of Mainz §,) though the Spanish

\* Caraffa, Germania restaurata, p. 129.

† Johann Georg Fuchs, of Dornheim, was particularly active, and brought back to catholicism twenty-three knights' parishes. Jäck: Geschichte von Bamberg, il. 120.

‡ A letter from one of his assistants, Joh. Drachter, dean of Dülmen, is conceived in very curious terms: "Üngern hab ich I. Ch. D. einen grossen Anzhall der himmlischen Schäfren überschreiben willen, und mich uf die heutige Stunde noch lieber bearbeitet noch alle mit einander mit awebender Furcht in den rechten Schafstall hineinzujaugen, wie dann och Balthasar Bilderbeck und Caspar Karl mit zwen Füssen schon hineingestiegen." [I have been loth to report to your electoral highness a great multitude of the brainless sheep, and I have rather exerted myself up to the present hour to drive the whole flock in a panic into the right fold, and already Balthasar Bilderbeck and Caspar Karl have made a leap and gone in.] Compare generally the documents given by Niesert, Münsterche Urkundensammlung, I. p. 402.

§ Letter from the emperor to Baltazar de Zuniga, 15 Oct. 1621, printed in Sattler: Württemberg. Geschichte vi. p. 162.

|| Instruzione a Mr. Sacchetti, nuntio in Spagno, designates the restitution of the Palatinate as an "irreparable perdita della reputazione di questo fatto e della chiesa cattolica se il papa ci avesse condesceso, con indicibile danno della religione cattolica e dell' imperio: che tanti e tanti anni hanno bramato, senza poterlo sapere, non che ottenere, il quarto elettore cattolico in servitio ancora del sangue Austriaco." [Irreparable loss of the credit of that achievement and of the catholic church, if the pope had condescended to it, to the inexpressible injury of the catholic religion, and of the empire; for many and many a year they have longed, without being able to devise or effect it, to have a fourth catholic elector in the interest of the house of Austria.]

\* Instruzione a Mons. Sangro. He is exhorted "di infervorare S. M<sup>ta</sup> acciò non si lasci risorgere il Palatino e si metta l'elettorato in persona cattolica, e si assicuri l'impero eternamente fra cattolici."

† Khevenhiller, ix. p. 1766.

‡ Caraffa: Germania restaurata, p. 120.

§ Montorio calls Schweikard "unico instigatore a far voltare Sassonia a favore dell' Imperatore nella translatione

ambassador now declared directly against it \*, still the emperor steadily persisted. On the 21st of February, 1623, he transferred the electorate to his victorious ally; at first indeed the possession was to be but personal, the Palatine heirs and agnates retaining their rights for the future.

Even upon this condition, however, an immensity had been gained, above all the preponderance in the supreme council of the empire, whose assent henceforth gave a legal sanction to every new resolution in favour of catholicism.

Maximilian saw clearly how much he was indebted to pope Gregory XV. in this business. "Your holiness," he writes to him, "has not only forwarded this matter, but absolutely accomplished it by your admonitions, your authority, and your zealous exertions. It must be ascribed wholly and solely to the favour and vigilance of your holiness."

"Thy letter, O son," replied Gregory XV., "has filled our breast with a flood of delight, sweet as manna from heaven: at last may the daughter of Zion cast from her head the ashes of mourning, and clothe herself in festive garments †."

### 3. France.

At the same time as these things were passing in Germany, the great tide in the affairs of France set in.

Upon enquiring whence chiefly arose the losses of protestantism in the year 1621, we shall find them to have originated in the discord of the party, and the apostasy of the nobles. It is very possible that the latter was due in part to those republican tendencies which were founded as well on a municipal as a theological basis, and were unfavourable to the influence of the nobility. The nobles probably thought it more to their advantage to attach themselves to the king and the court, than to let themselves be ruled by preachers and burgo-masters. Be it as it may, in the year 1621, the governors of the fortified towns vied with each other in giving them up: each man sought only to bargain for an advantageous post for himself. This was repeated in the year 1622. La Force and Chatillon received the truncheons of marshal on deserting their corcligionists: the aged Lesdi-

guieres became catholic \*, and even commanded a division against the protestants: many others were led away by these examples †. Under these circumstances, it was but a very unfavourable peace that could be concluded in 1622, nor durst the Huguenots flatter themselves with the hope that it would be preserved. Formerly, when the protestants were powerful, the king had many times exceeded and broken through his treaties with them: was it likely he would observe them now when their strength was lost? The stipulations of the treaty were set at naught in every particular; the exercise of the protestant religion was in many places absolutely prevented; the Huguenots were prohibited from singing their psalms in the streets and in the shops; their rights in the universities were curtailed ‡; Fort Louys, which according to promise should have been razed, was kept standing; an attempt was made to get the election of magistrates in the protestant towns into the royal hands §; by an edict of the 17th of April, 1622, a commissioner for the convocations of the protestants was appointed, and after the party had once submitted to such violent inroads upon their ancient immunities, the government interposed in their affairs of a purely ecclesiastical nature: the Huguenots were hindered by the commissioner from accepting the decrees of the synod of Dort.

Their independence was gone; they were no longer capable of any steadfast resistance. Conversions spread widely amongst them on all sides.

The Capuchins filled Poitou and Languedoc with missions ||; the Jesuits who possessed new establishments in Aix, Lyon, Pau, and many other places, made the greatest progress in the towns and throughout the country; their brotherhoods of the Virgin attracted universal notice and approbation, by their exertions on behalf of the wounded in the last war ¶.

Some Franciscans, too, distinguished themselves; such as father Villele of Bourdeaux, of whom the almost fabulous story is told, that after he had brought over the whole town of Foix, he effected likewise the conversion of a man of upwards of a hundred years of age, the very same who had once received the first protestant preacher from Calvin's hand, and introduced him into Foix. The protestant church was pulled down, and the triumphant fathers had the banished preacher accompanied from town by a trumpeter \*\*.

In a word, the work of conversion made rapid progress; high and low, and even the learned, recanted: the latter were particularly moved by the demonstration that the ancient church, even previously to the council of Nice, had invoked the saints, prayed for the dead, and possessed a hierarchy, and many catholic usages.

\* Mémoires de Deageant, p. 190: several other passages are also very important respecting this conversion.

† Liste des gentilshommes de la religion réduits au roi, in Malingre, Histoire des derniers troubles arrivés en France, p. 789. Rohan also concluded his treaty; but unfortunately the particulars of it given in the *Mercur de France*, vii. p. 845, are not authentic.

‡ Benoist, ii. 419.

§ Rohan, *Mém.* i. iii.

|| Instruzione all' arcivescovo di Danmala, MS.

¶ Cordara: *Historia societatis Jesu*, vii. 95. 118.

\*\* Relation catholique inserted in the *Mercur François*, viii. 489.

dell' elettorato. [The sole instigator of the elector of Saxony's change of sentiments in favour of the emperor, with regard to the transfer of the electorate.]

\* Onate's declaration, and the violent letter of Ludoviso against the restoration of an electorate to a blasphemous Calvinist, are in Khevenhiller, x. 67, 68.

† Giunti, Vita di Ludoviso Ludovisi, gives the chief credit to the nephew. "Da S. S. e dal Cie. furono scritte molte lettere anche di proprio pugno pieno d'ardore et efficacia per disporre Cesare, et in oltre fu mandato Mor. Verospi auditor di rota e dopo il P. F. Giacinto di Casale Capuccino." [His holiness and the cardinals wrote many letters, and with their own hands too, full of earnest and cogent arguments to urge the emperor on; and, furthermore, Mons. Verospi, auditor di rota, was sent on a mission on the subject, and after him father Giacinto di Casale, a Capuchin.] By these persons the emperor was told, "che il vicario di Christo per parte del S. fin con le lacrime lo pregava e scongiurava e le ne prometteva felicità e sicurezza della sua salute." [That Christ's vicar besought and conjured him, on the part of the Saviour, even with tears, and promised him, in consideration of obedience, felicity and assured salvation.]

There have come down to us reports of some bishops, from which we can collect the numerical proportions of the two confessions, as fixed under these circumstances. In the diocese of Poitiers half the inhabitants of some towns were protestants, as for instance Lusignan and St. Mairant; in others a third, such as Chauvigney and Niort; a fourth in Loudun; in Poitiers itself only a twentieth; and a far lesser proportion still in the country parts\*. The bishops were in immediate communication with Rome with respect to the conversions, sending in reports and mentioning their wishes: the nuncio was instructed to lay before the king, and to back with his recommendation whatever they should communicate to him. In these reports they often went into very minute particulars. The bishop of Vienne, for instance, finds the missionaries especially obstructed by a preacher in St. Marcellin, whom there was no defeating; the nuncio is engaged to exert himself at court for his removal. He is called on to support the bishop of St. Malo, who complains that catholic worship is not tolerated in a castle of his diocese. He is to procure for the bishop of Xaintes an able proselytizer, who is pointed out to him by name. Sometimes the bishops are called on, when they encounter obstacles, to state more explicitly what can be done, so that the nuncio may propose it to the king†.

The period was marked by a close union of all spiritual authorities with the Propaganda, which, as we have said, displayed most activity and efficacy in its early years, and with the pope; by zeal and lively assiduity in following up the consequences of a decisive victory in arms; and by the cordial co-operation therein of the court, which discerned its own great political interest in the struggle. It was therefore a period in which was

\* Relazione del vescovo di Portiero, 1623, MS.

† Instruzione al arcivescovo di Damietta:—one example may suffice. "Dalla relazione del vescovo di Candon si cava che ha il detto vescovo in terra di Neaco, ove sono molti eretici, con una missione di Gesuiti, li quali in danno s'affaticano se con l'autorità temporale il re non dà qualche buon ordine: ed ella potrà scrivere al detto vescovo che avvisi ciò che può fare Sua Mtà, perchè nella relazione non lo specifica. Da quella del vescovo di S. Malo s'intende che in un castello e villa del marchese di Moussaye è solo lecito di predicare a Calvinisti: però sarebbe bene di ricordare alla Mtà. del re che levasse i predicatori acciocchè i missionarij del vescovo potessero far frutto: il castello e villa non è nominato nella relazione, e però si potrà scrivere al vescovo per saperlo. Il vescovo di Montpellier avvisa di haver carestia d'operarij e che dagli eretici sono sentiti volentieri i padri Cappuccini, onde se gli potrebbe procurare una missione di questi padri." [It appears from the report of the bishop of Candon, that he has introduced into the country of Neaco, where there are many heretics, Jesuit missionaries, whose labours will be all fruitless if the king does not interpose his temporal authority: you may write to the said bishop and desire him to state what his majesty can do, for he does not specify it in his report. From the report of the bishop of St. Malo, it appears, that in a castle and town belonging to the marquis of Moussaye, the Calvinists alone are allowed to preach; wherefore it would be well to put his majesty in mind of removing the preachers, so that the bishop's missionaries might have opportunity of labouring with effect. The castle and city are not named in the report, so the bishop may be written to, to name them. The bishop of Montpellier writes that he lacks labourers, and that the heretics listen with alacrity to the Capuchins, for which reason a mission of those fathers might be furnished him.]

for ever decided the downfall of protestantism in France.

#### 4. United Netherlands.

Now these advances of catholicism were not confined to countries where the government was of that faith; they manifested themselves at the same moment under protestant rulers.

We are astonished when we read in Bentivoglio, that in those cities of the Netherlands which had so heroically and so long withstood the king of Spain, chiefly in behalf of their religion, probably the greater part of the eminent families had gone over again to catholicism\*; but it is still more startling when we find a very minute and circumstantial report of the year 1622, detailing the increase and progress of catholicism under such unfavourable circumstances. It was in the year 1592 the first Jesuit arrived in the Netherlands, and in 1622 the order counted there twenty-two members. New labourers were continually pouring in from the colleges of Cologne and Louvain; in the year 1622 there were two hundred and twenty secular priests employed in the country, but their numbers were far from adequate to the calls made on them. According to the above-mentioned report, the number of catholics in the arch-diocese of Utrecht amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand; in the diocese of Haarlem, to which Amsterdam belonged, to one hundred thousand souls; Leuwarden possessed fifteen thousand, Gröningen twenty thousand, Deventer sixty thousand catholics. The apostolic vicar sent at that time from the see of Rome to Deventer, imparted in three towns and a few villages in that diocese, confirmation to twelve thousand persons. The numbers in this report are no doubt much exaggerated; still we see that this pre-eminently protestant country was yet strongly leavened with catholicism. Even those bishoprics which Philip II. had endeavoured to introduce there were constantly recognized by the catholics†. It was probably this state of things that inspired the Spaniards with courage to renew the war against the Low Countries.

#### 5. State of catholicism in England.

Meanwhile more peaceful prospects had unfolded themselves in England. The son of Mary Stuart united the crowns of Great Britain, and he now approximated more decidedly than ever to the catholic powers.

Previously to the accession of James I. to the English throne, Clement VIII. sent him word "that he prayed for him as the son of so virtuous a mother; that he wished him all temporal and spiritual welfare, and trusted yet to see him a catholic." James's advent to the throne was celebrated in Rome with solemn prayers and processions.

\* Relazione delle provincie ubbidienti, parte ii. c. 11, in which the state of religion in Holland is discussed.

† Compendium status in quo nunc est religio catholica in Hollandia et confederatis Belgii provinciis, 2 Dec. 1622: "His non obstantibus—laus Deo—quotidie crescit catholicorum numerus, præsertim accedente dissensione hæreticorum inter se." [Notwithstanding these things, thanks be to God, the number of the catholics daily increases, especially since the heretics have fallen out among themselves.]



James could not have ventured to make any corresponding return to these advances, even had he been so disposed; but he allowed Parry, his ambassador to Paris, to enter into confidential relations with Bualis, the nuncio at the same court. The latter produced a letter from the pope's nephew, Cardinal Aldobrandini; wherein the latter admonished the English catholics to obey James as their king and natural lord, and even to pray for him. This was met on Parry's part by an instruction from James, in which he promised to let the peaceable catholics live without molestation\*.

In fact, in the north of England people began again openly to attend mass: the puritans complained that within a short period fifty thousand Englishmen had gone over to catholicism; to which James is said to have made answer, that "they might go and convert an equal number of Spaniards and Italians."

These successes may have prompted the catholics to strain their hopes too far. But as the king persisted in his preference for the opposite side, as the old acts of parliament were renewed, and fresh persecutions were set on foot, their irritation grew proportionally intense, till at last it found fearful expression in the gunpowder plot.

After that event there was no possibility of any toleration on the king's part. The most severe laws were enacted and enforced: domiciliary visits, imprisonments, and fines, were inflicted; the priests, more especially the Jesuits, were persecuted and banished; the utmost rigour was deemed necessary to check such enterprising foes.

But in private interviews the king's expressions were very moderate. He said outright to a prince of the house of Lorraine, who once visited him not without the knowledge of Paul V., that after all there was but little difference between the two confessions. He thought his own indeed the best; he adopted it from conviction, and not from motives of policy: still he was fond of hearing other opinions; and since the calling of a council was beset by insuperable difficulties, he would very gladly see a convention of learned men established for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation. If the pope would advance but one step to meet him, he would himself advance four. He too acknowledged the authority of the holy father. Augustine was of more weight with him than Luther, St. Bernard than Calvin; nay, he beheld in the Roman church, even in that of the day, the true church, the mother of all others; only she needed purification. He admitted (though indeed he would not say as much to a nuncio, however he might go so far in confidence to a friend and a cousin) that the pope was the head of the church, the supreme bishop†. It was therefore doing him great wrong

to regard him as a heretic or a schismatic: a heretic he was not, for he believed the very same as the pope believed, only the pope admitted some few articles of faith more than he; neither was he a schismatic, for he held the pope to be the head of the church.

Entertaining such views as these, and a corresponding aversion to the puritanical side of protestantism, the king would certainly have much more gladly come to a peaceable understanding with the catholics than have kept them down by force, and at his own incessant peril.

They were still numerous and powerful in England. In spite of great defeats and losses, or perhaps exactly in consequence of these, Ireland was in a state of continual ferment: it was of serious moment to the king to put an end to the insubordination of that country\*.

Now it must be observed, that both the English and the Irish catholics were attached to Spain. The Spanish ambassadors in London, dexterous, shrewd, and sumptuous men, had gathered round them an extraordinary body of hangers on: their chapels were always full, and Passion-week was celebrated there with great solemnity. The ambassadors, moreover, often opened their doors to their co-religionists: they were looked on, as a Venetian says, in the light of legates from the apostolic see.

I do not apprehend we should greatly err in conjecturing, that it was principally this cause that suggested to king James the thought of marrying his heir to a Spanish princess. He hoped thereby to make sure of the catholics, and to conciliate for his own house the regard in which the latter held that of Spain. Foreign relations contributed a fresh motive: for it was to be expected that the house of Austria, when so nearly related to him, would be more favourable to his son-in-law the elector palatine.

The only question was, whether the thing was practicable. The difference in point of religion, constituted a difficulty of a nature in those days really very hard to overcome.

The real world, and the common place course of things, are always encompassed by a fantastic element, that finds its expression in poetry and romantic narrations, through which it readily affects the minds of youth, and re-acts on the events of life. The negotiations respecting the marriage being tediously protracted from day to day, and from month to month, the prince of Wales, in concert with his confidant and companion Buckingham, conceived the romantic design of setting out in person to fetch his bride†. The Spanish

\* Breve relatione di quanto si è trattato tra S. Sta. ed il re d'Inghilterra. (MS. Rom.)

† "Che riconosce la chiesa Romana, etiandio quella d' adesso, per la vera chiesa e madre di tutte, ma ch'ella aveva bisogno d'esser purgata, e di più ch'egli sapeva che V. Sta. e capo di essa chiesa e primo vescovo." [That he owns the church of Rome, even that of the present day, for the true mother church, though it needed purification, and that he knows your holiness is head of that church and first bishop.] expressions altogether incapable of being reconciled with the principle of the English church, though they were attributed from other quarters likewise to that prince. (Relatione di Sr. di Beval al papa.)

\* Relatione di D. Lazzari, 1621. He founds his opinions on the timidity of the king: "havendo io esperimentato per manifesti segni che prevale in lui più il timore che l'ira." [since I have had manifest proof that fear is a more cogent passion with him than anger.] Moreover, "per la pratica che ho di lui (del re) lo stimo indifferente in qualsivoglia religione." [From the practical experience I have had of his character, I believe him to be indifferent as to religion.]

† Papers relative to the Spanish match in the Hardwicke papers, i. p. 399. They contain a correspondence between James I. and the two travellers, that excites a very strong interest in the persons concerned. The failings of James appear at least those of a very kindly nature. His first begins: "My sweet boys and dear venturous knights, worthy to be put in a new romanso."—"My sweet boys," is his usual mode of addressing them, theirs is "Dear dad and gossip."



ambassador Gondemar, seems not to have been altogether without some share in the project. He told the prince that his presence would put an end to all difficulties.

Great was the surprise of Lord Digby, the English ambassador in Madrid, who up to this time had conducted the negotiations for the marriage, when one day he was called from his room to meet two cavaliers who desired to speak with him, and beheld in them the son and the favourite of his sovereign.

And now indeed, the removal of the existing religious obstacles was set about in good earnest.

The pope's approval was a necessary condition, and king James had not shrunk from entering upon formal negotiations with Paul V. on the subject. But that pope would only give his consent upon the stipulation that the king would grant entire religious freedom to his catholic subjects. So strong, on the contrary, was the impression made on Gregory XV., by the very significant fact of the prince's journey, that he was ready to accept of less weighty concessions. In a letter to the prince he expresses his hope, that "the antique seed of Christian piety, that had bloomed so fair in English kings, would yet revive in him; in no case could he, intending to wed a catholic lady, desire to oppress the catholic church." The prince replied, that he would never exercise any hostility towards the Roman church; he would endeavour to bring it about, that "in like manner as we all acknowledge one triune God, so we may all likewise unite in one faith and one church.\*" We see how great were the mutual advances on both sides. Olivarez averred that he had most urgently solicited the pope to grant the dispensation, and that the king could deny the prince nothing that lay within the compass of his kingdom†. The English catholics too were pressing with the pope, representing to him that his refusal of the dispensation would draw down fresh persecutions on their heads.

Next the two parties agreed upon the points to which the king was to pledge himself.

Not only were the infanta and her suite to be allowed the exercise of their own religion in a chapel at court, but the early education of the princes to be born of that marriage was to be in her hands: no penal laws were to be of force against her children, or to affect their right of succession to the throne, even though they should remain catholics‡. Furthermore the king promised in general, "not to interfere with the private practice of the catholic worship, not to constrain the catholics to take any oath repugnant to their faith, and to provide that the laws against the catholics should be repealed by parliament."

King James swore to these articles in August

\* Frequently printed. I follow the copy in Clarendon and in the Harldwicke Papers, said to be taken from the original.

† In the first impulse of his joy he even said, according to Buckingham's narration, (March 20) "that if the pope would not give a dispensation for a wife, they would give the infanta to thy son Baby as his wench."

‡ The most important point, and the source of much mischief. The article runs thus: "Quod leges contra catholicos Romanos late vel ferende in Anglia et aliis regnis regi magnæ Britanniae subjectis non attingent liberos ex hoc matrimonio oriundos, et libere jure successionis in regnis et dominiis magnæ Britanniae fruantur." (Mer. Franc. ix. Appendice ii. 18.)

1623, and no doubt seemed left of the completion of the marriage.

Festivities were held in Spain; the court received congratulations; formal intimation was given to the ambassadors; and the infanta's ladies of honour and her father confessor were enjoined not to let fall a word unfavourable to the match.

King James reminded his son, that he should not in his joy at these happy events forget his nephews, who were despoiled of their inheritance, nor his sister bathed in tears. The cause of the palatine was warmly taken up. A project was conceived of interweaving the imperial line and the palatine house into the new alliance, by uniting the son of the proscribed elector in marriage with the daughter of the emperor: and to avoid giving offence to Bavaria, the establishment of an eighth electorate was proposed. The emperor forthwith opened the matter to Maximilian of Bavaria, who showed no disinclination to it on his part, and only required that he should be left in possession, as before, of the palatine electorate, and that the eighth electorate proposed to be established, should be conferred on the palatine house. This made no important difference to the catholic interests. The catholics were to enjoy freedom of religion in the restored palatinate; and they would still retain a majority in the electoral college\*.

Thus the power, which under the former reign had constituted the main bulwark of protestantism, now entered into the most friendly relations with ancient foes, to which it seemed to have vowed implacable hatred, the pope and Spain. Already the catholics began to meet with totally different treatment in England. Domiciliary visits and persecution ceased; certain oaths were no longer exacted; catholic chapels were reared, to the sore annoyance of the protestants; and the puritanical zealots, who censured the match, were punished. King James doubted not that before winter set in he should embrace his son and his young bride, and his favourite. All his letters breathe a heart-felt longing for this consummation.

It is manifest what advantages would have sprung from the execution of the above named articles: but the marriage itself gave reason to expect consequences altogether distinct, the extent of which could not have been foreseen. What force had failed to secure, namely, an influence over the administration of England, seemed now to be obtained in the most peaceful and natural course.

## 6. Missions.

Arrived at this point in our review of the brilliant progress of catholicism in Europe, we may pause, and cast our eyes towards those distant regions, in which it likewise made vast strides through the force of kindred impulses.

Religion had part in the very first idea, which prompted the discoveries and conquests of the Spanish and Portuguese; it constantly accompanied and animated them, and it came forth in great strength in the newly founded empires both of the East and of the West.

In the beginning the seventeenth century, we find the stately fabric of the catholic church in South America fully reared. It included five archbishop-

\* Khevenhiller, x. 114.

rics, twenty-seven bishoprics, four hundred convents, and innumerable parishes and *doctrinas* \*. Magnificent cathedrals had risen, the most gorgeous of which was perhaps that of Los Angeles. The Jesuits taught grammar and the liberal arts, and a theological seminary was connected with their college of San Ildefonso. All branches of theological study were taught in the universities of Mexico and Lima. The Americans of European descent were observed to be distinguished for their remarkable acuteness: only as they themselves complained, they were too remote from the gracious countenance of royalty, to hope to be rewarded according to their desert. Meanwhile the mendicant orders especially had begun steadily to propagate Christianity over the whole South American continent. Conquest had passed into missionary effort, and missions were the parents of civilization. The monks and friars taught conjointly the arts of sowing and reaping, planting trees, building houses, reading and singing, and they were regarded with proportionate affection. When the priest came among his flock, he was welcomed with ringing of bells and music; flowers were strewed in his path, and women held out their children to him and besought him to bless them. The Indians manifested a great liking for the externals of worship. They were never weary of attending mass, singing vespers, and waiting in the choir for the performance of service. They had talents for music, and to adorn a church was for them a source of guileless delight. They seemed indeed susceptible in a very high degree to whatever could impress a simple and infantile fancy †. In their dreams they beheld the joys of Paradise. To the sick appeared the queen of heaven in all her pomp, surrounded by youthful attendants who ministered to and refreshed the fainting sufferer. Or she would present herself alone, and teach her worshipper a song of her crucified Son, "whose head is bent like the yellow ear of corn."

Such were the particulars of catholicism that were here most effective. The monks only complain that the bad examples set by the Spaniards, and their tyranny, corrupted the natives, and were an obstacle to the progress of conversion.

The work of proselytizing went on nearly in the same manner in the East Indies, as far as the sway of the Spaniards and the Portuguese extended. Goa became a great focus of proselytism: year after year thousands were converted. As early as 1563, there were reckoned three hundred thousand new Christians in Goa, in the mountains of Cochin, and at Cape Comorin ‡. But the general relations of foreigners to the natives were here altogether different from those subsisting in America. Here a vast, peculiar, and unconquered world defied the force alike of arms and of argument;

primeval religions, the ceremonials of which captivated both soul and sense, and were intimately associated with the manners and habits of thought of the inhabitants.

It was the natural tendency of catholicism to overcome even such a world as this.

This was the fundamental idea on which were founded the whole course and proceedings of Francis Xavier, who had arrived in the East Indies as early as 1542. He traversed India in its whole length and breadth. He prayed at the tomb of the apostle Thomas in Maliapur; preached from a tree to the people of Travancore, taught spiritual songs in the Moluccas, which were repeated by the boys in the market-place, and by the fishermen on the sea. But he was not designed by nature to complete what he began; his motto was *Amplius! amplius!* his zeal for proselytizing was in some sort identified with a kind of passion for travelling. He had already reached Japan, and was about to seek the focus and birth place of the opinions and habits he fell in with there, when he died \*.

It was consonant with the nature of man that his example, and the difficulties of his undertaking, should challenge rather than deter imitation. The most varied activity prevailed in the East in the first decades of the seventeenth century.

From the year 1606, we find father Nobili in Madaura. He was astonished to see the small progress Christianity had made in such a length of time, and believed that circumstance was attributable solely to the fact, that the Portuguese had addressed themselves to the parias. Christ was regarded as a God of the parias. He adopted a totally different course, insisting that conversion, to be effectual, must begin with the higher castes. He declared on his arrival that he was of the purest race of nobility, of which he had proofs by him, and he attached himself to the Brahmins. He assumed their dress and modes of life, submitted to their penitential practices, learned Sanscrit, and entered into their ideas †. There was an opinion among them, that there had formerly existed in India four ways of truth, of which one had been lost. Nobili affirmed that he was come to point out that lost, but most direct spiritual way to immortality. By the year 1609, he had already gained over seventy Brahmins. He was sedulous to avoid offending their prejudices, and tolerated even their distinctions of castes, only giving them another signification: he separated the castes from each other in the churches, and exchanged the expressions in which the doctrines of Christianity had previously been clothed, for others more elegant and of more literary dignity. His proceedings were in all respects so judicious, that he soon saw crowds of converts around him. Though his method caused great scandal, still it seemed the only one fitted to obtain extensive success. Gregory XV. pronounced his approval of it in the year 1621.

\* Herrera, *Descripcion de las Indias*, p. 80.

† Compendio y descripcion de las Indias occidentales, MS.

"Tienen mucha caridad con los necesitados y en particular con los sacerdotes: que los respetan y reverencian como ministros de Christos, abraçan los mas de tal suerte las cosas de nuestra santa fe, que solo el mal exemplo que nos demos es causa que no aya entre ellos grandes santos, como lo experimente el tiempo que estuve en aquellos regnos." The *Litteræ annuæ provincie Paraguarie missæ* a Nicolao Duran, Antv. 1636, are particularly interesting, because the Jesuits kept the Spaniards away from that province.

‡ Maffei, *Commentarius de rebus Indicis*, p. 21.

\* Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum lib. xiii. et xiv.*

† Juvencius, *Historia Societ. Jesu pars v. tom. ii. lib. xviii. § ix. n. 49.* "Brachmanum instituta omnia caeremoniasque cognoscit; linguam vernaculam dictam vulgo Tamulicam, quæ latissime pertinet, addidit; addit Badagicam, quæ principum et aule sermo, denique Grandoniam sive Samuteradam, quæ lingua eruditiorum est, cæterum tot obita difficultatibus, nulli ut Europæo bene cognita fuisset ad eam diem atque inter ipsosmet Indos plurimum seire videantur qui hanc utcumque norint etsi aliud nihil norint."

The attempts made about this time at the court of the emperor Akbar are no less worthy of note.

It will be remembered that the old Monghol Khans, the conquerors of Asia, had long maintained a peculiarly indifferent position amongst the various religions that divided the world. It would almost seem that the emperor Akbar held similar views. On summoning the Jesuits to his presence, he told them that "he had taken pains to become acquainted with all the religions on earth; he now wished to be made acquainted with the Christian religion with the help of the fathers, whom he honoured and prized." Geronimo Xavier, the nephew of Francis, was the first who took up his residence permanently at Akbar's court in the year 1595; the insurrections of the Mahometans contributed to make the emperor incline to the Christians. Christmas was celebrated in the most solemn manner at Lahore in the year 1599; the holy manger was exposed to view for twenty successive days; numerous proselytes entered the church in procession, with palms in their hands, and received baptism. The emperor expressed much pleasure on reading a life of Christ composed in Persian, and he had an image of the Virgin, executed after the model of the Madonna del popolo in Rome, brought into his palace to show to his women. The Christians indeed drew from this inferences larger than the circumstances warranted, still they did really accomplish a great deal: after Akbar's death in 1610, three princes of the blood royal solemnly received baptism. They rode on white elephants to the church, where they were received by father Geronimo with trumpets sounding and drums beating\*. Gradually Christianity appeared to gain some firmness of footing, though here too opinions and dispositions fluctuated with the more or less friendly political understanding subsisting with the Portuguese. In 1621, a college was established in Agra, and a station in Patna: and in 1624, the emperor Jehangir gave hopes that he would become a convert.

At the same period the Jesuits had already penetrated into China, where they sought to allure the skilful, scientific, studious people of that empire through the inventions of the west. Ricci obtained his first success by teaching mathematics, and by getting by heart and reciting striking passages from the writings of Confucius. A present he made the emperor of a striking clock, gained him admission into Pekin, where nothing raised him so highly in the favour and good graces of his imperial majesty as the construction of a map, that far surpassed all the attempts which had ever been made in that way by the native artists. It was characteristic of Ricci, that on receiving an order from the emperor to make him ten such maps on silk, to be hung up in his apartments, he took the opportunity of doing something for the promotion of Christianity, and filled the vacant places on the maps with Christian symbols and texts. Such was the general spirit of his teaching: he began usually with mathematics, and ended with religion; his scientific talents procured respect for his religious instruction. Not only were his immediate pupils gained over, but many mandarins, too, whose garb he assumed, joined him: a society of the Blessed Virgin was formed in Pekin as early as the year

1605. Ricci died in 1610, worn out not only by excessive labour, but chiefly by the numerous visits, the long dinners, and all the other exactions of Chinese social etiquette: but after his death others observed the advice he had given, "to go to work without parade or noise, and in such stormy seas to keep close to the shore," and they followed his example as regarded science. An eclipse of the moon occurred in 1610: the predictions of the native astronomers and of the Jesuits differed by a whole hour; the event proving that the latter were right, added greatly to their credit\*. Not only were they charged, in conjunction with some mandarins, their pupils, with the reform of the astronomical tables, but Christianity, too, was promoted by their success. In 1611, the first church was consecrated in Nankin; in 1616, there were Christian churches in five provinces of the empire. In the opposition the Jesuits sometimes encountered, nothing was of so much service to them as the fact that their pupils had written books which met with the approbation of the learned. They had the art to elude the storms that threatened them; they complied, too, as closely as possible, with the usages of the country, and this they were empowered to do in several points by the pope in the year 1619. The consequence was, that not a year passed in which thousands were not converted; their opponents gradually died off; in 1624, Adam Schall appeared, and the accurate description of two eclipses of the moon which happened in that year, and a treatise by Lombardo on the earthquake, added fresh lustre to their reputation†.

The Jesuits had struck into a different course in the warlike Japan, incessantly rent by factions.

\* Juvencius has devoted the whole of his 19th book to the undertakings in China, and added at p. 561 a treatise, *Imperii Sinici recens et uberior notitia*, which is still worth reading.

† *Relazione della Cina dell' anno 1621*. "Lo stato presente di questa chiesa mi pare in universale molto simile ad una nave a cui e il venti e le nuvole minaccio di corto grave borasca, e per ciò li marinari ammainando le vele e calando le antenne fermino il corso, e attiano aspettando che si chiarisca il cielo e cessino i contrasti de' venti: ma bene spesso avviene che tutto il male si risolve in paura, e che sgombrate le furie de' venti svanisce la tempesta contenta delle sole minaccie. Così appunto pare che sia accaduto alla nave di questa chiesa. Quattro anni fa se le levò contro una gagliarda borasca, la quale pareva che la dovesse sommergere ad un tratto; li piloti accomodandosi al tempo raccolsero le vele delle opere loro e si ritirarono alquanto; ma in modo che potevano essere trovati da chiunque voleva l'aiuto loro per aspettare donec aspiraret dies et inclineretur umbræ. Sin hora il male non è stato di altro che di timore." [The present state of this church appears to me on the whole very similar to that of a ship which the winds and the clouds threaten with a speedy and violent tempest; wherefore the mariners, shortening sail and lowering the yards, lie to, and wait till the sky clears and the winds cease their conflicts: but very often it happens that the whole danger is resolved into fear, and that the winds having spent their fury, the tempest vanishes, content with mere threats. This is precisely what seems to have happened to the vessel of this church. Four years ago a sharp gale arose against it, which seemed likely to sink it at a gust: the pilots, obedient to the weather, furled their sails and retired a space, but so that they might be found by whoever required their aid, to wait till day should break and the shadows melt away. Up to the present time the whole evil has amounted to no more than alarm.]

\* Juvencius, l. 1. n. 1-23.

From the beginning they made themselves partisans. In the year 1554 they were fortunate enough to declare for the party that proved victorious; they were secure of its favour, and by its aid they made extraordinary progress. By the year 1579 they counted there 300,000 Christians: Father Valignano, who died in 1606, a man whose advice Philip II. gladly consulted on East Indian affairs, founded 300 churches and thirty Jesuit houses in Japan.

But this very connexion of the Jesuits with Mexico and Spain provoked the jealousy of the native Japanese authorities: they had no longer their former good fortune in the civil wars; the party they had adopted was defeated, and from the year 1612 it was subjected to fearful persecutions.

But they made a very bold stand. Their proselytes invoked the death of martyrs: they had formed a martyr society, the members of which encouraged each other to endure all sufferings: they distinguished those years as the *Acta Martyrum*. Violent as waxed the persecution, says their historian, yet every year produced new converts\*. They will have it that from 1603 to 1622, exactly 239,339 Japanese embraced Christianity.

In all these countries the Jesuits displayed a character equally marked with pliant conformity to circumstances, and steadfast unbending pertinacity. They made progress to an extent that could never have been anticipated, and succeeded in vanquishing, at least in part, the opposition of the established national religions of the East.

Nor did they neglect to take measures for the union of the oriental Christians with the church of Rome.

In India proper they had fallen in with that primitive Nestorian community which is known by the name of Christians of St. Thomas; and as these recognized as their head and as shepherd of the universal church, not the pope of Rome, of whom they had never heard, but the patriarch of Babylon (at Mosul), measures were speedily taken to draw them into the communion of the Roman church. Neither force nor persuasion were spared. In 1601, the most eminent among them seemed won, and a Jesuit was appointed bishop over them. The Roman ritual was printed in Chaldaic: the errors of Nestorius were anathematized in a diocesan council; a Jesuit college was erected in Cranganor; the new installation in the episcopal see took place in the year 1624, with the approbation of the most obstinate of the former opponents†.

Of course the political superiority of the Portuguese and Spanish power conduced largely to these results. It was also highly influential in Abyssinia about the same time.

\* *Lettere annue del Giappone dell' anno 1622*, furnish an example: "I gloriosi campioni che morirono quest' anno furono 121: gli adulti che per opera de' padri della compagnia a vista di così crudele persecuzione hanno ricevuto il santo battesimo arrivano al numero di 2236, senza numerar quelli che per mezzo d' altri religiosi e sacerdoti Giapponesi si battezzano." [The glorious champions who died this year were 121: the adults who received holy baptism at the hands of the fathers of the company in the face of such cruel persecution, amounted to the number of 2236, without counting those who were baptized through the instrumentality of other Japanese monks and priests.]

† Cordara: *Historia Societ. Jesu*, vi. ix. p. 535.

All former efforts in that country had been ineffectual. It was not till the year 1603 that the Portuguese of Fremona, having rendered essential service to the Abyssinians in a battle, obtained high credit for themselves and their religion. Just then father Paez arrived, an able Jesuit, who preached in the language of the country, and gained access at court. The victorious sovereign wished to form a closer connexion with the king of Spain, chiefly with a view to that monarch's support against his foes in the interior. Paez represented to him as the only means towards his effecting this, the necessity of his abjuring his schismatic doctrines and conforming to the Roman church. His arguments had the more weight, inasmuch as the Portuguese really displayed fidelity and courage in the intestine commotions of the country. Disputations were appointed; the unlettered monks were easily put down; the bravest man in the kingdom, Sela-Christos, a brother of the emperor Sela Segued (Socinius), was converted, and his example was followed by countless others: an alliance was then formed with Paul V. and Philip III. The representatives of the established religion naturally bestirred themselves at this; the civil wars of Abyssinia, like those of Europe, assumed a religious colour; the abuna and his monks were always on the side of the rebels, Sela-Christos, the Portuguese, and the converts, on that of the emperor. Battles were fought year after year; success and danger alternated; at last the emperor and his party were victorious. The victory was shared by catholicism and the Jesuits. In the year 1621, Seltan Segued decided the old controversy respecting the two-fold nature of Christ according to the views of the Roman church: he prohibited the offering up of prayers for the patriarch of Alexandria; catholic churches and chapels were erected in his towns and in his gardens\*. In 1622, after having confessed to Paez, he received the Eucharist after the catholic ritual. The court of Rome had long been solicited to send a Latin patriarch to Abyssinia; but it hesitated to do so as long as the emperor's disposition or his power was doubtful; at present he had vanquished all his adversaries, and never could he display more good will. On the 19th of Dec. Gregory XV. nominated doctor Alfonso Mendez, a Portuguese, of the society of Jesus, proposed by king Philip, to be patriarch of Ethiopia†. After Mendez had at last arrived, the emperor solemnly tendered his obedience to the pope of Rome.

Meanwhile attention was directed also to all the Greek Christians: the popes sent mission after mission to them. The Roman *professio fidei* had been introduced among the Maronites by some Jesuits. In 1604, we find a Nestorian archimandrite at Rome, where he renounced the doctrine of Nestorius in the name of a great multitude of his followers. A Jesuit mission was founded in Constantinople, where, through the influence of the French ambassador, it attained a certain degree of stability and credit, and succeeded among other things, in the year 1621, in procuring the removal, at least for a while, of the patriarch Cyrillus Lucaris, who inclined to protestantism.

\* Juvencius, p. 705. Cordara, vi. p. 320. Ludolf calls the emperor Suanes.

† Sagripanti: *Discorso della religione dell' Etiopia*, MS. from the Atti Consistoriali.

How prodigious was this world-wide range of activity! forcing its way at once amidst the Andes and the Alps, sending out its scouts and pioneers to Scandinavia and to Thibet, and insinuating itself into the favour of the governments in England and in China; yet every where on this immense theatre fresh, and unbroken, and indefatigable: the impulse at work in its centre animating, and that perhaps with more intense vivacity, every labourer on the outermost bounds.

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### CONFLICTING POLITICAL RELATIONS. NEW VICTORIES OF CATHOLICISM.

1623-1628.

It is not solely resistance from without that always, or perhaps ever, sets bounds to the career of a conquering power: in general this change of fortune is greatly promoted, if not directly provoked, by internal dissensions.

Had catholicism remained one in spirit, and pursued its purpose with united forces, it can hardly be conceived how northern Germanic Europe, entangled for the most part as it was in its interests, and circumvented by its policy, could long have been disposed to resist it.

But was it not natural, that at this stage in the progress of its power, catholicism should once more display those early marked discrepancies, which, though superficially concealed, had never ceased to work within it?

The peculiarity in the progress of religion in the period before us is, that it was every where founded on political and military superiority. Missions marched in the train of war. The consequence was, that with them were associated the greatest political changes, of no little importance in themselves, and which could not fail of exciting reactions, the result of which there was no foreseeing.

Of all these changes the most important undoubtedly was, that the German line of the house of Austria, which hitherto, engrossed by the troubles in the hereditary dominions, had taken less part in the affairs of Europe in general, at once attained to the independence, importance, and strength of a great European power. The elevation of German-Austria had the effect of making Spain, which had remained pacific since the times of Philip II., awake with fresh martial ardour to the assertion of its former pretensions and hopes. The two powers had already come into direct connexion, in consequence of the Grisons' transactions: the Alpine passes on the Italian side were taken possession of by Spain, those on the German side by Austria. On those lofty mountains they seemed to tender each other mutual aid for enterprises directed towards all quarters of the world.

Certainly this position of things involved on the one hand a great prospect for catholicism, to which the two lines had devoted themselves with inviolable attachment; but, on the other hand likewise, a great danger of internal discord. How much jealousy had the Spanish monarchy under Philip II. provoked! But the combined force of the house

was now uprisen in far greater vigour and solidity, through the increase of its German resources. The old antipathies to it would of necessity be aroused in a still higher degree.

This was first manifested in Italy.

The small Italian states, severally incapable of standing by themselves, were above all others in those times in need of and keenly sensitive as to the preservation of the balance of power. To find themselves hemmed in, as they now were, on both sides, and apparently cut off from all foreign aid, by the occupation of the Alpine passes, appeared to them pregnant with imminent peril. Without much regarding what advantage their creed might derive from the combination in question, they applied to France, which alone could help them, in order to its annihilation. Louis XIII. was alarmed too, lest he should lose his influence in Italy. Immediately after the peace of 1622, before he had yet returned to his capital, he concluded a treaty with Savoy and Venice, by virtue of which their united forces should compel the house of Austria to surrender the passes and fortresses of the Grisons\*.

This intention contemplated it is true but a single point, but it was one that might easily lead to the disturbance of the whole existing state of things.

Gregory XV. was fully aware of this, of the danger to the peace of the catholic world, to the progress of the interests of religion, and thereby to the revival of the dignity and importance of the papal see. With the same zeal with which he promoted missions and efforts for conversion, he now, in his lively perception of the necessary concatenation, laboured to prevent the outbreak of hostilities.

The reverence felt for the papal see, or rather the feeling of the unity in the catholic world, was still in such force, that both Spain and France declared they would leave the decision of this matter to the pope. Nay, he was himself requested to take those fortresses which excited so much jealous uneasiness into his own hands as a deposit, pending the fuller adjustment of the dispute, and to garrison them with his own troops†.

Pope Gregory deliberated for a moment whether he ought to take this active and doubtless expensive part in foreign transactions; but since it was manifest how much depended thereon, as regarded the peace of the catholic world, he at last caused a couple of companies to be raised, and sent them, under the command of his brother the duke of Fiano, to the Grisons. The Spaniards could have wished to retain at least Riva and Chiavenna; but even these they surrendered to the papal troops‡. Archduke Leopold of the Tyrol also consented at last to transfer to them those districts and fortresses, to the possession of which he did not happen to have some personal claim.

By this means the danger so much really averted that had most excited alarm among the Italian states. The main consideration now was to provide for the interests of catholicism in the subsequent arrangements. It was proposed that, as the

\* Nani: *Storia Veneta*, p. 255.

† Dispaccio, Sillery, Nov. 28, 1622. Corsini, 13. 21 Genn. 1623, in Siri, *Memorie recondite*, tom. v. p. 435. 442. Scrittura del deposito della Valtellina, ib. 459.

‡ Siri: *Memorie recondite*, v. 519.

Valtelline was not again to fall into the hands of the Spaniards, so neither should it be suffered to revert to the Grisons, since that would be so likely to interrupt the restoration of catholicism in the valley. It was to be annexed to the three ancient Rhoetian leagues as a fourth independent member, with equal privileges. From the same motives the pope would not completely sever that union of the two Austrian lines which seemed so necessary to the progress of catholicism in Germany. The passes through Worms and the Valtelline were to remain open to the Spaniards, with the full understanding that this should be for the purpose of marching their troops towards Germany, but not from thence to Italy\*.

Thus far had things proceeded; nothing indeed had been actually concluded, but every thing was ripe thereto, when Gregory XV. died, July 8, 1628. He had lived long enough to enjoy the satisfaction of having allayed these formidable dissensions, and of seeing the progress of the church maintained uninterruptedly. A new combination between Spain and France for an attack on Rochelle and Holland had even come under consideration in the course of the negotiations.

But after Gregory's death these schemes were far from being realized.

In the first place, the new pope, Urban VIII., was not yet looked up to with that confidence which is begotten by the tried and continual exercise of thorough impartiality: again, the Italians were far from being satisfied with the terms of the treaty: but what was most important of all, Vieuville and Richelieu had come to the helm in France; men who plied the opposition to Spain, not at the solicitation of others, as their predecessors had done, or as mere auxiliaries, but of their own spontaneous impulse, and as the grand object of French policy.

There was perhaps in this less of choice than one is apt to suppose. France, too, as well as the Austro-Spanish power, was expanding all her resources: the victory over the Huguenots had vastly exalted the royal authority, and the unity and national feeling of the country; and as her claims grew with her strength, every thing conduced to urge her upon a bolder line of policy than she had hitherto pursued. This national tendency called forth its appropriate organs; men who were able and willing to give it effect. From the first Richelieu was resolved to make head against the commanding influence which the house of Austria had always possessed, and which had recently become more vigorous and lofty than ever, and to wrestle with it for supremacy in Europe.

This was a resolution that imported a far more perilous rupture in the catholic world than that which had recently been healed. The two foremost powers would necessarily engage in open war with each other. All thoughts of carrying out the provisions of the Roman treaty were at an end, and Urban VIII. laboured in vain to hold the French to the concessions to which they had consented. But the French were not content with a mere alliance with the catholic opposition. Though a cardinal of the Roman church, Richelieu did not scruple to league himself openly with the protestants.

\* Art. ix. of the scheme of the convention.

He first made advances to the English, with a view of preventing the Spanish match, from which the house of Austria would necessarily derive so great an accession of strength. Personal circumstances furthered his views: the impatience of James I., who longed for the return of his son and his favourite with the yearning of an old man who thought his death approaching, and a misunderstanding between the two prime ministers, Olivarez and Buckingham: but chiefly the result was determined by the thing itself. The affairs of the Palatinate presented insurmountable difficulties in the course of the negotiation with Austria, Spain, Bavaria, and the Palatinate\*. An alliance with France, on the other hand, seeing the new direction that power was taking, promised a speedy solution of those difficulties by way of arms. And since this alliance not only secured the king of England so considerable a dowry, but also held out the prospect of reconciling the English catholics with the throne, he preferred marrying his son to a French princess, granting her the same concessions, as regarded religion, that he had made to the Spaniards.

Preparations were accordingly forthwith made for the attack. Richelieu struck out one of those vast and comprehensive plans, which before his time were unknown in the policy of Europe, though so peculiarly appropriate thereto. It was his purpose at once to crush the Austro-Spanish power by a simultaneous assault upon it from all sides.

He himself was to fall on Italy, in combination with Savoy and Venice. Without the least deference to the pope, he caused French troops to advance unexpectedly into the Grisons, and to expel the papal garrisons from the fortresses there†. He had renewed the alliance with Holland at the same time as that with England. The Hollanders were to assail South America, the English the coasts of Spain. The Turks were set in motion through the instrumentality of King James, and threatened an inroad into Hungary. But the grand blow was to be struck in Germany. The king of Denmark, who had been long in a state of preparation, was resolved at last to lead the forces of Denmark and Lower Germany into the field on behalf of his kindred of the Palatinate. Not only did England promise him aid, but Richelieu too engaged to contribute a million of livres towards the expenses of the war‡. Supported by both, Mansfeld was to

\* From a letter of the count palatine's, dated Oct. 30, it appears that nothing but force could have induced him to accept the terms proposed to him.

† Relazione di iv. ambasciatori, 1625. "Il papa si voleva che mai Bettune gli haveva parlato chiaro, e che delle sue parole non aveva compreso mai che si dovessero portare li armi della lega contra li suoi presidii." [The pope complained that Bethune had never spoken plainly to him, and that he had never understood from his language that the arms of the league were to be turned against his garrisons.] The usual policy pursued in France.

‡ Extract from Blainville's instruction in Siri, vi. 62, Mansfeld was to co-operate with him "nel fondo di Alemagna [in the heart of Germany]. (Siri, 641.) Relazione di Caraffa: "(I Francesi) hanno tuttavia continuato sino al giorno d'oggi a tener corrispondenza con li nemici di S. M.<sup>a</sup> Ces.<sup>a</sup>, a dar loro ajuto in gente e danari, si ben con coperta, quale pero non è stata tale che per molte lettere intercesse e per molti altri rincontri non si siano scoperti tutti l'andamenti e corrispondenze: onde prima e doppo la rotta data dal Tilly al re di Danimarca sempre l'imperatore nel



form a junction with the king, and to march upon the hereditary dominions of Austria.

Here then were the two foremost catholic powers arrayed against each other in this general assault.

Unquestionably this must have directly tended to stay the progress of catholicism. Though the French league was one of a political nature, protestantism must have beheld in it, by reason of this close association of political and ecclesiastical interests, a great source of advantage to its own cause. It breathed again. A new champion, the king of Denmark, was in the field for it in Germany, with fresh and unimpaired strength, and supported by the grand combination of European policy. His triumph would have undone all the successes of the imperial house and of the catholic restoration.

But it is the attempt that makes manifest the difficulties involved in any undertaking. Brilliant as may have been the talents of Richelieu, he had yet plunged too rashly in the enterprize to which his inclinations prompted, and to which he looked forward, whether in full consciousness or in dim presentiment, as the aim of his life. His project generated danger for himself.

Not only did the German protestants, the adversaries of the house of Austria, take heart, but the French protestants too, Richelieu's own enemies, gathered fresh courage under the new political combination. According to their own statement, they hoped in the worst case to be reconciled with the king, through the instrumentality of his present allies\*. Rohan set himself in motion by land, Soubise by sea. In May, 1625, the Huguenots were in arms all over the country.

And at the same moment enemies, still more formidable perhaps, arose against Richelieu amongst the other party. With all his good will to France, Urban VIII. had too much pride easily to digest such an affront as the ejection of his garrisons from the Grisons†. He raised troops, and dispatched them to the Milanese, with the declared intention of joining with the Spaniards in recovering the lost fortresses. It may possibly be that these warlike threats really meant but little; but so much the more significant was the religious effect associated with them. The complaints of the papal nuncio, that the most Christian king was lending his aid to heretic princes, found an echo in France. The Jesuits came forward with their

palatinato inferiore e nelli contorni d'Alsazia v' ha tenuto nervo di gente, dubitando che da quelle parti potesse venire qualche ruina." [The French have always continued up to this day to keep up a correspondence with the enemies of his imperial majesty, and to furnish them aid in men and money covertly, yet not so secretly but that all their manœuvres and correspondence have been discovered by intercepted letters and other accidents. For which reason, both before and since the rout of the king of Denmark by Tilly, the emperor has always kept a strong force in the Lower Palatinate and in the Alsace district, apprehensive that some mischief might occur in that quarter.]

\* Mémoires de Rohan, p. 1. p. 146. "Espérant que s'il venoit à bout, les alliés et ligués avec le roi le porteroient plus facilement à un accommodement."

† Relazione di P. Contarini: "S. S.ª. he speaks of the time immediately after the news was received) sommamente disgustata, stimando poco rispetto s' avesse portato alle sue insegne, del continuo e grandemente se ne querelava." [His holiness, incensed to the highest degree at the little respect paid to his flag, complained loudly and continually.]

ultra-montane doctrines, and Richelieu was violently assailed by the strict church party. True, he found support in the Gallican principles, and protection at the hands of the parliaments; but notwithstanding this, he durst not long remain the pope's enemy. The catholic principle was too intimately bound up with the restored monarchy: who could warrant Richelieu against the impression which the admonitions of the clergy might make on his sovereign?

Thus Richelieu found himself assailed even in France, and that by the two opposite parties at once. Whatever he might contrive against Spain, this was not a position to be retained: he must hasten to escape from it.

Now, as in his plan of attack he had displayed a genius for immense combinations and bold home-striking projects, so now he exhibited that treacherous dexterity in making his allies his mere tools, and then abandoning them, which was all his life peculiar to him.

He first prevailed on his new confederates to assist him against Soubise. He had himself no naval force. With protestant resources from foreign countries, with Dutch and English ships, he overcame his protestant foes at home in September, 1625. He employed their mediation to force the Huguenots to an unfavourable peace; they not doubting that as soon as he had got rid of those domestic foes, he would renew the attack to which he was engaged with them.

But what was their astonishment when, instead of this, the news of the peace of Monzon, concluded in March, 1626, between France and Spain, was suddenly noised abroad. A papal legate had proceeded to both courts on that account. It is true, he does not appear to have had much influence in fixing the terms of the treaty, but at all events he set the catholic principle in motion. Whilst Richelieu employed the protestants to his own ends, under a show of the strictest confidence, he had engaged with still greater earnestness in negotiations with Spain for their destruction. On the subject of the Valtelline he agreed with Olivarez, that it should return indeed under the sway of the Grisons, but that it should have an independent voice in the election of its own functionaries, and undiminished freedom in the exercise of catholic worship\*. The catholic powers, that had seemed on the point of engaging in a struggle for life or death, in one moment stood reunited.

It contributed to this result, that angry feelings had arisen between the French and the English respecting the completion of the engagements contracted in the treaty of marriage.

A pause naturally ensued to all enterprises hostile to Spain.

The Italian princes, however reluctantly, were forced to accommodate themselves to what was inevitable. Savoy concluded a truce with Genoa. Venice thought herself fortunate in not having yet attacked Milan, and disbanded her forces. It was asserted that the vacillating conduct of the French hindered the succour of Breda in the year 1625, so that to them was ascribable the loss of that im-

\* Du Mont, v. 2, p. 487, § 2. "Qu'ils ne puissent avoir ci après autre religion que la catholique . . . § 3. Qu'ils puissent élire par élection entre eux leurs Juges, gouverneurs et autres magistrats tous catholiques." Then follow some limitations.



portant fortress to the Spaniards. The grand and decisive stroke of ill fortune occurred, however, in Germany.

The forces of Lower Germany had rallied round the king of Denmark, under the protection, as it was thought, of the general alliance against Spain. Mansfeld advanced towards the Elbe. The emperor had armed against him with double diligence, knowing well how much was at stake.

When the two armies came to blows, the alliance no longer existed; the French subsidies were not paid; the English succours arrived far too slowly; and the imperial troops were much more practised in war. The consequence was, that the king of Denmark lost the battle of Lutter, and was driven back upon his own territory, and that Mansfeld was driven as a fugitive into the Austrian provinces, through which he had hoped to march as a victor and restorer.

This was a success which must necessarily have produced effects as universal as its causes.

First, as to the imperial dominions. We may describe them in a word. The last movement that was here undertaken for protestantism, in reliance on the general confederacy, was suppressed. The nobility, who had hitherto remained free from personal molestation, were now compelled to conform. The emperor declared, on St. Ignatius's day, 1627, that, after the course of six months, he would no longer tolerate in his hereditary kingdom of Bavaria any one, even though of the degree of lord and knight, who did not agree with himself and the apostolic church in the only true faith\*. Similar edicts were issued in Upper Austria, in Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria, in the year 1628, and, after some time, in Lower Austria. It was in vain to entreat even for a respite: the nuncio Caraffa represented that the request was prompted only by the hope of a general change of fortune. From that time forth those countries became once more thoroughly catholic. How had the nobility of Austria opposed the archducal house eighty years before! Now the sovereign power, orthodox, victorious, and unlimited, towered above every resistance.

And still more extensive were the effects of the new victory in the rest of Germany. Lower Saxony was taken possession of; the population subject to the immediate sway of the emperor reached as far as to the Cattgat; Brandenburg and Pomerania were invested; Mecklenburg was in the hands of the imperial generals; all these chief seats of protestantism were overruled by a catholic army.

Proof was immediately given of the use to which it was purposed to apply this state of things. An

imperial prince was nominated bishop of Halberstadt, and the pope then in his apostolic authority named him archbishop of Magdeburg. There could not be a question but that, if a catholic archducal government established itself in that place, it would needs insist on the restoration of catholicism throughout the whole diocese, with the same rigour as the rest of the ecclesiastical princes.

Meanwhile the counter reformation proceeded with new zeal in Upper Germany. It is worth casting a look at the list of decrees of the imperial chancery of this year, given by Caraffa; what a multitude of admonitions, resolutions, decisions, recommendations, all in favour of catholicism\*. The young count of Nassau-Siegen, the younger count palatine of Neuburg, and the grand master of the Teutonic order, undertook new reformations; in the Upper Palatinate the nobility themselves were now forced to adopt catholicism.

The old legal processes of spiritual lords against temporal estates, respecting confiscated church property, now took a different course from that of former times. How sorely tried was Würtemberg! All the old complainants, the bishops of Constance and Augsburg, the abbots of Münchsreith and Kaisersheim prosecuted their claims against the ducal house, the very existence of which was endangered†. The bishops everywhere carried their point against the towns; the bishops of Eichstätt against Fürnberg, the chapter against the town of Strasburg; Schwäbisch-Hall, Memmingen, Ulm, Lindau, and several other towns were compelled to restore to the catholics the churches that had been wrested from them.

If the letter of the treaty of Augsburg began now to be everywhere insisted on, how important became a more general application of its principles, as they were now understood‡.

"After the battle of Lutter," says Caraffa, "the emperor seemed as it were to awake out of a long sleep; liberated from a great fear that had hitherto held his predecessors and himself enthralled, he conceived the design of bringing back all Germany to the form prescribed by the peace of Augsburg."

Besides Magdeburg and Halberstadt, catholicism had been re-established in Bremen, Verden, Minden, Camin, Havelberg, Schwerin, and almost all the North German ecclesiastical endowments. This had always been the remote aim which the pope and the Jesuits had held in view in the most brilliant moments of their success. For this very reason, however, the emperor looked cautiously on the matter. He doubted, says Caraffa, not of the equity, but of the possibility of executing the measure. The zeal of the Jesuits, however, particularly of his confessor Lamormain, the favourable opinion of the four catholic electors, and the unwearied pertinacity of the papal nuncio, who himself informs us that it cost a month's labour to carry his point, at last overcame all scruples. As early as August 1628, the edict of restitution was drawn up in the same terms in which it sub-

\* Caraffa: *Relatione*, MS. "Havendo il Sr. Cardinale ed io messo in considerazione a S. M.<sup>te</sup> che come non si riformassero i baroni e nobile eretici si poteva poco o nulla sperare della conversione delli loro sudditi, e per conseguenza havriano potuto ancora infettare pian piano gli altri, piacque a S. M.<sup>te</sup> di agglungero al Sr. C<sup>le</sup> ed agli altri commissarij autorità di riformare anche li nobili." [The cardinal and I having submitted to his majesty's consideration that so long as the heretic barons and nobles were not reformed, little or nothing could be expected from the conversion of their subjects, and they would consequently be able gradually to infect the rest, his majesty was pleased to confer on the cardinal and the other commissioners authority to reform the nobles likewise.]

\* "Brevis enumeratio aliquorum negotiorum quæ . . . in puncto reformationis in cancellaria imperii tractata sunt ab anno 1620 ad annum 1629," in the appendix to *Germania Sacra Restaurata*, p. 34.

† Sattler: *Geschichte von Würtemberg unter den Herzogen*, Th. vi. p. 226.

‡ Senkenberg: *Fortsetzung der Hüberlinschen Reichsgeschichte*, Bd. 25, p. 633.

sequently appeared\*. Before publication it was to be submitted once more to the consideration of the catholic electors.

But a more extensive plan was connected herewith: the hope was indulged of conciliating the good-will of the Lutheran princes. This was to be attempted, not by theologians, but by the emperor, or some catholic princes of the empire. It was intended to argue on the principle, that the notions entertained of catholicism in Germany were erroneous, that the discrepancies between the unaltered Augsburg confession and the genuine catholic doctrine were but trifling. It was thought that the elector of Saxony would be gained by conceding to him the patronage of the three great chapters in his dominions†. Not a doubt was entertained of the possibility of exciting the hatred of the Lutherans against Calvinism, and then turning that feeling to the advantage of a complete restoration of catholicism.

This design was warmly embraced in Rome, and worked out into a detailed project. Urban VIII. by no means purposed to content himself with the articles of the treaty of Augsburg, which no pope indeed had ever sanctioned‡. Nothing less would satisfy him than a full restoration of all church property, and an entire repudiation of all protestants.

But in this moment of prosperity, the pope had risen to a design, if possible, bolder still, that of an attack on England. This thought re-appeared from time to time among the great schemes of catholicism, by a sort of natural necessity as it were. The pope now hoped to promote its success by means of the renewed understanding between the two crowns§.

\* This period of the drawing up of the edict is made known to us by Caraffa, *Commentar. de Germ. Sacra Restaurata*, p. 356. He states that the edict was drawn up in 1628, and published in 1629; he then goes on to say: "Annuit ipse Deus, dum post paucos ab ipsa deliberatione Cesarum insigni victoria remuneratus est." [God himself expressed his approval, by rewarding the emperor with a signal victory a few days after the deliberation of the matter.] He alludes to the victory of Wolgast, gained on the 22nd of August.

† As early as 1624 hopes were entertained in Rome of the conversion of this prince. *Istruzione a Mons.<sup>r</sup> Caraffa*. "Venne ancora qualche novella della sperata riunione con la chiesa cattolica del signor duca di Sassonia, ma ella svanì ben presto: con tutto ciò il vederlo non infenso a' cattolici e nemichissimo de' Calvinisti et amicissimo del Magontino e convenuto nell' elettorato di Baviera ci fa sperare bene: laonde non sarà inutile che S. S.<sup>a</sup> tenga proposito col detto Magontino di questo desiderato acquisto." [Some further intelligence was received of the expected reconciliation of the duke of Saxony to the Catholic church, but the hope soon vanished. Nevertheless, the fact that he is not hostile to the catholics, but exceedingly so to the Calvinists, that he is most friendly to the elector of Mainz, and that he agreed in the affair of the elector of Bavaria, promises well: wherefore it will not be inexpedient that his holiness confer with the elector of Mainz respecting this desirable acquisition.]

‡ "A cui," says the pope, of the treaty of Passau, in a letter to the emperor, "non haveva giammai assentito la sede apostolica."

§ In Sini's *Memorie*, vi. 257, some account, though very incomplete, is given of this affair. That, too, which is contained in Richelieu's *Memoires*, xxiii. 283, is but partial. The statement given by Nicoletti is much more circumstantial and authentic, and we have made use of it in this place.

He first represented to the French ambassador, how insulting it was to France that England utterly disregarded the pledges given in the contract of marriage. Either Louis XIII. must compel the English to observe their pledges, or hurl from the throne a prince, who as a heretic in the sight of God, and a violator of his word in that of man, was unworthy to fill it\*.

Next he turned to the Spanish ambassador Onate. The pope argued, that as a good knight, Philip IV. was bound to succour the queen of England, so near a relation of his own (she was his sister-in-law), in the oppression she now endured on behalf of her religion.

When the pope saw that he might entertain hopes, he put the negotiation into the hands of Spado, the nuncio in Paris.

Among the influential men in France, none took up this subject with more warmth than Cardinal Berulle, who had conducted the negotiations for the marriage. He calculated how the English vessels might be seized on the coasts of France; how their fleets might even be burned in their own harbours. In Spain, Olivarez entered on the scheme without much hesitation. Former instances of perfidy might indeed have given him reason to pause; and another high functionary of state, Cardinal Bedmar, decided against the measure on this ground: but the conception was too grand, too vast, to be rejected by Olivarez, who in all things loved the dazzling and the magnificent.

The negotiations were carried on with the utmost secrecy: even the French ambassador in Rome, to whom the matter was first opened, learned nothing of its further progress.

Richelieu drew up the draft of the treaty; Olivarez amended it; and to this Richelieu assented: it was ratified on the 20th of April, 1627. The French pledged themselves to begin their military preparations forthwith, and to set their harbours in a posture of defence. The Spaniards were ready for action that same year, 1627; and it was arranged that the French should join them the next spring with their whole force†.

\* The pope is made to say in Nicoletti: "Essere il re di Francia offeso nello stato, pel fomento che l'Inghilterra dava agli Ugonotti ribelli: nella vita rispetto agli incitamenti e felonìa di Sciales, il quale haveva indotto il duca di Orleans a macchinare contro S. M.<sup>a</sup>, per lo cui delitto fu poscia fatto morire: nella reputazione, rispetto a tanti mancamenti di promesse: e finalmente nel proprio sangue, rispetto agli strapazzi fatti alla regina sua sorella: ma quello che voleva dir tutto, nell'anima, insidiando l'Inglese alla salute di quella della regina ed insieme a quella del christianissimo stesso e di tutti coloro che pur troppo ebbero voglia di fare quello infelice matrimonio." [That the king of France was offended in his state, through the comfort and encouragement given by England to the rebellious Huguenots; in his life, through the instigations and the felony of Sciales, who had induced the duke of Orleans to plot against his majesty, for which crime he was afterwards put to death; in reputation, in respect to so many breaches of promise; and finally, in his own blood, by reason of the insults heaped on the queen, his sister: but to sum up all offences in one, he was injured in his soul, since the English plotted against the salvation of that of the queen, and thereby against the soul's salvation of the most Christian king himself, and of all those who had been too forward in effecting that unhappy marriage.]

† Lettere del nunzio, Aprile 9, 1627. "Tornò a Parigi il prefato corriere di Spagna con avvisi che il re cattolico contentavasi di muoversi il primo, come veniva desiderato

It does not appear very clearly from our authorities how France and Spain were to divide the spoil between them: thus much only is to be collected, that the pope's interests were regarded in this respect likewise. Berulle communicated to the nuncio in the most profound confidence, that should the enterprize succeed, Ireland should be consigned to the papal see, and might then be governed by the pope, through the medium of a viceroy. The nuncio received this offer with extraordinary satisfaction; only he recommended his holiness not to let a hint of it escape him, lest it should appear that he was in any degree actuated by secular views.

Germany and Italy, too, were brought within the scope of this plan.

There still appeared a possibility of putting down the naval supremacy of the English and Dutch by a general combination. The idea was conceived of forming an armed company; under the protection of which a direct traffic should be carried on between the Baltic, Flanders, the French coasts, Spain, and Italy, without any participation on the part of the two great naval powers. The emperor actually made proposals with this view to the Hans towns;—the infants in Brussels wished that a harbour might be conceded to the Spaniards on the Baltic\*. Negotiations were entered into with the grand duke of Tuscany, with a view to directing the Spanish and Portuguese trade to Leghorn†.

Things indeed were not carried to the extent proposed. In consequence of the intricacy of the interests concerned, the event took a very different course, but one that finally led to a result very favourable to the cause of catholicism.

Whilst plans of such magnitude were in contem-

da Francesi, purchè da questi si concedessero unitamente le due offerte altre volte alternativamente proposte, cioè che il christianesimo si obbligasse di muoversi nel mese di maggio o di giugno del anno seguente, o che presentemente accomodasse l'armata cattolica di alcune galere ed altri legni. Portò anche nuova il medesimo corriere che il conte duca aveva in Ispagna staccata la pratica e data ordine che se ne staccasse una simile in Flandra col re d' Inghilterra, il quale offriva al cattolico sospensione d'armi per tre anni o altro più lungo tempo, tanto al nome del re di Danimarca quanto degli Olandesi." [The aforesaid courier from Spain returned to Paris with advices, that the catholic king was content to make the first move, as had been requested by the king of France, provided the French would concede the two offers proposed before by way of alternative; i. e. that the most Christian king should pledge himself to move in the following May or June, and that he should at present furnish the catholic armament with some galleys and other vessels. The said courier also brought news, that the count duke had broken off intercourse with the king of England, and caused the same to be done in Flanders, and that the king of England offered his catholic majesty suspension of arms for three years, or other longer period, both in the name of the king of Denmark, and in that of the Hollanders.]

\* Pope Urban states this in an instruction to Gineti, in *Siri. Mercurio*, li. 984.

† Scrittura sopra la compagnia militante, MS. in the Archivio Mediceo, contains a discussion concerning the practicability of this plan. "Si propone che i popoli delle città anseathe entreranno nella compagnia militante per farne piacere all' imperatore e che i Toscani non abbino a ricusare come chiamati da sì gran monarchi." [It is conceived that the inhabitants of the Hans Towns would enter into the warlike confederacy to oblige the emperor, and that the Tuscans could not refuse to do the like when called on by such great monarchs.]

plation for an attack on England, it so befel that the projectors were themselves attacked by that country.

In July, 1627, Buckingham appeared with a stately fleet off the French coast: he landed on the island of Rhé, and seized it as far as to the citadel of St. Martin, to which he immediately laid siege. He summoned the Huguenots to make a new stand for their privileges and their religious independence, which assuredly was every day more and more endangered.

The English historians are in the habit of ascribing this expedition to a singular passion of Buckingham's for queen Anne of France. Be the fact that such a passion existed as it may, still there was in the great course of circumstances another, and assuredly a more substantial reason for the enterprize. Was Buckingham to await in England the projected attack on his country? Unquestionably it was more expedient to anticipate it, and to carry the war into France\*. A more auspicious moment there could not be. Louis XIII. was dangerously ill, and Richelieu was struggling with powerful factions. After some deliberation, the Huguenots actually resumed their arms, and their warlike leaders appeared once more in the field.

But Buckingham ought to have carried on the war with more vigour, and to have been better supported. King Charles I. admits, in all his letters, that this was not sufficiently the case. As matters were conducted, the enemy were soon no match for Cardinal Richelieu, whose genius unfolded its resources with double energy in moments of difficulty, and who never proved himself more resolute, steadfast, and indefatigable, than now. Buckingham saved himself by retreat; and his expedition, which might have been in the utmost degree perilous to the French government, had no other result than that the whole strength of the country flung itself, with renewed impetuosity, under the conduct of the cardinal, upon the Huguenots.

Rochelle was unquestionably the central point of the Huguenot strength. Richelieu had already in former years reflected on the possibility of capturing that stronghold, at the time when he resided in his bishopric of Luçon, in the neighbourhood. He now felt himself called on to head such an enterprize, and he resolved to accomplish it, cost what it might.

Strange to tell, nothing so much furthered his efforts, as the fanaticism of the English puritans.

Buckingham had at last taken up arms again to

\* It may be asked, had not Buckingham learned something of the secret design in question? It is at least very probable; for how seldom is a secret so well kept that nothing of it transpires. At any rate Zorzo Zorzi, the Venetian ambassador, who arrived in France about the time when the preliminaries were under discussion, heard of them immediately. "Si aggiungeva che le due corone tenevano insieme machinationi e trattati d' assalire con pari forze e dispositioni l'isola d'Inghilterra." [It was added that the two crowns plotted and conspired together to make a joint and equal attack on the island of England.] It is very unlikely then that no intelligence of the matter had reached England. The Venetians were in very close correspondence with that country, and had even incurred suspicion of having advised the expedition against the isle of Rhé. (*Rel. di Francia*, 1628.)

relieve Rochelle : his honour was pledged thereto, his position in England and in the world, depended on his execution of that task, and undoubtedly he had bent to it all his powers and resources. This was the moment chosen by a fanatic, instigated by revenge and mistaken religious zeal, to assassinate Buckingham.

In grand and decisive struggles, it is necessary that powerful men should make an enterprize their own personal affair. The siege of Rochelle was like a duel between the two ministers. Now Richelieu alone survived. In England there was no one to take Buckingham's place, or cordially to vindicate the honour of the deceased. The English fleet appeared in the roads, but effected nothing of consequence. It is said that Richelieu was aware this would be the case. He persevered unswervingly, and Rochelle surrendered to him in October, 1628.

After the fall of the principal fortresses, the neighbouring ones despaired of being able to hold out : their only care was to obtain tolerable terms\*.

Thus out of all these political complexities, which at first seemed propitious to the protestants, there ensued after all in the last result decisive victories and mighty advances on the part of catholicism. North-eastern Germany, and south-western France, which had held out so long, were both subdued. All that now seemed requisite was to subject the conquered foe for ever by laws and permanently effective institutions.

The aid which Denmark had afforded to the Germans, and England to the French, had proved rather pernicious than advantageous : it had first provoked the superior strength of the enemy ; and these powers were now themselves endangered or attacked. The imperial troops penetrated to Jutland. Fresh negotiations between France and Spain, respecting a combined attack on England, were set on foot in the year 1628, and plied with the utmost earnestness.

## CHAPTER V.

### MANTUAN WAR.—THIRTY YEARS' WAR.—REVOLUTION IN THE STATE OF THINGS.

At the first glance at the course of events, the progress of a system of movements once begun presents an aspect of unchangeable persistency.

\* Zorzo Zorzi: *Relazione di Francia, 1629* : "L'acquisto di Rocella ultimato sugli occhi dell' armata Inglese, che professava di sciogliere l'assedio et introdurre il soccorso, l'impresa contro Roano, capo et animo di questa fazione, i progressi contra gli Ugonotti nella Linguadocca colla ricuperaçione di ben 50 piazze hanno sgomentato i cuori e spozzato la fortuna di quel partito che perdute le forze interne e mancategli le intelligenze straniere si è interamente rimesso alla volontà e clemenza del re." [The conquest of Rochelle achieved before the eyes of the English forces, which professed the intention of relieving the besieged and throwing succour into the town ; the enterprize against Rohan, the head and soul of the faction, the successes against the Huguenots in Languedoc, with the recovery of fully fifty fortresses, have disheartened the party, and given a blow to their fortunes ; so that, deprived of their home resources, and disappointed of aid from abroad, they have cast themselves entirely upon the good pleasure and the clemency of the king.] He remarks that the Spaniards, though late,

But if we examine more narrowly, we shall not unfrequently see that the fundamental circumstance on which the whole group depends is slight and feeble,—often little more than personal regard or aversion, which it would not be very difficult to shake.

If we inquire what was the principal agency that produced the recent vast advantages on the side of catholicism, we shall find it was not so much the armies of Tilly and Wallenstein, or the military superiority of Richelieu over the Huguenots, as the renewed and existing war between France and Spain, without which neither the two former nor the latter would have been able to effect much.

All power of self-sustained resistance had passed away from protestantism by the year 1626 ; thenceforth nothing but the discord of the catholic powers encouraged it to make a stand ; their reconciliation was its ruin.

But who could fail to perceive how easily that union might be rent asunder.

Within the pale of catholicism two opposite impulses had arisen by an equal necessity ; the one religious, the other political.

The former demanded union, propagation of the faith, and disregard of all other considerations ; the latter unceasingly provoked the strife of the great power for pre-eminence.

It could scarcely be asserted that the course of events had as yet destroyed the balance of power in Europe. That balance rested in those days on the antagonism of France and the Austro-Spanish power ; and France, as well as the latter, had vastly augmented in strength in the course of these occurrences.

But political action is prompted and governed no less by anticipations of the future than by the pressure of present evils. The natural course of things seemed now to lead inevitably towards a state of universal peril.

The outspread of Wallenstein's troops over the northern countries of Germany, the ancient abodes of protestantism, seemed to countenance the possibility of again raising the imperial authority, which, with the exception of a moment in the life of Charles V., had for centuries been a mere shadow, to a condition of true power and essential importance. Such would be the inevitable result if the restoration of catholicism proceeded as it had begun.

France, on the other hand, had no equivalent advantage to expect : from the instant it had mastered the Huguenots, there remained for it no other object to be won. But the Italians had the greatest cause for anxiety. To them the renovation of a mighty imperial power, asserting so many claims in Italy, and so immediately connected with the detested power of the Spaniards, appeared perilous, nay intolerable.

The question was once more, whether the catholic efforts should be prosecuted without regard to these considerations, and should again overbear every thing else, or whether political motives

indeed, did actually arrive with fourteen ships to take part in the siege of Rochelle. He ascribes their accession to the "certezza del fine" [the certainty of the issue,] and to the desire "participar agli onori" [of participating in the honour].

would gain the upper hand, and put a stop to these exertions.

Whilst the current of catholic restoration was sweeping in full force over France and Germany, a movement took place in Italy which was destined to decide the question.

#### *Mantuan Succession.*

At the close of the year 1627 died Vincenzo II., duke of Mantua, of the house of Gonzaga, without issue. His next of kin was Carlo Gonzaga, duc de Nevers.

Simply considered, this succession presented no difficulty: no doubt could prevail as to the rights of the next of kin. But it involved a political change of great importance.

Charles de Nevers was born in France, and was necessarily to be regarded as a Frenchman: it was thought that the Spaniards would not endure the acquisition of power by a Frenchman in Upper Italy, which they had also sought with peculiar jealousy to keep free from all French influence.

If, after the lapse of so long a time, we endeavour to search the matter to the bottom, we shall find, that at first the thought of excluding Nevers was not entertained either at the Spanish or the Austrian court. In fact, he was related to the house of Austria; the empress was a Mantuan princess, and always strongly in his favour. "At first," says Khevenhiller, who was employed in the affairs of Mantua, "no objection was entertained to him: means were rather sought to conciliate his devotion to the imperial house\*." Olivarez, too, expressly asserted this; he tells us, that when news were received of the dangerous illness of don Vincenzo, it was resolved to send a courier to the duke of Nevers, and offer him the protection of Spain in taking peaceable possession of Mantua and Monferrat†. It is very possible that conditions would have been prescribed to him, and securities demanded; but of his rights there was no thought of despoiling him.

The mode in which this natural course of things was prevented is remarkable.

Credit was not given to the Spaniards in Italy for a disposition to act so equitably. No one would ever believe of them, frequent as had been their previous assurances of good faith, that they would not oppose the succession of Nevers‡. The

Spanish rulers in Italy had once for all drawn down on themselves the suspicion that they were ready to grasp, even by unlawful means, at the possession of unlimited power. No one would be persuaded that they would not now endeavour to bestow the duchy on some member of the house of Gonzaga more devoted to their own interests.

Let us confess, however, that the desire of the Italians to see Mantua ruled by a prince naturally connected with France, and independent of the Spaniards, had much share in engendering that opinion. They would not believe that Spain would accede to anything which they themselves so longed for in their antipathy to that country. They even communicated their own belief to the rightful heir, so that he deemed it expedient to take possession of his inheritance with all speed, and in whatever way he could.

Like as it occurs in the animal constitution, the internal disease sought only an occasion, an injured part, to break out.

Previously to the decease of Vincenzo, the young Gonzago Nevers, duke of Rethel, arrived in the profoundest secrecy in Mantua, where every thing had been pre-arranged by a Mantuan minister, of the name of Striggio, who belonged to the anti-Spanish party. The old duke made no difficulty of recognizing the rights of his kinsman. There was still existing a female descendant of the direct native line, a great granddaughter of Philip II., through his younger daughter, who had married into the house of Savoy, and it seemed to be most important that the young duke should wed her. Casual circumstances delayed the affair, and Vincenzo was already dead\*, when one night the lady was brought from the convent where she had been educated and carried into the palace, where the marriage was performed and consummated without much loss of time. Not till after this was the death of the late duke made public, and Rethel saluted as sovereign of Mantua, and homage tendered him. A Milanese envoy was kept at a distance till all was completed, and then, not without a sort of mockery, was made acquainted with the whole transaction.

Accounts of these proceedings arrived in Madrid and Vienna at the same moment as the news of the duke's death.

It must be admitted that such things were peculiarly of a nature to exasperate such great sovereigns as the emperor and the king of Spain, who piqued themselves on a character of sacred majesty. So near a relation married without their consent,—nay, without their knowledge,—with a sort of violence! An important fief taken possession of without the least deference for the liege lord!

The measures taken by the two courts were nevertheless different.

Olivarez, proud as a Spaniard, doubly so as minister of so powerful a king, always full of the most overweening sense of his own importance, was now far from disposed to make any advances to the duke: he resolved that, if he did no more, he would at least, to use his own expression, mortify

asserts it; the Italians do not believe it; still it is so beyond doubt.

\* Nani, *Storia Veneta* l. 7, p. 350, Siri, *Memorie recondite* vi. 309, state this fact, the last-mentioned from a letter of Sabran's to the French court.

\* *Annales Ferdinandel*, xi. p. 30.

† Francesco degli Albizi, negotiator di Monsr. Cesare Monte: "S. Ma.", says Olivarez, "in sentire la grave indisposizione del duca Vincenzo ordinò che si dispiacesse corriere in Francia al medesimo Nevers promettendogli la protezione sua acciò egli potesse pacificamente ottenere il possesso di Mantova e del Monferrato: ma appena consegnati gli ordini, si era con altro corriere venuto d'Italia intesa la morte di Vincenzo, il matrimonio di Retel senza partecipazione del re," etc.

‡ "Nè si deve dar credenza," says Mulla, the Venetian ambassador in Mantua in 1615, "a quello che si è lasciato intendere più volte il marchese di Inoiosa, già governator di Milano, che Spagnoli non porterebbono, quando venisse il caso, mai altri allo stato di Mantua che il duca di Nevers." [No credit is to be given to what has been frequently stated by the marchese d'Inoiosa, formerly governor of Milan, that should the opportunity occur, the Spaniards would never place any other than the duke of Nevers on the throne of Milan]—but why not? We have only the fact: the governor

him\*. Was not his conduct openly hostile? After such a proof of his inclination, could he be trusted with the important city of Montferrat, which was to be regarded as an outwork of Milan? The duke of Guastalla made pretensions to Mantua, the duke of Savoy to Montferrat; the Spaniards now entered into connexion with both; arms were appealed to; the duke of Savoy advanced on Montferrat from one side, Don Gonzalez, governor of Milan, from the other. The French had already retreated to Casale. Don Gonzalez hastened to besiege it, and doubted not that he would speedily reduce it, since he counted on an understanding with parties within the walls.

The emperor was not so precipitate. He was convinced that God would protect him, because he trod the path of righteousness. He disapproved of the conduct of the Spaniards, and caused formal notice of his disapprobation to be made to Don Gonzalez. On the other hand, he was determined to exercise his right of supreme adjudication in the most unrestricted manner, and pronounced the sequestration of Mantua till he should have decided to which of the several claimants the inheritance belonged. As the new duke of Mantua, who was now arrived in person, would not submit, the most severe mandates were issued against him†.

\* Nicoletti: Vita di papa Urbano, from a despatch of the nuncio Pamfilio: "Dichiaravasi il conte duca che per lo meno voleva mortificare il duca di Nevers per lo poco rispetto portato al re nella conclusione del matrimonio senza parteciparlo; ma a quel segno potesse giungere la mortificazione non poteva il nuntio farne congettura, e tanto più che le ragioni che avevano mosso il papa a concedere la dispensa, erano acerbamente impugnate dal medesimo conte duca." [The count duke declared that, at the least, he would mortify the duke of Nevers for the little respect shown the king in concluding the marriage without communicating it to him; but in what particular this mortification was to be inflicted the nuncio could not conjecture, the more so because the motives that had induced the pope to grant the dispensation were bitterly impugned by the count duke.]

† The views of the imperial court may be collected from the report of Palotta, June 10, 1628, an extract from which is to be found in Nicoletti. "Il nunzio ogni di più accorgevasi che era malissima l'impressione contro il duca di Nevers, che avesse disprezzato il re di Spagna e molto più l'imperatore conchiudendo matrimonio senza sua partecipazione, col possesso dello stato senza investitura, anzi senza indulto imperiale; che fosse nemico della casa d'Austria, che avesse Intelligenza e disegno co' Francesi di dare loro mano nell' invasione dello stato di Milano: e che non di meno S. M<sup>te</sup>. Ces<sup>a</sup>. avesse grandissima inclinazione alla pace, e con questo fine avesse fatto il decreto del sequestro per levare l'armi dalle mani di Spagnuoli e di Savojardi stanti le ragioni che pretendevano Guastalla, Savoia, Lorena e Spagna negli stati di Mantova e Monferrato: che dopo il duca avesse di nuovo offeso l'imperatore col disprezzo de' commissarij, non dando loro la mano dritta e non gli ammettendo in Mantova e sopra tutto col appellazione e protesta che l'imperatore fosse caduto dalla ragione e superiorità di detti feudi." [The nuncio was daily more and more convinced that the impression entertained against the duke of Nevers was very bad, because he had treated the king of Spain with contempt, and still more the emperor, in concluding the marriage without their privacy and consent, and taking possession of the state without investiture or any imperial indult; because he was an enemy of the house of Austria, and was leagued and confederate with the French to give them assistance in their invasion of the state of Milan; and it was said, notwithstanding all this, the emperor was strongly inclined to peace, to which end he had issued the proclamation of sequestra-

Now, however the measures of the two courts differed in origin and in spirit, they coincided, after all, in their effects. Nevers found himself threatened no less by the legal claims of the German branch of the house of Austria, than by the violent measures of the Spanish branch; in thinking to avoid the danger, he had drawn it down on his head.

At first his prospects were indeed but bad. It is true some Italian states regarded his cause as identical with their own; they neglected nothing that could confirm him in his resolution to hold out, but they had not strength sufficient to afford him any effectual succour.

Richelieu, too, had promised that he would not let him sink if he could only maintain his position till France could come to his aid. But the question was, when might that be?

The circumstances of Mantua had reached a very perilous pitch, while the siege of Rochelle was yet pending. Before its fall Richelieu could not move a step. He durst not venture to engage in fresh hostilities against Spain, so long as there was a chance of thereby occasioning a dangerous rising of the Huguenots.

But yet another consideration was forced upon him by his former experience. On no account durst he quarrel with the devout, rigorously catholic party in his native country. He durst not break with the pope, or even venture on a line of policy that might be displeasing to his holiness.

An immensity now once more depended on the personal disposition of the pope. His position, the nature of his office, called on him to make every effort for the maintenance of peace in the catholic world. As an Italian sovereign, he had an unquestionable influence over his neighbours, while even France, as we have seen, was obliged to model her conduct upon his. Every thing depended on whether he would avert the outbreak of the quarrel, or himself take a part in it.

In the former political conjunctures Urban VIII. had found the bent of his policy determined, its path marked out. On this occasion his own turn of mind first came to view more completely, and at the same time with more decisive influence on the affairs of the world.

### Urban VIII.

Among the foreigners who attained to a high degree of wealth by the commerce of Ancona, which was in considerable vigour in the sixteenth century, the Florentine house of Barberini distinguished itself by its shrewdness and success in business. Maffeo, a scion of the house, born in Florence in the year 1568, was taken, after the early death of his father, to Rome, where lived an uncle of his who had gained a certain station in the curia. Maffeo also entered on the same career, in which he was furthered by the easy circumstances of his house, while he likewise mani-

tion, to disarm the Spaniards and the Savoyards pending the discussion of the pretensions to the states of Mantua and Montferrat alleged by Guastalla, Savoy, Lorraine, and Spain; that subsequently the duke had offended the emperor afresh, by his contempt of the commissioners in not countenancing them or admitting them into Mantua, and above all, by his appeal and protest that the emperor had lost his rights and his superiority over the said fiefs.]



fested distinguished talents. At every step of his rise his colleagues recognized his superiority. It was chiefly through a nunciature in France, where he won the entire regard of the French court, that higher prospects opened upon him. After the death of Gregory XV., the French party, from the very first, fixed on him to succeed to the papal see. The character of the conclave on that occasion differed from former ones, from the fact that the last pope had reigned but a short time. Though he had named a considerable number of cardinals, still those created by his predecessor were quite as numerous: the last nephew and the last but one met each other in tolerably equal strength in the conclave. Maffeo Barberini is said to have secretly intimated to each of them that he was an adversary of the other, and to have been in consequence supported by each out of hostility to his rival. But doubtless it contributed still more to his election, that he had always proved himself the champion of the jurisdictional pretensions of the Roman curia, and had thereby recommended himself to the majority of the cardinals. In a word, helped forward alike by his own merit, and by others' support, Maffeo Barberini carried the day, and ascended the pontifical throne at the vigorous age of 55.

The court very soon discovered a marked difference between him and his immediate predecessors. Clement VIII. was usually to be found engaged with the works of St. Bernard, Paul V. with those of Justinian of Venice; while on the study table of the new pope, Urban VIII., were to be seen the last new poems, or even plans of fortifications.

It will generally be found that the period in which a man's character assumes its decided bent, is that of the first bloom of manhood, when he begins to take an independent share in public business, or in literature. The youth of Paul V., born in 1552, and of Gregory XV., born in 1554, belonged to an epoch in which the principle of catholic restoration strode onwards in the full unbroken vigour of its march. The first active years of Urban VIII., born 1568, coincided, on the contrary, with the period of the opposition of the papal sovereignty against Spain, and of the re-establishment of catholicism in France. We find that his inclinations now followed the bent thus acquired.

Urban VIII. regarded himself principally in the light of a temporal prince.

He entertained the opinion, that the states of the church required to be secured by fortresses, and rendered formidable by the force of its own arms. The marble statues of his predecessors being shown him, he said he would have statues of iron erected to himself. He built on the borders of the Bolognese Castelfranco, which has received the name of Fort Urbano, though its military purpose was so little apparent, that the Bolognese suspected it was rather designed against them, than for their protection. In Rome he began as early as the year 1625 to strengthen the castle of St. Angelo with new breastworks; and he stored it without delay with ammunition and provisions, just as though war were immediately at hand; he built the lofty wall on Monte Cavallo, which encloses the papal garden, regardless of the destruction thereby caused of some noble monuments of antiquity in the Colonna gardens. He erected a manufactory

for arms in Tivoli\*; the rooms of the Vatican library were used as arsenals; soldiers swarmed in Rome, and the seat of the supreme spiritual authority in Christendom, the peaceful compass of the eternal city, resounded to the din of arms. A free port was also an indispensable requisite to a well-constituted state, accordingly Civita Vecchia was at great cost adapted to that end. But the result was more in accordance with the situation of things than with the intentions of the pope. The Barbary corsairs sold in that very harbour the booty plundered from Christian vessels. And this was the issue of the labours of the chief pastor of Christendom.

But in all these things pope Urban acted with unlimited autocratic power. At least, in the early years of his reign, he surpassed the despotism of his predecessors.

If it was proposed to him to call the college together, to aid him with their counsels, his answer was, that he understood more than all the cardinals put together. Consistories were held but rarely, and even then few had the courage to speak their minds freely. The congregations assembled as usual, but no questions of importance were laid before them; and whatever resolutions they passed were but little regarded. Even for the administration of the state, Urban formed no regular consulta, as his predecessors had done. His nephew, Francesco Barberini, was perfectly right in refusing, during the first ten years of his pontificate, to take on himself the responsibility of any measure

\* A Contarini: Relatione de 1635, "Quanto alle armi, i papi n'erano per l'addietro totalmente sprovveduti, perchè confidavano più nell'obbligarsi i principi con le gratie che nelle difese temporali. Hora si è mutato registro et il papa presente in particolare vi sta applicatissimo. A Tivoli egli ha condotto un tal Ripa Bresciano, suddito di V. Sertà. Il quale poi di tempo in tempo è andato sviando molti operai della terra di Gardon. Quivi costui fa lavorare gran quantità d'arme, prima facendo condurre il ferro grezzo dal Bresciano et hora lavorandone qualche portione ancora di certe miniere ritrovate nell'Umbria; di che tutto diede avviso con mie lettere a suo tempo, che m'immagino passassero senza riflessione. Di queste armi ha il papa sotto la libreria del Vaticano accomodato un'arsenale dove con buon ordine stanno riposti moschetti, picche, carabine e pistole per armare trentamila fanti e cinquemila cavalli, oltre buon numero che dalla medesima fucina di Tivoli si è mandato a Ferrara e Castelfranco in queste ultime occorrenze." [As for arms, the popes had formerly been totally unprovided with them, because they confided more in binding princes to them by favours, than in means of material defence. This is now changed, and the present pope is most intent on the matter. He has engaged at Tivoli a certain Ripa of Brescia, a subject of your serenity, who has from time to time procured numerous workmen from the Gardon country. Ripa manufactures a great quantity of weapons, to which end he at first had crude iron brought from the neighbourhood of Brescia, but at present he also works up some portion of certain ores found in Umbria: all this I notified in my letters in due time, but I rather think they were passed over without consideration. The arms then manufactured have been stored up by the pope in an arsenal under the Vatican library, in which are arranged in good order muskets, pikes, carbines, and pistols, sufficient for thirty thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry; in addition to which a large quantity has also been sent from the same factory at Tivoli to Ferrara and Castelfranco on the late occasions.]

† Le "congregazioni servono," says Aluise Contarini, "per coprire talvolta qualche errore." [The congregations serve occasionally to cloak some errors.]



that had been adopted, be its nature what it might.

Foreign ambassadors were unfortunate in being able to make but little way in business with the pope. At the audiences he himself spoke more than any one \*, harangued, and continued with one envoy the conversation he had begun with his predecessor. He expected to be listened to, admired, and accosted with the greatest reverence, even when he rejected requests. Other popes had often given refusals to suitors, but that upon some principle, whether of religion or policy; in Urban this appeared attributable to caprice. No one could ever tell whether he was to expect a Yes or a No of him. The adroit Venetians found out that he loved contradiction,—that he leaned by an almost involuntary instinct to the opposite of what was proposed to him; to obtain their ends they adopted the expedient of starting objections, in combating which, the pope of his own accord fell into designs to which no possible persuasion could have won his consent.

Such a temper as this may exhibit itself even in subordinate stations, and was in those days not unfrequent among Italians and Spaniards. It regards a public station in the light of a tribute due to merit and personal importance; and consequently, in the discharge of official duties, it is much more obedient to these personal impulses than to the exigencies of the case: somewhat as an author, filled with a sense of his own talents, does not so much contemplate the object before him, as give free scope to the play of his fancy.

Nay, Urban was actually one of this class of authors! The poems of his that have survived display wit and suppleness; but how strangely are sacred subjects handled in them! The songs and sayings of the Old and New Testaments are forced to accommodate themselves to the Horatian metres, and the song of praise of the aged Simeon must figure in two Sapphic strophes! No characteristic of the text of course survives such a process:

\* Pietro Contarini: *Relatione di 1627*. "Abbona con grande faccandia nelli discorsi, è copioso nelli suoi ragionamenti di cose varie, argomenta e tratta nelli negotj con tutte le ragioni che intende e sa, a segno che le audience si rendono altrettanto e più lunghe di quelle de' predecessori suoi: e nelli congregazioni dove interviene segue pur il medesimo con grande disavvantaggio di chi tratta seco, mentre togliendo egli la maggior parte del tempo poco ne lascia agli altri: et ho udito io dire ad un cardiale che andava per non ricever l'audienza ma per darla al papa, poichè era certo che la S. S. più avrebbe voluto discorrere che ascoltarlo; e molte volte è accaduto che alcuni entrati per esporre le proprie loro istanze, se ne sono usciti senza poter de' loro interessi dirle cosa alcuna." [He harangues with great fluency and eloquence, copiously debates a variety of topics, and brings all the arguments he can think of to bear on the discussion of business, in proof of which, the audiences last as long again or more than those of his predecessors: he proceeds after the same fashion in the congregations, to the great disadvantage of all who have to do with him, for he takes up the greatest part of the time and leaves little to others: indeed I have heard of a cardinal, who said that he went not to receive audience of the pope, but to give him audience, because he knew very well his Holiness would be more inclined to harangue than to listen to him; and it has repeatedly happened, to persons who have presented themselves before him to urge their own views, that after he had once taken up the discourse, they left his presence without being able to put in a word upon their business].

the matter is forced to bend to a form discordant with it, because it was a favourite with the author.

But these talents, the brilliancy with which they surrounded the person of the pope, even the robust health he enjoyed, only exaggerated the feelings of self-importance with which his lofty station inspired him \*.

I know not any pope in whom that feeling existed in so high a degree. An objection drawn from the old papal constitutions was once set before him: he replied that the opinion pronounced by a living pope was worth more than the maxims of a hundred dead ones.

He set aside the resolution that had been adopted by the Roman people, never again to erect a statue to a pope in his lifetime, saying, that "such a resolution could be of no force with regard to a pope such as he."

Some one spoke to him in praise of the conduct of one of his nuncios in a matter of difficulty, which he met by saying, that "the nuncio had acted upon his instructions."

Such a man was Urban VIII.; so filled with the idea of being a mighty prince; so attached to France, both through his former employments, and through the support he had received from that power; finally, so self-willed, energetic, and full of himself;—such was the man who at this moment was put in possession of the highest spiritual authority in catholic Christendom.

Upon his resolves, on the attitude he assumed in the midst of the catholic powers, mightily depended the progress or the interruption of the universal restoration which now occupied mankind.

Now, on many occasions, the pope had already seemed to give proof of aversion to the Austro-Spanish party †.

As early as in the year 1625, cardinal Borgia complained of his stubborn hardness: the king could not obtain the least concession from him,—every thing was denied him.

Cardinal Borgia asserted that Urban VIII. did not willingly terminate the affair of the Valtelline; the king had offered to give up the contested passes, but the pope had never paid any attention to the offer.

Nor can it be denied that Urban was in part to blame, that the connexion between the houses of Austria and Stuart had not taken place. When he executed the dispensation which had been drawn up by his predecessor, he added to the old conditions the clause, that in every county of England public churches should be erected for the catholics,—a demand that could never be acceded

\* This was noticed in him from the very first. *Relatione de' quattro ambasciatori, 1624*: "Ama le proprie opinione e si lascia lusingare dal suo genio; a che conseguiva una salda tenacità dei propri pensieri: . . . è sempre intento a quelle cose che possono ringrandire il concetto della sua persona." [He loves his own opinions, and is vain of his genius; the consequence of which is a rigid tenacity of his own notions: . . . he is always intent on whatever can enhance the thought of his personal importance.]

† Marquemont (*Lettres, in Aubrey: Mémoires de Richelieu, i. p. 65*) remarks this from the very first. It will not be difficult, he says, to deal with the pope. His inclinations are for the king and for France; from prudence, however, he will endeavour to satisfy the other sovereigns. The pope became immediately aware of the aversion of the Spaniards.

to by an irritated protestant population, forming a majority of the nation, and which the pope himself subsequently abandoned on the occasion of the French marriage. The truth was, he seemed to view with ill-will the increase of power which Spain would have acquired by an alliance with England. The nuncio then resident in Brussels treated in the utmost secrecy for a marriage between the electoral prince palatine and a princess, not of Austria, but of Bavaria\*.

The pope, too, was not less essentially implicated in the entangled affair of the Mantuan succession. The secret marriage of the young princess with Retzel, on which every thing turned, could not have taken place without a papal dispensation. Pope Urban granted it without one question asked of the bride's nearest relations, the emperor, and the king of Spain; and granted it, moreover, precisely at the critical moment.

All this being the case, there was no mistaking the pope's sentiments. Like all the other Italian potentates, there was nothing he desired so much as to see an independent prince in Mantua.

Nor did he wait till some step or another should have been taken by Richelieu. Failing in all his applications to the imperial court, the proceedings of which were more and more hostile, and seeing that the siege of Casale was still persisted in, the pope himself turned to France.

He made the most urgent entreaties, "that the king would send an army into the field, even before Rochelle should have been taken; an enterprise in the cause of Mantua was as pleasing to God as the beleaguering even of that main citadel of the Huguenots; let but the king appear in Lyons and declare for the freedom of Italy, and the pope would not delay to send an army into the field and form a junction with the king †."

Richelieu, therefore, had nothing to fear from that quarter if he should renew the opposition against Spain, which had broken down three years before. But he wished to be perfectly sure of his ground; he had none of the pope's precipitancy, and he did not suffer himself to be disturbed from prosecuting that siege to which his ambition was bound.

But he only appeared the more determined when Rochelle had fallen. "Monsignor," he said to the papal nuncio, whom he immediately sent for, "now are we too resolved not to lose another minute: the king will engage with all his might in the affairs of Italy ‡."

Now then that enmity to Spain and Austria, which had so frequently displayed itself, burst forth more vehemently than ever. The jealousy of Italy once more aroused the ambition of France. The state of things appeared so pressing, that Louis XIII. would not wait till the spring, but at once left Paris in the middle of the year 1629, and took the route across the Alps, the duke of Savoy, who, as we have showed adhered to Spain, in vain opposed him; his passes, which he had caused to be barricaded, were carried at the first assault; Susa was taken, and he was compelled to come to terms in the month of March,

\* The nuncio's emissary was a Capuchin, Francesco della Rota. Rusdorf, *Négotiations*, i. 205, is particularly circumstantial on the subject of his transactions.

† Extract from Bethune's despatches of the 23rd Sept. and 8th Oct. 1628, in Sirti: *Memorie*, vi. p. 478.

‡ Dispaccio, Bagni, 2 Nov. 1628.

whilst the Spaniards were constrained to raise the siege of Casale\*.

And so the two foremost catholic powers were once more opposed to each other in arms. Richelieu resumed his boldest designs against the Austro-Spanish power.

But a comparison of the times with each other, shows that his footing on the present occasion was far more substantial and tenable than it had been in his former interference in the affairs of the Grisons and of the Palatinate. Then the Huguenots were still in a condition to seize the opportunity, and perplex him by the renewal of civil war. Even now they were not indeed fully subdued, but since they had lost Rochelle they were no longer capable of giving him any uneasiness; their defeats and losses proceeded without interruption, and they were incapable of making so much as a mere diversion. Besides, it was perhaps of still more moment that Richelieu now had the pope on his side. In his former undertaking, the state of variance with the Roman policy in which he became involved was perilous even to his position in France: his present one, on the contrary, had been called forth by Rome itself in the interests of the papal sovereignty. Richelieu found it expedient on the whole to attach himself as closely as possible to the papacy: accordingly, in the collisions between the Roman and the Gallican doctrines, he now adhered to the former and repudiated the latter.

How important in this way, became the hostility of Urban VIII. to the house of Austria!

With the development of religious opinions, and the progress of the catholic restoration, were associated political changes, the principles of which incessantly gathered strength, and now set themselves in array against that of the church itself.

The pope entered the lists against those powers who made the restoration of catholicism their most earnest care.

The question now was, what position those powers, especially the emperor Ferdinand, in whose hands the task of effecting that restoration chiefly lay, would take against so mighty and so formidable an opposition.

#### *The power of the emperor Ferdinand in the year 1629.*

The emperor appeared as though nothing were the matter.

It is true he could not under existing circumstances promise himself any sort of favour from the pope. In the most trifling things, as for instance, in the affair of the abbey of St. Maximian, he met with resistance, and received nothing but refusal: so it was likewise in the most pious proposals, as when he desired to have St. Stephen and St. Winceslaus admitted into the Roman calendar, because the one was an object of high veneration in Hungary, the other in Bohemia. Notwithstanding all this, he published the edict of restoration in the empire on the 6th of March, 1629. That document may be regarded as the final sentence in the suit which had been pending upwards of a century. The evangelists were utterly condemned, the catholics had judgment entirely in

\* Recueil de diverses relations des guerres d'Italie, 1629-31. Bourg en Bresse, 1632.

their favour. "Nothing more remains for us to do," says the emperor, "than to stand by the injured party, and to order our commissioners to demand back from their wrongful holders all archbishoprics, bishoprics, prelaties, convents, and other ecclesiastical possessions seized since the treaty of Passau." Commissions were forthwith instituted, one of which was put in activity in each several circle of the empire, and the most sweeping and indiscriminate execution of the edict began. Now was not this enough to propitiate the pope, and move him to favour and good will? Pope Urban regarded it all as a bare discharge of duty. The emperor solicited the right of nominating, at least for the first time, to the ecclesiastical posts made vacant by the operation of the edict; the pope refused this, saying, "that he durst not violate the concordats, which were observed even in France\*." This mode of refusal was almost a mockery, for the French concordat actually secured to the king the privilege demanded by the emperor. The emperor wished to be allowed to convert the recovered convents into colleges, especially for the Jesuits: the pope replied, that the convents must be delivered up directly to the bishops.

Meanwhile the emperor held on his course without regarding the pope's disfavour: he looked on himself as the great champion of the catholic church.

He brought three armies at once into the field. The first lent its aid to the Poles against the Swedes, and actually restored the fortune of their arms to a certain extent. But this was not the sole object aimed at: the campaign was likewise designed with a view to bring back Prussia to the empire and the Teutonic order, from which it had been wrested†.

Another army marched against the Netherlands to the support of the Spaniards. It swept the plain from Utrecht to Amsterdam, and it was only a chance surprise at Wesel that hindered its obtaining the most important success.

Meanwhile a third host assembled at Memmingen and Linden, destined for Italy, where it was to decide the Mantuan affair with the sword. The Swiss could not be prevailed on by fair means to grant a passage through their country; they were therefore compelled by force, and in a moment Luciensteig, Coire, and all the Grison passes as far as the lake of Como were occupied, and the army, amounting to thirty-five thousand, descended the valleys of the Adda and the Oglio. The duke

of Mantua was once more summoned to submit. He declared that he was under the protection of the king of France, and that that monarch alone was to be addressed on the subject in question. While the Germans now moved upon Mantua, and the Spaniards on Montferrat, the French too made their appearance a second time, and some success attended their arms: they took Saluzzo, and Pinerolo, but they effected nothing as regarded the main design, nor were they even able again to force the duke of Savoy to bend to their wishes. The Spaniards began to besiege Casale, and the Germans Mantua, after a short suspension of hostilities\*, and had a decided superiority.

It is not to be wondered at, if in this state of things reminiscences of the ancient supremacy of the emperors began to be rife, and to find a tongue in Vienna.

"The Italians shall be taught that there is still an emperor: they shall be brought to a rigorous account."

Venice had especially brought down on itself the hatred of the house of Austria. It was judged at Vienna, that when once Mantua should have fallen, the terra firma of Venice would be incapable of resisting. In a couple of months it would infallibly be reduced, and then the imperial fiefs might be reclaimed. The Spanish ambassador went still further; he compared the Austro-Spanish power to the Roman, the Venetian to the Carthaginian: "Aut Roma," he exclaimed, "aut Carthago delenda est."

The temporal rights of the empire were likewise called to mind as against the papacy.

Ferdinand II. purposed to have himself crowned, and demanded that the pope should come and meet him at Bologna or at Ferrara: the pope durst neither promise nor refuse, and sought to evade the difficulty by a mental reservation‡. The feudal rights of the empire over Urbino and Montefeltro came under discussion, and the papal nuncio was told without more ceremony, that Wallenstein would make further inquiries on the subject when he came to Italy. This in fact was Wallenstein's intention. He had formerly been averse to the Italian war, but now he declared that he was in favour of it, since he perceived that the pope wished in concert with his allies to put down the house of Austria§. He hinted that

\* The eleventh book of the *Istoria* di Pietro Giov. Capriata, investigates the particular bearings of these events.

† "Se bene Urbano una volta uscì coll' ambasciatore Savelli, che bisognando si saria trasferito a Bologna o Ferrara, non intese però dire in corrispettività di quello che esprime il principe di Eckenberg." [Though Urban once said to the ambassador Savelli, that if need were he would go to Bologna or Ferrara, he did not yet mean to say so in the sense expressed by the prince of Eckenberg.]

‡ What was the general opinion entertained of the pope in Vienna appears from a letter of Palotta, August 10, 1628. "E stato qui rappresentato da' maligni, che son quelli che vogliono la guerra, che lo stato di Milano sta in grandissimo pericolo, essendo cosa sicura che papa Urbano havendo vastissimi pensieri sia di cattivo animo verso la casa d'Austria; che perciò si habbia da temere di S. Sta. non meno che di Veneziani e di Francesi, havendo gli stati così vicini al ducato di Milano e potendo in un tratto mettere potente esercito in campagna: e di più gli stessi maligni hanno rappresentato per cosa già stabilita che S. Sta. vuole in ogni modo far fare re de' Romani il re di Francia, ed in confirmazione di ciò hanno allegato che essendo la S. Sta. nunzio di

\* Lettere di Segreteria di stato al nunzio Palotta li 28 Aprile, 1629. The pope dispatched Pier Luigi Caraffa, his nuncio in Cologne, to Lower Saxony, "con titolo per la restituzione de' beni ecclesiastici, e deliberò di dargli anche le facultà a parte, se fosse stato bisogno li usarle, nelle controversie fra ecclesiastici ed ecclesiastici" [with powers for the restitution of ecclesiastical possessions, and he thought also of giving him special authority to decide, if necessary, in disputes between clergy and clergy].

† Mémoires et négociations de Rusdorf. li. 724. Comiti Negromontano (Schwarzenberg). "Vienna: nuper claris verbis a consiliariis et ministris Caesaris dictum fuit, imperatorem seilicet sibi et imperio subjecturum quicquid milite suo in Borussia occupavit et cepit." [It was recently declared in plain terms by the councillors and ministers of the emperor at Vienna, that the emperor would subject to himself and to the empire whatever his arms should obtain possession of in Prussia.]

a hundred years had elapsed since Rome had been plundered, and that it must now be far richer than it had been in those days.

Meanwhile France too was not to have been spared. The emperor thought of resuming by force of arms the three alienated bishoprics, his plan being to procure Cossacks from Poland, and send them against France. The quarrels of Louis XIII. with his brother and his mother, seemed to offer him a desirable opportunity.

Thus the house of Austria took up a position, in which it followed up its efforts against the protestants in the boldest manner, but still strenuously kept down and curbed the catholic opposition, and even the pope himself.

*Negotiations with Sweden. Electoral diet at Ratisbon.*

As often in former times as a contingency of this kind had been but remotely foreseen or apprehended, so often had every power in Europe retaining any independence combined. It had now actually taken place, and the catholic opposition looked round for aid beyond the pale of catholicism, no longer prompted by mere jealousy, but with a view to defence and salvation. But to whom could they turn? England had her hands full at home, in consequence of the rupture between the king and the parliament, and moreover had actually entered on fresh negotiations with Spain: the Netherlands were themselves invested by the enemy; the German protestants were either bent on or kept in awe by the imperial armies, and the king of Denmark had been forced to accept a disadvantageous peace. None else remained besides the king of Sweden.

While the protestants had been defeated on all sides, Gustavus Adolphus alone had achieved victories. He had conquered Riga, all Livonia as far as Dünamünde, and of Lithuania, as the Poles expressed it, "as much as he pleased." Next he made his appearance in Prussia in 1626, principally, as he said, to visit the clergy in the bishopric of Ermland. He took Frauenburg and Braunsberg, the chief seats of restored catholicism in those parts, and afforded new and strong support to the oppressed protestants there. All eyes were turned upon him. "Above all other men," Rusdorf writes in the year 1624, "do I prize this victorious hero; I revere him as the sole protector of our cause, and as the terror of our common foes; my prayers wait on his renown, which is elevated

above the reach of all envy \*." True, Gustavus Adolphus had sustained a loss in the battle of the plain of Stumm, and had narrowly escaped being taken prisoner; but the chivalrous valour with which he cut his way through shed fresh lustre on his name, and he kept the field in spite of this disadvantage.

To this prince the French turned on the present emergency. In the first place, they effected a truce between him and the Poles; and it is very possible that the emperor's Prussian views contributed to make, if not the king, yet the nobles at least of Poland, disposed to peace†. Then they made a further step towards their main object, namely, enticing the king of Sweden into Germany. The only caution they observed in this matter, was to introduce into the treaty some stipulations in favour of catholicism. With these reservations, they declared themselves ready to aid the king, who had an imposing army prepared to take the field, with a proportional subsidy in money. After some hesitation, king Gustavus accepted the proposal. He avoided all mention of religion in his instructions, and put forth as the aim of the confederacy merely the restoration of the German estates to their ancient privileges, the removal of the imperial troops, and the security of the seas and of commerce‡. A treaty was drawn up, in which the king promised to tolerate the catholic worship wherever he found it, and in matters of religion to abide by the laws of the empire (such was the expression). This stipulation was necessary for the pope's sake, to whom notice was immediately given of the treaty. The ratification was obstructed indeed by some formalities; still the measure was regarded as definitive as early as the summer of 1630§. The papal nuncio in France asserts that Venice had pledged herself to pay a third of the subsidies||. I have not been able to ascertain what grounds there are for this assertion: at least, it was consistent with the situation of things.

But could hopes be fairly entertained that Gustavus Adolphus would be able, single-handed, to

\* Rusdorf, Mémoires, li. 3. "Ejus gloriam invidiæ metas eluctatam, excelsam infracti animi magnitudinem, et virtutis magis ac magis per merita entescentis et assurgentis invictum robur cum stupore adoro et suppliciter voto prosequor."

† Rusdorf, l. i. 724. "Polonice proceres, si unquam, vel nunc maxime, pacem desiderant."

‡ "Tenor mandatorum quæ S. R. Mnj. Sueciæ clementer vult, ut consiliarius ejus . . . Dn. Camerarius observare debent, Upsaliæ, 18 Dec. 1629." Mosers patriotisches Archiv. b. vi. p. 133.

§ Bagni, 18, Guigno 1630. He gives in the following form, with slight variations, the article, which is also to be found in the treaty of the 6th of January, 1631: "Si rex aliquos progressus faciet, in captis aut deditis locis, quantum ad ea quæ ad religionem spectant, observabit leges imperii." He also shows how this article was understood. "Le quali legge," he adds, "dicevano dovere intendersi della religione cattolica e della confessione Augustana." [Which laws, he says, were to be understood as concerning the catholic religion and the confession of Augsburg.]—So that Calvinism was to be excluded.

|| Bagni, 16 Luglio, 1630. "Sopraggiunsero," It is said in the extract, "nuove lettere del Bagni coll' avviso che alla prefata confederazione fra il re di Francia e lo Suesco erasi aggiunta la repubblica di Venetia, la quale obbligavasi a contribuire per la terza parte."

Francia dicesse alla regina che s'egli arrivava ad esser papa, voleva procurare di fare re de' Romani il suo figliuolo il quale ancora era fanciullo." [It has been represented by the evil disposed here, who are those that desire war, that the state of Milan is in extreme peril, it being known for certain that pope Urban, entertaining most vast designs, is ill disposed to the house of Austria, and that therefore there is no less to be feared from his Holiness than from the Venetians and the French, he having possession of states so near to the duchy of Milan, and being in a condition at once to send powerful armies into the field. Moreover, the said evil disposed persons have represented as a thing already fixed, that his Holiness is bent by all means on making the king of France king of the Romans, in confirmation of which they affirm, that when his Holiness was nuncio in France, he told the queen that if he came to be pope he would endeavour to have her son, who was then a boy, made king of the Romans.]

break the might of the imperial allied armies, and to conquer them in the field? It appeared, above all things, desirable to elicit a movement in Germany itself, that should fall in with and second his enterprise.

Now in this respect the protestants might safely be counted on. Whatever might be the policy urged on individual princes by personal motives or by fear, still was the general mind possessed by that ferment that stirs the very depths of society, and rouses the mightiest storms. I will mention but one thought that spread widely in those days. When the edict of restitution began to be enforced here and there, and the Jesuits manifested a disposition to disregard altogether the terms of the peace of Augsburg, the protestants intimated, that before matters should be allowed to go such lengths, utter destruction should befall the German empire and nations, "rather would they fling from them all law and all usages of civil society, and cast back Germany into its ancient state of forest wildness."

But on the catholic side discontent and disunion appeared.

It is impossible to describe the commotion excited among the clergy by the purpose of the Jesuits to possess themselves of the restored monastic possessions. The Jesuits are said to have declared that there were no longer any Benedictines, that they had all gone astray, and were no longer qualified to resume their lost places. On the other hand, the merits of the Jesuits were disputed; their adversaries would not admit that they had effected conversions; what appeared to be such were no more, they said, than the effect of force\*. Even before the ecclesiastical possessions were yet recovered, they excited discord and wrangling between the orders, with respect to their several claims to possess them, and between the emperor and the pope, respecting the right of collation.

But to these ecclesiastical misunderstandings were added temporal ones, of far more serious and extensive nature. The imperial troops were an

intolerable burthen to the country; their marches exhausted the resources of the land and of its inhabitants; the soldier maltreated the burgher and the peasant, as the general did the prince. Wallenstein held the most insolent language. Even the emperor's old allies, the heads of the League, particularly Maximilian of Bavaria, were dissatisfied with the present, and uneasy about the future.

Things being in this state, it befel that Ferdinand, with a view to the election of his son as king of the Romans, assembled the catholic electors at Ratisbon in the summer of 1630. The opportunity could not pass away without mention of all other public affairs.

The emperor saw clearly that he must give way somewhat. His intention was to make concessions in German affairs: he showed a disposition to suspend the edict of restitution, as regarded the territories of Brandenburg and electoral Saxony, to come to an arrangement respecting the Palatinate and Mecklenburg, and even to effect a reconciliation with Sweden; to which end negotiations were actually entered on, whilst in the mean time he should concentrate all his strength upon Italy, bring the Mantuan war to an end, and constrain the pope to recognize his ecclesiastical claims\*.

He was fain to believe that, having to do with German princes, he should obtain most by a tone of concession in German matters. But the situation of things was not so simple.

The spirit of the Italo-French opposition had crept in among the catholic electors, and its leaders sought to turn the discontent of those princes to the furtherance of their own ends.

First appeared Rocco, the papal nuncio in Ratisbon. He had every cause to employ all arts that could impede the execution of the emperor's Italian and anti-papal schemes.

The pope had enjoined him, above all things, to enter into and maintain a good understanding with the elector of Bavaria; in a short time he announced that this understanding was kept up in the profoundest secrecy†: he produced a declaration

\* The vehement controversial writings, attacks, and replies, which appeared on this subject, do not enable us to get at the truth of the main facts, but they make known to us the points of dispute. "E verissimo," says the papal nuncio, in a letter in cypher, "che i padri Gesuiti hanno procurato e procurano col favore dell' imperatore, che non può esser maggiore, di non solo soprastare agli altri religiosi, ma di escluderli dove essi v' hanno alcun interesse o politico o spirituale." [It is most true that the Jesuits have contrived and do contrive, through the favour of the emperor, which cannot be greater, not only to make their own order superior to all others, but to exclude the latter where they have any political or spiritual interest.] I find, however, that strongly as the emperor then leaned to the Jesuits, he was yet disposed, in the year 1629, to make an unreserved restitution of his possessions to the old orders. Pier Luigi Caraffa, nuncio at Cologne, relates this. But at this juncture the Jesuits had already carried their point at Rome, where in July, 1629, a decree was issued, "che alcuna parte (dei beni ricuperati) potesse convertirsi in erezioni di seminarij, di scuole e di collegj tanto de' padri Gesuiti, quali in gran parte furono motori dell' editto di Cesare, come di altri religiosi." [that some part of the recovered possessions might be applied to the erection of seminaries, endowments, schools, and colleges, as well of the Jesuits, who had been in great part the instigators of the emperor's edict, as of other orders of the clergy.] The Jesuit schools would thus have spread over all Northern Germany.

\* Dispaccio Pallotta, 2 Ag. 1630, mentions among the points that were to be discussed: "1°. Se si doveva sospendere o tirare avanti l' editto della ricuperazione de' beni ecclesiastici; 2°. Se havendosi da procedere avanti si avesse da sospendere quanto a quelli che erano negli stati dell' elettore di Sassonia e di Brandenburg: ed inclinavasi a sospendere; 3°. Quanto ai benefici e beni ecclesiastici che si erano ricuperati, pretendevansi che all' imperatori spettasse la nominazione . . . 6°. Trattavasi di restituire il ducato di Mecklenburgh agli antichi padroni, siccome il palatinato almeno inferiore al palatino, con perpetuo pregiudizio della religione cattolica, come era seguito con Danimarca." [1. Whether the edict for the restitution of ecclesiastical possessions should be suspended or put in force. 2. Whether, in case it was to be enforced, it should be suspended as far as regarded those in the states of the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg: and opinions inclined towards suspending it. 3. As for the benefices and other ecclesiastical emoluments recovered, it was maintained that the nomination to them belonged to the emperor . . . 6. The restitution of the duchy of Mecklenburgh to its old possessors was discussed, as well as that of at least the Lower Palatinate to the Palatine, to the permanent detriment of the catholic religion, as had been the case in Denmark.]

† Dispaccio Rocci, 9 Sett. 1630. "E questa corrispondenza riuscì molto fruttuosa, perchè l' Baviera di buon cuore operò che in quel convento non si trattò delle operazioni sopra mentovate."

of the catholic electors, that in all ecclesiastical matters they would continue in union with him, and that they would especially uphold the jurisdiction and the dignity of the papal see.

But, to give matters a decisive turn, father Joseph, Richelieu's confidant, came to the nuncio's aid. Never was the consummate craft of this capuchin more active, more effective, or more obvious to those who were privy to the proceedings, than on this occasion. Monsieur de Leon, his colleague in Ratisbon, who gave his name to the embassy, said that father Joseph had no soul, but in its stead shallows and quicksands, into which whoever dealt with him was sure to fall.

Through these mediators the emperor's German confederates were speedily made to coalesce with the Italian-French opposition to him. Nothing was done towards a reconciliation of the empire with Sweden, or towards tranquillizing the protestants; never would the pope have consented to the suspension of the edict of restitution. On the other hand, the electors insisted on the restoration of peace in Italy, and demanded the dismissal of the imperial generalissimo, who comported himself as an unlimited dictator.

And so mighty was this influence, so adroitly was it pressed, that the puissant emperor, in the zenith of his power, gave way without resistance or condition.

Whilst the negotiations were pending, his troops had conquered Mantua, and he might regard himself as lord and master of Italy. At this moment he submitted to cede Mantua to the duke of Nevers, in exchange for the unmeaning formality of an apology. But the other demands of the confederates were perhaps still more significant. The German princes, France, and the pope, were alike threatened by the general, to whose person was bound the success of the imperial arms! It is no wonder that they hated him, and wished to get rid of him. The emperor, for peace sake, gave him up.

At the moment when he could master Italy he let it slip out of his hands! At the moment when the most formidable and warlike enemy attacked him in Germany, he dismissed the general who alone could have been in a condition to defend him! Never did policy and negotiation produce more vast results.

*Swedish war.—Position of the pope.*

And now the war really began. It cannot be denied that Gustavus Adolphus entered upon it under favourable auspices. For had not the imperial army been raised in Wallenstein's name, and been personally devoted and pledged to him? The emperor even dismissed a part of it, and subjected the contributions levied by the generals, which had hitherto been discretionary with themselves, to the control of the circles of the empire\*. Assuredly the emperor, by dismissing his general at the same time broke up his army, and took from it its moral force. Torquato Conti, an Italian, who had previously been in the service of the pope, was with such a body to make head against the emboldened and zealous foe. As a matter of course,

he failed outright: the imperial army no longer was what it had been: nothing was seen in it but indecision, vacillation, panic, and defeat. Gustavus Adolphus drove it utterly out of the field, and took up a strong position on the lower Oder.

At first it was believed in Upper Germany that this was of little moment to the rest of the empire; and Tilly continued with great composure to pursue his operations on the Elbe. When at last he took Magdeburg, the pope regarded it as a great victory, and the most brilliant hopes were founded on the event. A commissioner was actually appointed, at Tilly's suggestion, "to arrange the affairs of the archbishopric, in accordance with the laws of the catholic church."

But this very measure was the cause that all the protestant princes who were yet undecided now attached themselves to Gustavus Adolphus, and on Tilly's endeavouring to prevent them, became involved in a hostility with the League, which put an end to all further distinction between leaguers and imperialists. The battle of Leipsig followed: Tilly was completely routed, and the protestant forces poured alike over the countries of the leaguers and of the imperialists. Würzburg and Bamberg fell into the king's hands; on the Rhine the protestants of the remote north met the old champions of catholicism, the Spanish troops,—their mingled skulls are to be seen at Oppenheim; Mainz was conquered; all oppressed princes joined the king; the exiled palatine appeared in his camp.

The inevitable result of an enterprize called forth and sanctioned by the catholic opposition, from political views, was an advantage to protestantism. The party that had been overpowered and oppressed, found itself once more suddenly victorious. It is true, the king extended his protection to the catholics generally, as he was bound to do by the terms of his engagement; but at the same time he declared that he was come to rescue his brethren in faith from the violence done to their consciences\*. He took under his special protection the evangelical ministers who were subject to catholic governments,—as, for instance, those of Erfurt; he also every where proclaimed the Augsburg confession; the exiled parish clergy returned to the palatinate, and the preaching of Lutheranism once more ranged the land in the train of the victorious army.

Such were the strange perplexities into which fell the policy of Urban VIII. In so far as the king attacked and overcame the Austrian power, he was the natural ally of the pope. This was at once made apparent in the affairs of Italy. Influenced by his losses in Germany, the emperor consented, in the year 1631, to still more unfavourable conditions in the affair of Mantua, than he had submitted to the year before at Ratisbon. Nay, there even subsisted, if not direct, yet indirect, ties between the papal see and the once more victorious protestant powers. "I speak of the matter from good authority," says Aloys Contarini, who was first at the French, and afterwards at the Roman court; "I was present at every negotiation; the pope's nuncios always seconded Richelieu's undertakings, both when they concerned his own

\* Adlzreitter, iii. xv. 48. "Cesar statuit ne in posterum stipendia pro tribunorum arbitrio sed ex circulatorum parscripta moderatione penderentur."

\* Letter from the king to the town of Schweinfurt in Chemnitz Schwedischer Krieg, Th. i. p. 231.

safety, and when they had for their object to unite Bavaria and the League with France. With regard to his alliance with Holland, and with the protestant powers in general, they held their peace, not to say they sanctioned it. Other popes would perhaps have felt some compunctious visitings at this: Urban's nuncios acquired by such means increased consideration and personal advantages\*."

† Loud and bitter were the emperor's complaints. "The Roman court had first induced him to publish the edict of restoration, and now abandoned him in the war that ensued from thence; the pope had frustrated the election of his son as king of the Romans; he encouraged the elector of Bavaria, by word and deed, to pursue a separate line of policy, and to ally himself with France; it was vain to solicit of Urban such aid in money or men as other popes had often afforded: he even refused to condemn the alliance of the French with the heretics, or to declare the existing war a war of religion †." In the year 1632 we find the imperial ambassadors in Rome urging, above all things, the last-mentioned point. The pope's declaration, they said, could even yet produce the most important effects; even yet it was not altogether impossible to repulse the king of Sweden: he had not more than thirty thousand men.

The pope replied, with frigid erudition, "With thirty thousand men Alexander conquered the world."

He persisted in it that it was no war of religion; it related only to affairs of state. Furthermore, the papal treasury was exhausted, he could no longer.

The members of the curia and the inhabitants of Rome were amazed. "Amidst the conflagration of catholic churches and convents,"—so they expressed themselves,—"the pope stands as cold and as rigid as ice. The king of Sweden has more zeal for his Lutheranism than the holy father for the sole saving faith."

The Spaniards had once more recourse to a protest. Cardinal Borgia appeared before Urban VIII. as once Olivarez did before Sixtus V., to protest solemnly against the conduct of his holiness. The scene that ensued was, perhaps, still more violent than that on the former occasion. Whilst the pope burst into a boiling rage, and interrupted the ambassador, the cardinals present took part with the one side or the other. The ambassador was forced to content himself with delivering in his protest in writing ‡. But this was not enough

for the zealous catholic party: the thought presently arose, particularly at the instigation of the Ludovisio, the cardinal nephew of the last reign, of calling a council in opposition to the pope\*.

But what a flame would this have kindled! Events already took a turn which left no doubt as to their nature, and which would of necessity give a different bent to the papal policy.

Urban VIII. flattered himself for a while that the king would conclude a treaty of neutrality with Bavaria, and replace the spiritual princes in their dominions. But every attempt at a reconciliation of interests so diametrically opposed very speedily failed. The Swedish forces poured into Bavaria; Tilly fell; Munich was conquered; and duke Bernhard pressed forward towards the Tyrol.

No doubt could now be any longer entertained of what the pope and catholicism had to expect from the Swedes. How utterly was the state of things changed in a moment! But now the hope had been cherished of winning back to catholicism the dioceses of Northern Germany, and now the king conceived the plan of converting the South German endowments which were in his hands into temporal principalities. He already began to talk of his duchy of Franconia, and seemed disposed to fix his royal court at Augsburg.

Two years before, the pope had reason to dread the descent of the Austrians upon Italy, and had been threatened with an attack upon Rome. Now the Swedes appeared on the confines of Italy: with the name of a king of Sweden and Gothland, borne by Gustavus Adolphus, were associated reminiscences that awoke in the minds of either party †.

#### *Restoration of the balance of the two confessions.*

It is not my intention to go into the details of the strife that filled Germany for sixteen years longer. Enough if we have remarked how that mighty progress of catholicism, which was in the act of for ever mastering Germany, was checked in its career, even at the moment it was about to annihilate protestantism at its source, and encountered a victorious resistance. It may be laid down as a general maxim, that catholicism, regarded as an unity, was not capable of enduring its own victories. The head of the church himself thought it necessary, for political reasons, to set himself against the powers that had most upheld and extended his spiritual authority. Catholics, in concert with the pope, called forth the yet uncrushed powers of protestantism, and prepared its path.

turbolenze erano per venire alla christianità; sariano stati attribuiti alla negligenza del papa." [In which it laid it down, that all the evils which should come upon Christendom through the present troubles, would be attributable to the pope's negligence.]

\* Al. Contarini speaks of the "orecchio che si prestava in Spagna alle pratiche di Ludovisio per un concilio" [the ear that was lent in Spain to Ludovisio's suggestions and efforts for a council].

† Nevertheless Al. Contarini avers: "L'opinione vive tuttavia che a S. S. sia dispiaciuta la morte del re di Svezia e che più gode o per dir meglio manca tema i progressi de' protestanti che degli Austriaci." [that the opinion still prevails that his holiness regrets the death of the king of Sweden, and that he is better pleased with, or rather fears less, the success of the protestants than that of the Austrians.]

\* Aluise Contarini: *Relatione di Roma*, 1635.

† Aluise Contarini: "Gli Alemanni si pretendono delusi dal papa, perchè dopo aver egli reiteratamente persuaso l'imperatore di ripetere dalli eretici i beni ecclesiastici d'Alemagna ch' erano in loro mani, origine di tante guerre, resistesse S. S. poi alle reiterate spedizioni di card. e d'amb. nelle assistenze di danaro, nel mandar gente e bandiere con l'esempio de' predecessori, nel publicar la guerra di religione, nell'impedire colle scomuniche gli appoggi ai medesimi heretici della Francia: anzi nel medesimo tempo ritardata l'elezione del re de' Romani, confermato il duca di Baviera con la lega cattolica all'unione di Francia, assistendo lo medesimo di danari e di consiglio per sostenersi in corpo separato. Il papa si lagna d'esser tenuto eretico et amatore di buoni progressi de' protestanti, come talvolta in effetto non li ebbe discesi."

‡ "Nella quale," says cardinal Ceechini, in his autobiography, "concludeva che tutti li danni che per le presenti



Plans of such magnitude as those entertained by Gustavus Adolphus, in the plenitude of his power, could not, indeed, be carried out after the untimely death of that sovereign: and for this reason, that the triumphs of protestantism were by no means to be ascribed to its own intrinsic power. But neither was catholicism able ever more to overpower protestantism, not even when it had better combined its strength, when Bavaria had again joined the emperor, and Urban, too, once more paid subsidies.

This conviction was speedily arrived at, at least in Germany. In fact, the peace of Prague was founded upon it. The emperor suffered his edict of restitution to drop, while the elector of Saxony, and the states in alliance with him, gave up the idea of a re-establishment of protestantism in the hereditary dominions of Austria.

Pope Urban, it is true, opposed every measure at variance with the edict of restitution, and in the emperor's spiritual council he had the Jesuits on his side, especially father Lamormain, who was frequently lauded as "a worthy father confessor, a man influenced by no worldly consideration \*;" but the majority were against him, including the capuchins Quiroga and Valerian, and cardinals Dietrichstein and Pazmany, who asserted that, provided the catholic religion was preserved in its purity in the hereditary Austrian dominions, freedom of conscience might be allowed the rest of the empire. The peace of Prague was proclaimed in Vienna from all the pulpits: the capuchins boasted of their share in that "honourable and holy" work, and celebrated it with special solemnities: hardly could the nuncio hinder *Te Deum* being sung †.

\* Lettera del card. Barberino al nuntio Baglione, 17 Marzo, 1635. "Essendo azione da generoso Christiano e degno confessore di un pio imperatore, ciò che egli ha fatto rimirando più il cielo che il mondo."

† From Baglioni's correspondence, as extracted in the 6th vol. of Nicoletti, c. g. April 11, 1635. "Esse un giorno il conte di Ognate che assolutamente il re di Spagna non avrebbe dato aiuto alcuno all'imperatore se non in caso che seguisse la pace con Sassonia: di che maravigliandosi il nuntio disse che la pietà del re cattolico richiedeva che si cumulasero gli ajuti non seguendo detta pace, laquale doveva piuttosto disturbarsi, trattandosi con eretici, ed applicare l'animo alla pace universale coi principi cattolici. Fulli risposero che ciò seguirebbe quando la guerra si fosse fatta per la salute delle anime e non per la ricuperazione de' beni ecclesiastici, ed il padre Quiroga soggiunse al nuntio che l'imperatore era stato gabbato da quelli che l'avevano persuaso a fare l'editto della ricuperazione de' beni ecclesiastici, volendo intendere de' Gesuiti, e che tutto erasi fatto per interesse proprio. ma avendo il nuntio risposto che la persuasione era stata interposta con buona intenzione, il padre Quiroga si accese in maniera che proruppe in termini esorbitanti, sicchè al nuntio fu difficile il ripigliarlo, perchè maggiormente non eccedesse. Ma Ognate passò più oltre, dicendo che l'imperatore non poteva in conto alcuno ritirarsi dalla pace con Sassonia per la necessità in cui trovavasi, non potente resistere a tanti nemici, e che non era obbligato a rimettervi l'havere de' suoi stati hereditari, ma solamente quelli dell'imperio che erano tenuissimi, e che non compiva di tirare avanti con pericolo di perdere gli uni e gli altri." [The count Oñate one day said, that decidedly the king of Spain would not have given any aid to the emperor except on condition of peace with Saxony: whereat the nuncio marvelling said, that the piety of the catholic king demanded that such aid should be afforded in abundance without regard to that peace, which the king would have

Whilst Urban VIII., though practically he contributed so much to the frustration of the catholic schemes, still in theory refused to abandon the least of his pretensions, all he effected was, that the papacy assumed a position apart from the living and effective interests of the world. Nothing more strongly demonstrated this than the instructions he gave Ginetti, his legate in Cologne, on the occasion of an attempt at concluding a general peace in the year 1636. The envoy's hands were tied precisely on all weighty points on which the negotiation absolutely and directly depended. One of the most urgent necessities, for example, was the re-establishment of the palatinate; nevertheless, the legate was enjoined to resist the restoration of the palatinate to an un catholic prince \*. That which had early appeared as unavoidable in Prague, the granting some concessions to the protestants with respect to ecclesiastical possessions, became subsequently still more so; nevertheless, the legate was admonished "to extraordinary zeal not to yield anything in respect to ecclesiastical possessions that might turn out to the advantage of the protestants." The pope would not even sanction the treaties of peace with protestant powers. The envoy was not to give his support to any design of including the Hollanders in the peace: he was to stand out against every transfer or surrender to Sweden,—the only thought of the kind at the time relating to one seaport: "the Divine mercy would soon find means to remove that nation out of Germany."

The Roman see could no longer entertain any reasonable hope of numbing the protestants; it was, however, of vast importance, that, however involuntarily, yet, by its obstinate pertinacity in upholding pretensions that could never be realized, it put it out of its power to exercise any essential influence over the relations of its own adherents to the protestants.

Rome continued, indeed, to send her ambassadors to the congress assembled for the arrangement of a peace. Ginetti was succeeded by Machiavelli, Rosetti, and Chigi. Ginetti, it was said, was very frugal, and thereby prejudiced his own efficiency; Machiavelli was thought to make his functions subservient only to his own exaltation in rank; Rosetti was unacceptable to the French:—such are the explanations offered for the insignificance

done better to interrupt, it being a matter that concerned heretics, and to apply his mind to an universal peace with the catholic sovereigns. He was answered, that his reasoning would be just had the war been undertaken for the weal of souls, and not for the recovery of ecclesiastical property; and father Quiroga further told the nuncio, that the emperor had been imposed upon by those who had persuaded him to issue the edict of restitution, securing thereby the Jesuits, and that everything had been done from interested motives. But the nuncio replying that the advice had been given with a good intention, father Quiroga was so excited that he burst out into very intemperate language, and the nuncio had great difficulty in rebuking his violence and preventing him from going still further. But Oñate went even beyond this, saying, that the emperor could on no account withdraw from the peace with Saxony, by reason of the exigency of his condition, being unable to resist so many enemies; and that he was not obliged thereby to cede the rights of his hereditary dominions, but only those of the empire, which were very inconsiderable, and not worth insisting on to the hazard of the whole.]

\* Siri: Mercurio, ii. p. 987.

of their influence \* ; but the truth is, that the thing itself, the position the pope had taken up, rendered any effectual interference on the part of his nuncios impossible. Chigi was able and popular ; yet he accomplished nothing. A peace was concluded before his eyes, precisely such as the papal see had deprecated. The elector palatine and all the exiled princes were restored. So far from anything like a confirmation of the edict of restitution being thought of, many spiritual endowments were absolutely secularized and surrendered to the protestants. Spain resolved at last to recognize the independence of the Hollanders, those rebels to pope and king. The Swedes retained a considerable part of the empire. The curia could not approve of even the emperor's treaty of peace with France, since it contained stipulations respecting Metz, Toul, and Verdun, by which it conceived its own rights were invaded. The papacy felt itself under the painful necessity of protesting, determined at least to utter the principles it had been unable to carry into effect. But even this had been foreseen and provided for. The articles of the Westphalian treaty touching ecclesiastical matters began with a declaration, that no heed should be given to any one who should gainsay them, be he who he might, whether of secular or spiritual station †.

By this peace a termination was at last put to the grand struggle between protestants and catholics ; but one wholly different from that which had been attempted in the edict of restitution. Catholicism still retained vast acquisitions, since the year 1624 was taken as the standard, to the condition existing in which all things were to return. On the other hand, the protestant party obtained that parity in the diet which was so indispensable for it, and which had been so long withheld. All the relations of the empire were arranged in accordance with that principle.

Manifestly there was now an utter end to undertakings such as had formerly been attempted, and with success.

On the contrary, the results of the struggle in Germany reacted on the adjoining countries.

Though the emperor had been able to uphold catholicism in his hereditary dominion, still he was compelled to make concessions to the protestants in Hungary. In the year 1645 he found himself constrained to give them back no inconsiderable number of churches.

After the leap Sweden had made, to a station of universal importance, what hope remained for Poland that it should ever realize its old pretensions respecting that kingdom ? Wladislaw IV. even eschewed the proselytizing zeal of his father, and was a gracious king to his dissident subjects.

Even in France Richelieu favoured the Huguenots after they had been despoiled of their political independence. But he rendered a far greater service to the principle of protestantism, by continuing to wage with that foremost champion of catholicism, the Spanish monarchy, a war for life or death, that shook its very foundations. This was the only discord which the pope might have allayed without a scruple ; but whilst all the others were actually

appeased, this continued to rage, and incessantly convulsed the bosom of the catholic world.

Up to the peace of Westphalia, the Dutch had taken the most successful part in the war against Spain. It was the golden age of their power and their wealth. But in striving after the ascendancy in the east, they came in violent collision with the progress of catholic missions in those regions.

In England alone catholicism, or something analogous to its outward forms, seemed at times likely to gain footing. We find ambassadors from the English court at Rome, and papal agents in England. The queen, who was treated at Rome with a sort of official recognition \*, exercised an influence over her husband which seemed likely inevitably to extend to religion : an approximation to the usages of catholicism was already made in many ceremonies. But the final result in this case was the very opposite to what was expected. Charles I. in his heart hardly ever lapsed from protestant doctrine ; but even those slight approaches which he permitted himself towards the catholic ritual, resulted in his ruin. It seemed as though the violent excitement, which had produced such long, universal, and incessant conflicts in the protestant world at large, was becoming concentrated in the puritans. Ireland in vain endeavoured to withdraw from their sway, and to organize herself as a catholic country : she was subjected to but the severer thralldom. The aristocracy and commons of England constituted a power, the rise of which marks a revival of protestantism throughout all Europe.

By these events, bounds were for ever set to catholicism. It was assigned its definite limits, and could never again seriously contemplate those schemes of universal conquest it had previously entertained.

Indeed, the intellectual developement of Europe had taken a turn that rendered this impossible.

Impulses, perilous to the higher principle of unity, had become predominant : the force of the religious element had waned ; political considerations swayed the world.

For it was not by their own arms the protestants were saved. It was, above all things, a rent in the bosom of catholicism, that enabled them to recover their lost ground. In the year 1631 we find the two great catholic powers in league with the protestants, France openly so, and Spain at least in secret. It is certain that the Spaniards at this period had established an understanding with the French Huguenots.

But there was just as little unanimity amongst the protestants. It was not alone that the Lutherans and the catholics attacked each other,—

\* Nani : Relazione di Roma, 1640 : " Con la regina d' Inghilterra passa communicatione de' ministri con officii e donativi di cortesia, e si concede a quella M<sup>te</sup>. nominatione di cardinali a pare degli altri re." Spada : Relazione della nunziatura di Francia, 1641 : " Il Sr. conte Rossetti, residente in quel regno, bene corrisponde nell' ossequio gli ordini del Sr. Card. Barberini protettore tutti pien dell' ardore e zelo di S. Em<sup>ta</sup>." [Ministerial communications are kept up with the queen of England, with offices and gifts of courtesy, and her majesty is allowed the privilege of nominating cardinals in like manner as other sovereigns. . . . Count Rossetti, resident in that kingdom, duly and obsequiously reciprocates the orders of cardinal Barberini, the protector, all filled with the ardour and zeal of his eminence.]

\* Pallavicini : Vita di papa Alessandro VII. MS  
† Osnabrückischen Friedensschluss, Art. v. § 1.

that was an old occurrence ; but the decided Calvinists, though they undoubtedly had a common interest to defend, were marshalled against each other in this war. The maritime power of the French Huguenots was only broken through the aid which their brethren in religion and ancient allies were induced to afford the crown of France.

The very head of catholicism, the pope of Rome, who had hitherto led the attacks against the protestants, at last put aside these the highest interests of the spiritual authority ; he took part against the power that had most zealously pursued the task of restoring catholicism ; his conduct was shaped solely in accordance with the views befitting a temporal prince. He returned to the policy that had been given up since the days of Paul III. We remember that protestantism, in the first half of the sixteenth century, had owed its prosperity to nothing so much as to the political endeavours of the popes. These it was, humanly speaking, that had saved and upheld protestantism.

Now this example could not possibly fail of its effect on the other powers. German-Austria, which had so long remained unswervingly orthodox, adopted the same policy : the attitude it assumed after the peace of Westphalia rested on its intimate connexion with Northern Germany, England, and Holland.

Do we ask what were the more profound causes of this phenomenon ; I think we should err in identifying them with the exhaustion and decay of religious impulses : I think we must take a different view of the import and significance of the fact.

In the first place, the great spiritual struggle had wrought its effects on the minds of men.

In former times Christianity was rather an affair of surrender and acquiescence, of simple acceptance, and of faith untouched by doubt ; now it was become a thing of conviction, of deliberate adoption. It is a point of much moment that men had now to choose between the various confessions, that men could repudiate, dissent, and change. The individual was directly appealed to, his freedom of judgment was invoked. The consequence was, that the ideas of Christianity more deeply and

thoroughly imbued every ramification of life and thought.

To this was added another important consideration.

It is very true that the predominance of inward discrepancies rent the unity of collective Christianity ; but, if we are not mistaken, it accords with another law of humanity that this very circumstance prepared a higher and more large development.

In the turmoil of the universal fray, religion was diversely seized by the nations in the several modifications of its dogmatic forms : the chosen body of dogmas had become blended with the feelings of nationality, becoming as it were a possession of the community, of the state, or of the people. Weapons were wielded in its defence ; it was upheld amid a thousand perils ; it had wrought itself into the very flesh and blood of the nation.

Hence the states arrayed on either side grew into vast ecclesiastico-political bodies, whose individuality was marked on the catholic side by the measure of their devotion to the Roman see, and by their toleration or exclusion of non-catholics ; and still more pointedly defined on the side of the protestants, among whom, the departure from the symbolical books adopted as standards of doctrine, the mingling of the Lutheran and the Calvinistic confessions, and the more or less near approximation to the episcopal constitution, gave rise to so many obvious distinctions. It became the first question respecting each country, what was the dominant religion there ? Christianity appears under manifold aspects. However great may be the discrepancies between them, the votaries of no one form can deny the rest the possession of the fundamentals of the faith. On the contrary, these various forms are guaranteed by compacts and treaties of peace, in which all have part, and which are, as it were, fundamental laws of an universal republic. The thought can never again be entertained of exalting any one confession to supreme dominion. The sole point for consideration is, how each state, each people, may be enabled to develop its energies in obedience to its own politico-religious principles. On this depends the future condition of the world.

## BOOK THE EIGHTH.

### THE POPES ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.— LATER EPOCHS.

#### *Introduction.*

AFTER the attempt of the popes to renew their domination over the world had reached so far, but finally miscarried, a general change took place in their position, and in the kind of interest they excite in us. The affairs of their principality, its administration, and its internal progress, once more command our chief attention.

Like the traveller who descends from the lofty

mountain, with its grand and ample prospects, into the valley, where his view is limited and tied to a narrow range, so we now turn from contemplating the events of the world at large, in which the papacy once more played so important a part, to scrutinize the more particular occurrences of the ecclesiastical states.

The states of the church first attained their complete development in the times of Urban VIII. Let us begin with the history of this circumstance.

*The escheat of Urbino.*

The duchy of Urbino comprised seven towns and about three hundred castles: it had a productive sea-coast, well situated for commerce, and a healthy and cheerful mountain district, formed by the Apennines.

The dukes of Urbino, like those of Ferrara, won renown, sometimes by deeds of arms, sometimes by literary endeavours, sometimes by the munificence and splendour of their court\*. Guidobaldo II. had in the year 1570 established four court households, including, besides his own, separate establishments for his consort, for the prince, and for the princess: they were all brilliant, eagerly frequented by the native nobility, and open to those of other lands†. Every foreigner enjoyed the hospitality of the palace after the fashion of the old times. The revenues of the country would not indeed have been adequate to supply such an expenditure, amounting as they did, even when the corn trade prospered in Sinigaglia, to no more than some hundred thousand scudi. But the sovereigns were always, at least nominally, in the service of some foreign potentate; whilst the fortunate position of the country, in the midst of Italy, caused the neighbouring states to vie in securing its good will by marks of favour and grants of money.

It was a remark made in the country, that the prince brought in more than he cost.

Attempts indeed were made here, as every where else, to increase the imposts; but they were attended with so much difficulty, especially in Urbino itself, that partly from good feeling, partly from necessity, the government contented itself with its customary revenue. The privileges, too, and the statutes of the country remained unimpaired. San Marino preserved its inoffensive freedom under the protection of the ducal house‡. Whilst throughout all the rest of Italy the princely authority became more unrestricted and despotic, here it remained confined within its ancient limits.

Hence the inhabitants clung with the closest attachment to their dynasty; to which they were the more devoted, since an union with the states of the church would undoubtedly prove the demolition of all the traditional relations of the country, and the downfall of its ancient liberties.

The lineal continuation of the ducal family was therefore an object of intense interest to the subjects of the house.

Francesco Maria, the prince of Urbino, resided for a while at the court of Philip II. § There he

\* Bernardo Tasso has addressed a splendid panegyric to them in the 47th book of the *Amadigi*:

"Vedete i quattro a cui il vecchio Apennino  
Ornerà il petto suo di fiori e d'erba . . ."

† Relatione di Lazzaro Mocenigo ritornato da Guidobaldo d'Urbino, 1570. "Vuole alloggiar tutti li personaggi che passano per il suo stato, il numero de' quali alla fine dell'anno si trova esser grandissimo." [It is his pleasure to lodge all the personages who pass through his territory, the number of whom is found by the end of the year to be very great.]

‡ "Ha humor d'esser repubblica." [It has a fancy for being a republic] a Discorso a N. S. Urbano VIII. sopra lo stato d'Urbino, says of San Marino. On being transferred to the church, it acquired an increase of privileges.

§ In the *Amadigi* he is very prettily described in boyhood, as—

formed, it is said, a very serious attachment to a Spanish lady, and thought of wedding her. But his father Guidobaldo set his face decidedly against the match, being resolved to receive into his house none but a daughter-in-law of equal rank. He compelled his son to return home, and to give his hand to the Princess Lucrezia d'Este, of the house of Ferrara.

It would have seemed that they were well suited for each other; the prince, agile and strong, accomplished in the use of arms, and not without learning, especially of a military kind; the princess, gifted with talent, and full of majesty and grace. The hope was fondly encouraged that the match would secure the perpetuation of the ducal line; the towns of the duchy vied in receiving the married pair with triumphal arches and fair presents.

But the misfortune was, that the prince was but twenty-five, whilst the princess numbered nearly forty years. Francesco's father had overlooked this circumstance in his eagerness, by so exalted, brilliant, and likewise wealthy a match, to gloss over the rejection of the Spanish lady, which was regarded in no favourable light at the court of Philip II. But the marriage turned out worse than he could well have imagined. After Guidobaldo's death, Lucrezia was forced to return to Ferrara, and all hope of posterity was at an end\*.

We have already noticed the decisive influence Lucrezia d'Este had on the fate and the extinction of the duchy of Ferrara: we now find her most unhappily implicated in the affairs of Urbino. From the moment Ferrara was taken, the escheat of Urbino seemed certain; the more so since there were here no agnates who could pretend to the succession.

But the aspect of things changed once more. Lucrezia died in February, 1598, and Francesco Maria was free to take another bride.

The country was in ecstacy when it came to be known that their good lord, whose whole reign had been one of gentleness and tranquillity, and who was universally loved, had hopes, though already advanced in years, that his line would not end with him. Vows were universally offered for the safe delivery of the new duchess; and when her time approached, the nobles of the land assembled, with

"Quel piccolo fanciul, che gli occhi alzando  
Par che si specchi nel avo e nel padre  
E l'alta gloria lor quasi pensando."

[That little lad, who with uplifted eyes  
Mirrors him in his grand sire and his sire,  
Pond'ring their lofty glory in his heart.]

Mocenigo describes him at the period of his marriage. "Giostra leggiadramente, studia et è intelligente delle matematiche e delle fortificationi: tanto gagliardi sono i suoi esercitii—come giuocare alla palla, andare alla caccia a piedi per habituarli all'Incomodo della guerra—e così continui, che molti dubitano che gli abino col tempo a nuocere." [He jousts beautifully, studies and is proficient in mathematics and fortification; so vehement are his exercises—such as playing at ball, hunting on foot to inure himself to the hardships of war—and so continually, that many fear they will in time be injurious to him].

\* Mathio Zane, Relatione del duca d'Urbino 1574, finds Lucrezia already a "Signora di bellezza manco che mediocre, ma si tien ben acconcia: . . . si dispera quasi di poter veder da questo matrimonio figliuoli." [a lady of less than ordinary beauty, but she sets herself off to advantage . . . almost all hope of offspring from this marriage is at an end.]

the magistrates of the towns in Pesaro, where the princess resided, and during her labour the piazza before the palace and the neighbouring streets were thronged with people. At last the duke appeared at the window. "God," he cried with a loud voice, "God has given us a boy." Indescribable was the exultation with which the news was received. The towns built churches, and founded pious endowments in fulfilment of their vows\*.

But how treacherous are the hopes that are built on men! The prince was well brought up, and displayed at least literary talent; the old duke had the pleasure to marry him to a princess of Tuscany. Upon this he himself withdrew to the retirement of Castelduante, and resigned the functions of government to his son.

But no sooner was the prince his own master, and master of the country, than he was seized with the intoxication of power. At this period the taste for theatrical amusements had just become predominant in Italy: the young prince was the more strongly seized with it, in consequence of his having conceived a passion for an actress. By day his pleasure was, like Nero's, to play the charioteer; in the evening he used to appear on the stage, and he indulged in a thousand other licentious acts. The honest citizens looked sorrowfully in each other's faces. They knew not whether to grieve or to rejoice, when one morning, after a night of wild debauchery, the young prince was found dead in his bed.

The aged Francesco Maria had now to resume the reins of government: full of deep grief that he was the last of the line of Rovere, that his house was utterly at an end, his mind racked at having to bear the burthen of public affairs against his will, and to endure the bitter insults and injuries of the Roman see†.

At first he dreaded that the Barberini would possess themselves of the daughter left by his son, an infant of a year old. For ever to frustrate their suit, he betrothed her to a prince of Tuscany, and removed her immediately to the adjacent state.

But another unhappy circumstance immediately arose.

As the emperor put forward claims to certain portions of the territory of Urbino, Urban VIII., for his own security, demanded a declaration from the duke that he held all he possessed as a fief from the Roman see. Francesco Maria long demurred; such a declaration was revolting to his conscience; at last, however, he made it; "but from that moment," says our authority, "he was never cheerful again; he felt his soul weighed down by the act."

He was soon after obliged to consent that the commandants of his fortresses should swear allegiance to the pope. At last—it was in fact the best thing he could do—he resigned the government of the country absolutely into the hands of the pope's plenipotentiaries.

Weary of life, enfeebled by age, broken down by sorrow, after seeing all his confidential friends die

around him, the duke found his only consolation in the practices of devotion. He died in the year 1631.

Taddeo Barberini instantly hastened to take possession of the country. The allodial inheritance passed to Florence. The territory of Urbino was subjected to the same system as that on which the other dominions of the papacy were governed; and we very soon find there all the complaints which the government of priests used every where to excite\*.

We now come to speak of this administration in general; and first of that most important point, on which all others depend, its finances.

#### *Increase of the debts of the ecclesiastical states.*

If Sixtus V. limited the public expenditure, and collected a treasure, still he at the same time increased the revenue and the taxes, and founded a great mass of debt upon them.

To set bounds to expenditure, and to amass money, were not things to the taste of every one. The wants, too, of the church and of the state grew more urgent from year to year. Sometimes recourse was had to the reserved treasure, but the application of that fund was fettered by so many conditions, that this could only occur in rare cases. Strange to say, it was much easier to raise loans than to use the ready money actually in hand. The popes pursued the former practice in the most precipitate and inconsiderate manner.

It is very well worth observing the ratio of the revenue to the total of debt and interest in the several years, for which we possess authentic estimates.

In the year 1587 the revenue amounted to 1,358,456 scudi, the debts to six and a half millions scudi. About one half of the revenue, 715,913 scudi, was assigned to pay the interest.

In the year 1592 the revenue had risen to 1,585,520 scudi, the debts to 12,242,620. The increase of the debt was already much greater than that of the revenue. 1,088,600 scudi, that is about two-thirds of the income of the state, were appropriated to the interest of the debt, in the shape of places, and luoghi di monte†.

This state of things was in itself sufficiently inconvenient to cause extreme anxiety. The government would have been glad to have recourse once to a diminution of the rate of interest, and it was proposed that a million should be drawn out from the castle to pay off those who would not accede to a reduction of the interest. A considerable augmentation of the net income would have been effected by this measure. The bull of Sixtus V., however, and the precautions against the squandering of the reserved fund, prevented arrangements

\* In the year 1635, Alcuisse Contarini finds the inhabitants very much discontented: "Quei sudditi s'aggravano molto della mutazione, chiamando tirannico il governo de' preti, i quali altro interesse che d'arricchirsi e d'avanzarsi non vi tengono." [These subjects complain greatly of the change, calling the government of the priests tyrannical, and declaring that they have no other object in view but that of enriching and advancing themselves.]

† Circumstantial account of the papal finances in the first year of Clement VIII., without any particular title. Bibl. Barb. No. 1699, on eighty leaves.

\* La devoluzione & S. Chiesa degli stati di Francesco Maria II., della Rovere, ultimo duca d'Urbino, descritta dall'illmo. S. Antonio Donati nobile Venetiano. (Inf. Polit. it has also been printed.)

† P. Contarini: "Trovandosi il duca per gli anni e per l'indisposizione già cadente prostrato e avvilito d'animo."

of this kind, and there was nothing for it but to pursue the old course.

It may perhaps be supposed that the acquisition of so wealthy a territory as Ferrara would have afforded peculiar relief to the embarrassments of the government; but this was not the case.

Already, in the year 1599, the interest of the debt swallowed up nearly three-fourths of the gross revenue.

But in the year 1605, at the accession of Paul V., there remained but 70,000 scudi of the whole sums accruing to the treasury, unappropriated to the payment of interest\*. Cardinal de Perron affirms, that the pope's regular income would not have sufficed him for half a year, though the expenditure of his palace was very moderate.

Hence it became so much the more impossible to avoid heaping debt on debt. We learn from authentic accounts how systematically Paul V. had recourse to this expedient, in November, 1607, twice in January, 1608, in March, June, and July, 1608, twice in September of the same year, and so on through every year of his reign. His loans were not large apparently; petty wants were met as they arose, by the establishment of *luoghi di monte*, in greater or smaller number. These were founded sometimes on the tolls of Ancona, sometimes on the dogana of Rome, or of a province, now on an augmentation in the price of salt, and now on the proceeds of the post. But they gradually increased to a very great extent. Paul V. alone incurred two millions of debt by way of *luoghi di monte*†.

This, however, would have been impracticable had not that pope been aided by a circumstance of a special nature.

Power always attracts money. So long as the Spanish monarchy pursued its thriving career, and its influence swayed the world, the Genoese, then the richest monied capitalists, invested their funds in the royal loans; nor were they deterred from doing so by some arbitrary reductions and exactions of Philip II. But gradually, when the great movement abated, and war and its demands ceased, they called in their capital. They turned to Rome, which had meanwhile assumed so powerful a position, and the treasures of Europe once more flowed into that city. The Roman *luoghi di monte* were in extraordinary request. As they afforded considerable interest, and offered satisfactory security, their price sometimes rose to 150 per cent. The pope was sure to find purchasers in abundance for as many of them as he chose to establish.

Hence it came to pass that the debts of the state unceasingly increased. In the beginning of the reign of Clement VIII. they amounted to eighteen millions. The system of the Roman court obliged

the revenue too to rise in the same proportion; it was calculated in the beginning of the reign at 1,818,104 scudi, 96 baj. \* I cannot ascertain exactly how much of this sum was expended in the payment of interest, but it must have been considerably the largest part. If we examine the several items of the computations, we shall perceive that the demands often exceed the income. In the year 1592 the dogana of Rome yielded 162,450 scudi, in the year 1625, 209,000 scudi; but in the former, 16,956 scudi had passed into the coffers of the treasury; in the latter, the outgoings exceeded the income about 13,260 scudi. The salary of the *salara di Roma* had in that period risen from 27,654 to 40,000 scudi; but in 1592 there had been a surplus of 7482 scudi, while in 1625 there was a deficit of 2321 scudi, 98 baj.

It is obvious how little could be effected, in such a case by any strictness of household economy.

How strongly too does this remark apply to a government like that of Urban VIII., who was so often led by his political jealousy to engage in armaments and works of fortification.

Urbino indeed was added to the possessions of the church; but it contributed little to the wealth of the government, especially at first. After the loss of the allodial lands, the revenue of the territory amounted to but 40,000 scudi. On the other hand, considerable expenses had attended the act of taking possession, important concessions being made to the heirs†.

But the year 1635 had augmented the public debt to thirty millions of scudi. To procure the necessary funds for meeting the interest thereon, he had already either created or increased ten different taxes. But even this was far from effecting his purpose. Circumstances occurred which obliged him to go still further; but these we shall be in a better condition to understand when we shall have considered another series of events.

#### *Foundation of new families.*

If we enquire what became of all these revenues, and on what they were expended, it will appear undeniable that they were for the most part made serviceable to the general efforts in the catholic cause.

Armies, such as Gregory XIV. sent into France, and which his successors had to maintain for a considerable time, the active participation of Clement VIII. in the Turkish war, subsidies like those which were so often granted under Paul V. to the League and to the house of Austria, which Gregory XV. doubled, and which Urban VIII. transferred, at least in part, to Maximilian of Bavaria, must have cost the Roman see enormous sums.

The necessities, too, of the ecclesiastical states often made extraordinary outlays requisite;—the conquest of Ferrara under Clement VIII., Paul V.'s projects against Venice, and all the warlike proceedings of Urban VIII.

To these sources of expense were added the splendid erections, whether for the beautifying of the city or for the defence of the country, in which

\* *Entrata et uscita della sede apostolica del tempo di Urbano VIII.*

† Remark of Francesco Barberini to the nuncio in Vienna, when the emperor founded claims on that acquisition.

\* Per sollevare la camera apostolica. Discorso di M. Malvasia, 1606. "Gli interessi che hoggi paga la sede apostolica assorbono quasi tutte l'entrate, di maniera che si vive in continua angustia e difficoltà di provvedere alle spese ordinarie e necessarie, e venendo occasione di qualche spesa straordinaria non ci è dove voltarsi." [The interests now paid by the apostolic see absorb almost all its revenues, so that the condition of the government is that of continual embarrassment and difficulty in providing for ordinary and necessary expenses, and when any extraordinary occasion of expenditure occurs, it knows not which way to turn].

† Nota de' luoghi di monte eretti in tempo del pontificato della felice memoria di Paolo V. 1606-1618.

each new pope vied with the memory of his predecessor.

But there grew up one more institution which contributed not a little to the accumulation of this mass of debt, and one which really benefited neither Christendom, nor the state, nor the city, but solely the families of the popes.

The custom had become general (and it was one which naturally consisted with the relative position of the priesthood to a very extensive organization of family interests), that the surplus of the ecclesiastical revenues should devolve on the relations of the several incumbents.

The popes of those days were prevented by the bulls of their predecessors from granting principalities in fee to their connexions, as had been attempted in former times: but they did not therefore forego the general practice of the ecclesiastical body, but only made it so much the more their care to secure the hereditary dignity of their kindred by wealth and stable possessions.

In doing this they did not neglect to provide themselves with arguments for their justification. They set out from the principle that they were not bound by any vow to poverty; and as they decided that they might fairly regard the surplus proceeds of the spiritual office as their own property, they judged that they had a right to bestow the same on their relations.

But far more potent than such considerations as these were the feelings of family and of blood, and the natural inclination of men to leave some lasting endowment after their death.

The first who struck out the form to which subsequent popes adhered was Sixtus V.

He raised one of his grand-nephews to the rank of cardinal, intrusted him with a share in public business, and assigned him an ecclesiastical income of 100,000 scudi. The other he married to a *Sommaglia*, and made him marquis of *Mentana*; to which estate were afterwards added the principality of *Venafro* and the county of *Celano* in *Naples*. The house of *Peretti* long maintained itself in high consideration; we repeatedly encounter members of it in the college of cardinals.

But the *Aldobrandini* were far more powerful\*. We have seen the influence possessed by *Pietro Aldobrandino* during his uncle's reign. As early as the year 1599 he had as much as 60,000 scudi of ecclesiastical income, and we may guess how greatly this must have subsequently increased. The inheritance of *Lucrezia d'Este* helped him greatly; he purchased land, and we find that he invested money in the bank of *Venice*. But whatever wealth he might accumulate was all destined to pass at last to the family of his sister and her husband, *Giovanni Francesco Aldobrandini*, who held the offices of castellan of *St. Angelo*, governor of the *Borgo*, captain of the guard, and general of the church. He too had as early as 1599, 60,000 scudi income, and he frequently received sums of ready money from the pope. I find an account, according to which *Clement VIII.* bestowed on his kinsmen in the

thirteen years of his reign upwards of a million in hard cash. This wealth was increased by the judicious management of *Giovan-Francesco*. He bought the property of *Ridolfo Pio*, which brought in to its original owner no more than 8000 scudi yearly, and made it yield him 12,000. The marriage of his daughter *Margaretta* with *Rainuccio Farnese* was not effected without a great outlay: she brought her husband a dowry of 400,000 scudi, besides other advantages\*; although subsequently the connexion between the families, as we have seen, did not prove as cordial as had been expected.

The example of the *Aldobrandini* was followed, and almost outdone in recklessness, by the *Borghesi*.

The influence possessed by cardinal *Selipione Cafarelli Borghese* over *Paul V.* was fully equal to that of *Pietro Aldobrandino* over *Clement VIII.*, and he even surpassed him in the wealth he accumulated. Already in the year 1612 the income of his benefices was estimated at 150,000 scudi. He strove by kindness and courteous affability to appease the envy which so much power and riches inevitably provoked; but we must not wonder if in this he did not fully succeed.

The temporal offices were conferred on *Marc Antonio Borghese*, on whom the pope moreover bestowed the principality of *Salmona* in *Naples*, with palaces in *Rome*, and the most beautiful villas in the neighbourhood. He loaded his nephews with presents, of which we have a detailed list extending through his whole reign up to the year 1620. They comprised jewels, silver vessels, splendid furniture, taken directly from the stores of the palace and sent to the nephews; carriages, and even muskets and falconets; but the main thing is always hard money. It appears that they received, up to the year 1620, in all, 689,727 scudi 31 baj. in cash, 24,600 scudi in *luoghi di monte*, taken at their nominal value, and in places estimated at the price it would have cost to purchase them, 268,176 scudi; making on the whole, as in the case of the *Aldobrandini*, pretty nearly a million†.

The *Borghesi*, too, neglected not to invest their wealth in real estates. They purchased nearly eighty estates in the campagna of *Rome*, the Roman nobility being readily induced to part with their ancient hereditary possessions on consideration of the tempting price paid them, and the high rate of interest they obtained by investing the purchase-money in *luoghi di monte*. They also established themselves in many other districts of the ecclesiastical states, which the pope facilitated by granting them peculiar privileges. Sometimes they were allowed the right of restoring exiles, of holding markets, or of having their vassals endowed with certain immunities; they were exempted from duties, and they even obtained a bull, by virtue of which their possessions were never to be confiscated.

\* "Il papa mostrando dolore di esser condotto da nepoti da far così contro la propria coscienza, non poteva tanto nascondere nel cupo del cuore che non dirompesse la sopralondanza dell'allegrezza." [The pope, though making a show of grief at being led by his nephews to act so contrary to his own conscience, could not yet so conceal his joy at the bottom of his heart that its excess should not break out.]

† Nota di danari, uffici e mobili donati da papa Paolo V. a suoi parenti e concessioni fattegli. MS.

\* *Niccolò Contarini*: *Storia Veneta*: "Clemente VIII. nel conferir li benefici ecclesiastici alli nepoti non hebbe alcun termine, et andò etlandio di gran lunga superiore a Sisto V. suo predecessore, che spalancò questa porta." [Clement VIII. set no bounds to his bestowal of ecclesiastical benefices on his nephews, and in this he even vastly outdid Sixtus V. his predecessor, who opened the door to the practice].



The Borghesi were the most powerful and wealthy family that had yet risen in Rome.

Now this system of nepotism was brought into such vogue by these precedents, that even a short reign afforded means for accumulating a brilliant fortune\*.

Undoubtedly cardinal Ludovico Ludovisio, the nephew of Gregory XV., ruled still more absolutely than any of his predecessors. It was his good fortune that, during his administration, the two most important offices of the curia—the vice-chancellorship and the chamberlainship—became vacant and fell to his lot. He acquired upwards of 200,000 scudi of ecclesiastical income. The temporal power, the generalship of the church, and several other profitable posts, devolved on the pope's brother, Don Orazio, a senator of Bologna. As the pope gave little promise of a long life, his family made so much the more speed to enrich themselves. They acquired in a short time luoghi di monte to the amount of 800,000 scudi. The duchy of Fiano was purchased for them from the Sforza, and the principality of Zagarolo from the Farnesi. The young Niccolò Ludovisio could already aspire to the most brilliant and wealthy matrimonial alliances. By a first marriage he brought Venosa into his house, and Piombino by a second. The favour of the king of Spain further contributed, in a special manner, to his prosperity.

Emulating these splendid examples, the Barberini now entered on the same career. By the side of Urban VIII. stood his elder brother, Don Carlo, as general of the church; a grave, practised man of business, of few words; one who did not suffer himself to be dazzled by the dawn of his fortunes, or seduced into empty arrogance; and yet, who never lost sight of his grand object of founding a great family†. "He knows," says the report of 1625, "that the possession of money distinguishes a man from the multitude, and does not deem it seemly, that he who has once been on the footing of a pope's relation, should after his death appear in straitened circumstances." Don Carlo had three sons, Francesco, Antonio, and Taddeo, who now necessarily rose to high consideration. The first two entered the service of the church. Francesco, whose modesty and kindness won universal confidence, and who also had the skill to accommodate his uncle's humours, obtained the leading influence in the government, from which, although on the whole he acted with moderation, considera-

\* Pietro Contarini: *Relatione* di 1627. "Quello che possiede la casa Peretti, Aldobrandini, Borghese e Ludovisio, li loro principiati, le grossissime rendite, tante eminentissime fabbriche, superbissime suppellettili, con extraordinali ornamenti e delizii, non solo superano le condizioni di signori e principi privati, ma s'uguagliano e s'avanzano a quelle dei medesimi re." [The possessions of the houses of the Peretti, Aldobrandini, Borghesi, and Ludovisi, their principalities, their great revenues, their numerous splendid fabrics, sumptuous furniture, with extraordinary ornaments and luxuries of all kinds, surpass not only the fortunes of lords and private princes, but equal or exceed those of kings themselves.]

† *Relatione* de' quattro ambasciatori, 1625. "Nella sua casa è buon economo et ha mira di far danari, assai sapendo egli molto bene che l'oro accresce la reputazione agli uomini, anzi l'oro gli inalza e gli distingue vantaggiosamente nel cospetto del mondo." [He is a good economist in his household, and aims at making money, knowing very well that gold increases men's reputations, so does it exalt and advantageously distinguish them in the eyes of men.]

ble wealth could not fail to accrue spontaneously to him in so long a course of years. His income amounted, in the year 1625, to 40,000 scudi, and already in 1627 to nearly 100,000 scudi\*. It was not entirely with his consent that Antonio was likewise made cardinal, and his advancement was coupled with the express condition, that he should have no share in the government. Antonio was aspiring, stubborn, and proud, though weak in body. In order that he might not be eclipsed in every respect by his brother, he strained hard to possess himself of a multitude of places with great revenues, which as early as the year 1635 amounted to 100,000 scudi. He engrossed to his single share six commanderies of Malta, which could not be very agreeable to the knights of that order. He accepted presents, too; but he also bestowed many, being systematically liberal, with a view to make himself adherents among the Roman nobility. Don Taddeo, the second of the brothers, was the one selected to found a family by the acquisition of hereditary possessions. To his share fell the dignities of the secular nephew, and he became, after his father's death, general of the church, castellan of St. Angelo, and governor of the Borgo. By the year 1635, he was master of so many possessions, that he, too, enjoyed an income of 100,000 scudi†, and he was constantly receiving additions to his property. Don Taddeo lived in great retirement, and his household economy was exemplary. Ere long the united yearly incomes of the three brothers was computed at half a million of scudi. The most important offices belonged to them: Antonio had the chamberlainship, Francesco the vice-chancellorship, and Taddeo the prefecture, which had become vacant by the death of the duke of Urbino. It was commonly computed that, during his pontificate, the incredible sum of one hundred and five millions of scudi passed into the hands of the Barberini family‡. "The palace," continues the author of this account, "for instance, that at Quattro Fontane, a regal work, the vineyards, pictures, statues, wrought gold and silver, and the jewels, that came into their possession, are of greater value than can be believed or expressed." The pope himself, however, seems at times to have

\* Pietro Contarini, 1627. "E di ottimi virtuosi e lodevoli costumi, di soave natura, e con esempio unico non vuole ricever donativi o presente alcuno. Sarà nondimeno vivendo il pontefice al pare d'ogni altro cardinale grande e ricco. Hor deve haver intorno 80,000 scudi d'entrata di benefici ecclesiastici, e con li governi e legationi che tiene deve avvicinarsi a 100m. scudi." [He is a man of excellent, virtuous, and laudable habits, of a gentle disposition, and sets the rare example of refusing all donatives and presents whatever. Nevertheless, if the pope lives, he will be equal in wealth and splendour to any among the cardinals, &c.]

† That is to say, such was the yearly income arising from his landed property: "Per li novi acquisti," says Al. Contarini, "di Palestrina, Monterotondo e Valmontone, fatto vendere a forza dai Colonnese e Sforzeschi per pagare i debiti loro." [From his new acquisitions of Palestrina, Monterotondo, and Valmontone, which the Colonna and the Sforza families had been compelled to sell to pay their debts.] The post of general of the church brought in 20,000 scudi.

‡ Conclave di Innocenza X. "Si contano caduti nello Barberina, come risulta da sincera notizia di partite distinte 105 milioni di contanti." This sum is so incredible that it might well be looked on as an error of the transcriber. But it exactly corresponds in several MSS., among others in the Foscarini in Vienna and in my own.

felt scruples about the bestowal of such vast wealth on his family; in the year 1640 he formally appointed a commission to examine into the legality of the means by which it was acquired\*. In the first place the commission laid down the principle, that with the popedom was conjoined a temporal sovereignty, out of the surplus revenue or savings of which, the pope might make donations to his kindred. Next, the commission estimated the circumstances of the said sovereignty, to determine to what extent the pope might safely extend his liberality. After full calculation, they were of opinion that the pope might with a safe conscience found a majorat of 80,000 scudi net income, and, besides this, an inheritance for the second son; and that dowries of the daughters of the house might amount to 180,000 scudi. Vitelleschi, too, the general of the Jesuits,—for the order must needs have a hand in every thing,—was asked his opinion; he declared these decisions moderate, and gave them his approval.

In this manner new families continued to rise to hereditary power in each successive pontificate; they ascended immediately into the rank of the high aristocracy of the land, a place in which was willingly conceded them.

It was not to be supposed that they should escape collisions. The conflicts between predecessors and successors, which had formerly been carried on by the factions of the conclave, were now waged between the nepotist families. The family that had recently risen to power clung jealously to its supremacy of rank, and usually exercised hostility, nay, persecution, towards that which had immediately preceded it. Great as was the share the Aldobrandini had had in the elevation of Paul V., yet were they thrust aside by the connexions of that pope, treated with enmity, and visited with costly and hazardous law-suits†: they called him "the great ungrateful." The nephews of Paul V. found just as little favour at the hands of the Ludovisi; and cardinal Ludovisi himself was obliged to quit Rome immediately after the entry into power of the Barberini.

For the Barberini made a very ambitious use of the authority which the deputed power of the pope gave them over the native nobility and the Italian princes. Urban VIII. bestowed on his secular nephew the dignity of a *prefetto di Roma* expressly because honorary rights were attached to that office, which it seemed certain would secure to his house a perpetual precedence over all others in the country.

But this was productive at last of a movement, which though not of much consequence to the world at large, yet marks an important epoch as regards the position of the papacy, both within its own dominions and in relation to all Italy.

#### *War of Castro.*

The highest rank among the non-regnant papal families was always maintained by the Farnesi, since they had not only secured to themselves great

possessions in the country, as the others had done, but likewise no inconsiderable principalities; and it was at all times a difficult task for the ruling nephew to keep this house in allegiance and due subordination. When duke Odoardo Farnese came to Rome in 1639, all possible honours were paid him\*. The pope assigned him lodgings, and noblemen to wait on him, and he lent him aid in money matters. The Barberini feasted him, and made him presents of pictures and horses. But with all their courtesies they could not win him to them. Odoardo Farnese, a prince of talent, spirit, and self-reliance, cherished in a high degree the ambition of those times, which delighted in the jealous observance of slight distinctions. He was not to be induced to pay due respect to Taddeo's dignity as prefect, and to concede to him the rank appropriate to his office. Even when he visited the pope, he displayed in an offensive manner his thorough sense of the pre-eminence of his own house, and even of his personal superiority. Misunderstandings arose, which were the less easy to remove, since they sprang from indelible personal impressions.

It now became a weighty question, how the duke should be escorted on his departure. Odoardo demanded the same treatment as had been shown to the grand duke of Tuscany; he required that the ruling nephew, cardinal Francesco Barberini, should escort him in person. The latter would only do so on condition that the duke should first pay him a formal leave-taking visit in the Vatican, which Odoardo did not think himself called on to do. To this cause of disagreement were added some difficulties thrown in the way of his money transactions, so that his doubly offended self-love was violently exasperated. After taking leave of the pope in a few words,—and even those few containing complaints of the nephew,—he quitted the palace and the city without having even saluted cardinal Francesco. He hoped thereby to have mortified him to the heart†.

But the Barberini, possessed of absolute authority in the country, had the means of taking a still keener vengeance.

The financial system adopted in the state found likewise acceptance and imitation among all the princely houses that constituted its aristocracy: they had all founded monti, and assigned to their

\* Deone: *Diario di Roma*, tom. i. "E fatale a signor Barberini di non trovare corrispondenza ne' beneficiati da loro. Il duca di Parma fu da loro alloggiato, accarezzato, servito di gentili' huomini e carrozze, beneficato con la reductione del monte Farnese, con utile di grossa somma del duca e danno grandissimo di molti poveri particolari, corteggiato e parteggiato da ambi il fratelli cardinali per spatio di più settimane, e regalato di cavalli, quadri e altre galanterie, e si parti da Roma senza pur salutarli."

† Among the numerous controversial writings on this subject which are extant in manuscript, the following appears to me very dispassionate and trustworthy: *Risposta in forma di lettera al libro di duca di Parma, in the 45th vol. of the Informationi*: "Il duca Odoardo fu dal papa e ringraziollo, soggiunse di non si poter lodare del Sr. Cl<sup>e</sup> Barberino. Dal papa gli fu brevemente risposto che conosceva l'affetto di S. Em<sup>za</sup> verso di lui. Licentiatosi da S. Beato senza far moto al Sr. cardinale se n' andò al suo palazzo, dovendo se voleva esser accompagnato da S. Em<sup>za</sup> rimanere nelle stanze del Vaticano e licenziarsi parimente da S. Em<sup>za</sup>, come è usanza de' principi. La mattina finalmente parti senza far altro."

\* Niccolini treats of this subject. I have also seen a special treatise: "Motivi a far decidere quid possit papa donare, al 7 di Luglio, 1640," by a member of the commission.

† For an example of this in the *Vita del Cl. Cecchini*, see Appendix No. 121.

creditors the proceeds of their property, just as the popes had assigned the treasury dues: their *luoghi di monte* passed from hand to hand in the same manner as the papal ones. These *monti*, however, would hardly have obtained credit had they not been placed under the supervision of the supreme authority: it was only with the special approval of the pope that they could be either founded or modified. It constituted part of the prerogatives of the reigning house, that it could by means of this supervision exert an important control over the domestic affairs of all the others. Reductions of the rate of interest on the *monti* were of ordinary occurrence; they depended on the good pleasure and the disposition of the reigning family.

Now the Farnesi were loaded with considerable debts. The Monte Farnese Vecchio owed its origin to the necessities and the expenses of Alessandro Farnese in the campaigns of Flanders. A new one had been founded; indults of the popes had increased the mass, and new *luoghi* had been established with lower rates of interest, whilst the old were not abolished, and the various operations were conducted by different commercial houses, all jealous of each other; every thing had become involved in confusion\*.

To this was now added, that the Barberini had had recourse to some measures which entailed great injury on the duke.

The two *monti* Farnesi were charged upon the revenues of Castro and Ronciglione. The Siri, farmers of the taxes of Castro, paid the duke 94,000 scudi, with which it was just possible to pay the interest of the *monti*. But it was in consequence of some grants made to his house by Paul V. that the proceeds were so high. To this end Paul V. had turned the great road from Sutri to Ronciglione, and granted that district a greater freedom in exporting corn than was possessed by the rest of the provinces. The Barberini now resolved to withdraw these privileges. They turned back the road to Sutri, and then published a prohibition against the export of corn in Montalto di Maremma, where the grain from Castro was usually shipped†.

\* Deone, t. i. "Fu ultimamente l'uno et l'altro stato, cioè Castro e Ronciglione, affittato per 94000 scudi l'anno a gli Siri. Sopra questa entrata è fondata la dote dell'uno e dell'altro monte Farnese, vecchio cioè e nuovo. Il vecchio fu fatto dal duca Alessandro di 54000 scudi l'anno, denari tutti spesi in Fiandra: al quale il presente duca Odoardo aggiunse somma per 30000 scudi in sorte principale a ragione di  $\frac{4}{5}$  per cento: e di più impose alcuni censì: di modo che poco o nulla rimane per lui, sì che se li leva la tratta del grano, non ci sarà il pago per li creditori del monte, non che de' censuarii." [Finally both states, that is, Castro and Ronciglione, were farmed out for 94,000 scudi annually to the Siri. On this revenue were founded the two *monti* Farnesi, the old and the new. The old one paying 54,000 scudi a year, was founded by duke Alessandro, the capital of which was wholly spent in Flanders: to this debt duke Odoardo added a capital sum of 300,000 scudi, paying  $\frac{4}{5}$  per cent: he also granted some mortgages: the consequence is, that should the corn trade be taken away from those states, no means will be left of paying the creditors of the *monte* or the mortgages.]

† They relied on the words of the bull of Paul III., by which was granted them only, "facultas frumenta ad quacunque etiam præfatæ Romanæ ecclesiæ et nobis immediate vel mediate subjecta conducendi." [the privilege of export-

Their intention was instantly fulfilled. The Siri, who had already been irritated against the duke in consequence of the financial operations between them, and who now were backed by the palace,—besides which, it is said they were specially instigated by some prelates who had a secret share in their business,—refused to abide by their contract, and ceased to pay the interests of the *monte* Farnese. The *montists*, whose income suddenly failed, insisted on their rights, and applied to the papal government. The duke, seeing himself so intentionally prejudiced, scorned to make any arrangements to satisfy them. But the complaints of the *montists* were so vehement, urgent, and general, that the pope thought himself justified in taking the mortgaged property into his own possession, in order to help so many Roman citizens to the money due to them. With this view he sent a small force to Castro. The affair was not effected without some resistance. "We have been compelled," he exclaims in unusual indignation in his *monitorium*, "to fire four great gun shots, by which one of the enemy has been slain\*." On the 13th of October, 1641, he took possession of Castro; and he was resolved not even to stop here. Excommunication was pronounced in January, 1642, against the duke, who would not allow the revenues to be touched; he was declared divested of all his fiefs, and troops were marched into the field to wrest from him Parma and Piacenza. The pope would not hear of a pacification, declaring, that between the lord and his vassal no such proceeding could find place; he would humble the duke; he had money, courage, and soldiers; God and the world were on his side.

The affair hence acquired a more general importance. The Italian states had long been jealous of the repeated extensions of the states of the church. They would not endure that Parma should be merged in them, like Urbino and Ferrara. The Estes had not yet given up their claims to the latter, nor the Medici certain pretensions they made to the former: they were all offended by the arrogance of Don Taddeo; the Venetians doubly so, because Urban VIII. had shortly before had an inscription obliterated in the Sala Regia, in which they were extolled for their fabulous defence of Alexander III.; an act which they regarded as a great insult†. To these particular causes of animosity were added considerations of more general politics. The ascendancy of the French now excited uneasiness among the Italians, as that of the Spaniards had formerly done. In every direction the Spanish monarchy sustained the greatest losses. The Italians dreaded lest a general revolution might be the consequence even among themselves, if Urban VIII., whom they regarded as the decided ally of the French, should become still more power-

ing corn to all parts immediately or mediately subject to the Roman church.]—general freedom of exportation had however grown up in the course of time.

\* This took place at a bridge. "Dietus dominus Marchio ex quo milites numero 40 circiter, qui in eisdem ponte et vallo ad pugnandum appositi fuerunt, amabiliter ex eis recedere recusabant, immo hostiliter pontificio exercitui se opponebant, fuit coactus pro illorum expugnatione quatuor magnorum tormentorum ietus explodere, quorum formidine hostes perterriti, fugam tandem arripuerunt, in qua unus ipsorum interfectus remansit."

† This subject is touched on in the Appendix No. 117.

ful. Upon all these grounds they resolved to oppose him. Their troops formed a junction in the territory of Modena. The Barberini were obliged to give up the attempt to march through that region, and the papal troops opposed to the confederates took up their quarters round Ferrara.

There was in some sort re-enacted here that conflict between the French and Spanish interests which kept Europe at large in commotion. But how much weaker were the motives, the forces, and the efforts that were here engaged in this petty strife.

An expedition undertaken of his own authority by the duke of Parma, who now saw himself, without much exertion on his own part, protected and yet not fettered, strikingly displays the singularity of the existing position of the parties.

Odoardo made an incursion into the states of the church without artillery or infantry, with only three thousand cavalry. He was not checked either by the fort of Urbino, which had cost such large sums, nor by the assembled militia, which had never seen an armed foe in the field. The Bolognese shut themselves up within their walls, and the duke marched through the land without ever getting sight even of the papal troops. Inola opened its gates to him: he made the papal commandant a visit, and admonished the town to be true to the papal see; for he declared that it was not against Rome, not by any means against Urban VIII., but only against his nephews, he had taken up arms: he marched, he said, under the banner of the gonfaloniere of the church, on which were beheld the semblances of St. Peter and St. Paul; he demanded to pass through in the name of the church. The gates of Faenza had been barricaded; but when the governor caught sight of the foe, he let himself down from the walls by a rope, in order to have a personal conversation with the duke; the result of the interview was that the gates were opened. The same things took place in Forlì. The inhabitants of all these towns looked quietly out of their windows upon the enemy as they marched through. The duke crossed the mountains to Tuscany, and then entered the ecclesiastical states again from Arezzo. Castiglione di Lago and Città del Pieve opened their gates to him: he hastened onwards unchecked, and filled the land with the terror of his name\*. Rome, above all, was in consternation: the pope dreaded the fate of Clement VII. He endeavoured to arm his Romans. But it was necessary to impose a new tax, contributions had to be levied from house to house, whereat there arose no slight complaints, before a small body of horse could be equipped. Had the duke of Parma presented himself at that moment, there is no doubt but that a couple of cardinals would have been despatched to meet him at the Ponte Molle, and that all his demands would have been complied with.

But he was no warrior. Heaven knows what considerations, what apprehensions, may have held him back. He suffered himself to be seduced into negotiations, from which he could expect nothing. The pope breathed again. With a zeal quickened by danger, he fortified Rome†, and sent a fresh

army into the field, which quickly drove the duke, whose forces did not even hold together, out of the states of the church. As there was now nothing more to fear, Urban again imposed the harshest conditions: the ambassadors of the sovereigns quitted Rome; and even the inhabitants of unwarlike Italy bestirred themselves once more to try the force of native weapons.

The confederates made their first attack on the country of Ferrara in May, 1643. The duke of Parma took two fortresses, Bondeno and Stellata. The Venetians and the Modenese joined forces, and penetrated further into the heart of the country. But the pope too, as we have said, had meanwhile rallied all his forces; he had gotten together thirty thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry. The Venetians feared to encounter so imposing an army, and fell back; and presently we find the papal troops advancing into the territory of Modena, and on Polesine di Rovigo\*.

The grand duke of Tuscany next made an ineffectual attempt on Perugia: the pope's troops made irregular incursions even into the Tuscan territory.

What a singular aspect do these movements present! On both sides so utterly ineffective and nerveless, when compared with the contemporaneous struggles in Germany, with the march of the Swedish arms, from the Baltic to the vicinity of Vienna, from Moravia to Jutland. And yet the conflict was not purely Italian: foreigners served on both sides: Germans constituted a majority in the army of the confederates, Frenchmen in that of the pope.

The consequence, however, of the Italian war, no less than of that waged in Germany, was, that the country was exhausted, and the papal treasury plunged into extreme embarrassment†.

Urban VIII. tried many an expedient to procure the money of which he stood in need. As early as September, 1642, the bull of Sixtus V. underwent a fresh discussion, the result of which

tati tre cardinali, Pallotta, Gabrieli et Orsino, che giornalmente cavaleano da una porta all'altra: e si tagliano tutte le vigne che sono appresso le mura per la parte di dentro di Roma, cioè fanno strada tra le mura e le vigne e giardini con danno grandissimo de' padroni di esse: e così verrà anche tocco il bellissimo giardino de' Medici, e perderà la particella che haveva nelle mura di Roma." [The fortification not only of the Borgo is proceeding, but also that of the unfinished part of the walls of Rome: the business is entrusted to three cardinals, Pallotta, Gabrieli, and Orsino, who ride daily from one gate to the other. All the vineyards near the walls on the city side are removed; that is, they are making a road between the walls and the vineyards and gardens, to the great injury of the proprietors of the latter. Thus the very beautiful garden of the Medici will suffer, and will lose the small portion contained within the walls of Rome.]

\* Frizzi: *Memorie per la storia di Ferrara*, v. p. 100.

† Riccius: *Rerum Italicarum sul temporis narrationes*, Marr. xix. p. 590: "Ingens opinioneque majus bellum exarsit, sed primo impetu validum, mox senescens, postremo neutrius partis fructu, imo militum rapinis indigenis exitiale: irritis conatibus prorsus inane in mutua studio flicque abiit." [The war raged violently and beyond expectation, but beginning impetuously it languished by and by, and finally proved of no advantage to either party, or rather highly pernicious from the rapine of the soldiery. The end was, that after fruitless efforts the contest died away, without one result gained, in mutual compliments and concessions.]

\* For a circumstantial account of this enterprize, see Siri's *Mercurio*, tom. ii. p. 1289.

† Deone: "Si seguitano le fortificationi non solo di Borgo ma del rimanente delle mura di Roma, alle quali son depu-

was a resolution to draw 50,000 scudi from the castle \*. Of course that sum could not avail much, and the practice was begun of borrowing from them what was left of the reserved fund; that is to say, it was positively resolved to pay back at a future time the money that should be drawn from it. We have already seen recourse had to personal taxation; the expedient was frequently repeated: the pope made known to the conservatori what sums he needed, whereupon the inhabitants, foreigners even not excepted, had their quota imposed on them. But the chief source of income was still the duties. At first they were little felt, being, for instance, levied on such things as coarse ground corn for fowls; but these were soon followed by others more oppressive upon the most indispensable necessities of life, fire-wood, salt, bread, and wine †. They now reached their second great pitch, rising in 1644 to 2,200,000 scudi. We are prepared to understand that all the money raised by an augmentation or new creation of duties was immediately funded, and new montes founded upon it, and sold. Cardinal Cesi, the former treasurer, calculated that in this way new debts were contracted to the amount of 7,200,000 scudi, though there were still 60,000 scudi in the treasury. The whole expense of the war was reported to the Venetian ambassador in the year 1645 at more than twelve millions ‡.

Every moment brought more sensibly home to men's minds the serious consequences likely to result from such a system, which would gradually exhaust every resource of the state. The war too did not always proceed as could be wished. In a skirmish at Lagoseuro, on the 17th of March, 1644, Cardinal Antonio owed his escape from being taken prisoner only to the speed of his horse §. As the pope daily felt his infirmities grow upon him, he was constrained to think of peace.

The French undertook to act as mediators. The Spaniards had so little influence at the papal court, and had moreover lost so much of their authority elsewhere, that on this occasion they were wholly excluded.

\* Deone, 20 Sett. 1642. "Havendo il papa fatto studiare da legisti e theologi di potere conforme la bolla di Sisto V. cessare denari dal tesoro del castel Sant' Angelo, il lunedì 22 del mese il papa tenne consistorio per il medesimo affare . . . Fu risoluto di cessare 500m. scudi d'oro, a 100m. per volte, e non prima che sia spesi quelli che al presente sono ancora in ussere della camera."

† Deone, 29 Nov. 1642, "Si sono imposte 3 nuove gabelle, una sopra il sale sopra l'altre, la 2a sopra la legna, la 3a sopra la dogana, la quale in tutte le mercantie che vengono per terra riscuote 7 per cento, per acqua 10 per cento. Si è cresciuto uno per cento d'avvantaggio, e si aspettano altre tre gabelle per le necessità correnti, una sopra le case, l'altra sopra li cani, la terza sopra li casali, cioè poderi nelle campagne." [Three new duties have been imposed, one on salt in addition to those already existing, a second on wood, the third on the customs, which exact 7 per cent. on all merchandize carried by land and 10 per cent. on those by water: this is raised one per cent. more, and under the present exigencies three new duties are expected, one on houses, one on mortgages, and another on *li casali*, that is to say, on estates in the country.]

‡ Relazione d'iv. ambasciatori: "L'erario si trova notabilmente esauito, essendoci stato affermato da più (il cavalier) Barberini nella guerra passata sopra 12 milioni d'oro."

§ Mani: Storia Veneta, lib. xii. p. 470.

The pope had formerly often said he well knew the purpose of the Venetians was to harass and vex him to death, but they should not succeed; he well knew how to make head against them: but now he was compelled to accede to all their demands, to revoke the ban pronounced against the duke of Parma, and to reinstate him in Castro. Never could he have anticipated being reduced to such an extremity: he felt it most poignantly.

Another trouble beset him. He was assailed with fresh doubts that he had unduly favoured his nephews, and that this would lie heavy on his conscience when he stood in the presence of God. He once more called together some divines, in whom he placed peculiar confidence—among them, Cardinal Lugo and Father Lupis, a Jesuit—to hold a consultation in his presence. The answer was, that since the nephews of his holiness had found so many enemies, it was just, nay even necessary, for the honour of the apostolic see, to leave them the means of maintaining after the decease of the pope an undiminished rank and consequence in defiance of their foes \*.

Amidst such harassing doubts as these, and with the bitter feelings produced by an abortive enterprise, the pope felt his death approaching. His physician has affirmed, that at the moment when he had to sign the treaty of peace of Castro, he fainted, overcome by anguish: this was the beginning of the illness of which he died. He prayed to Heaven to avenge him on the godless princes who had forced him to war, and expired on the 29th of July, 1644.

Hardly had the papal see retreated from its central position in the affairs of Europe, when it endured a defeat in those of Italy, and even in its own domestic affairs, such as for many a day had not befallen it.

Pope Clement VIII. had likewise fallen out with the Farnesi, and had been constrained to pardon them at last. But he did so only because he required the aid of the other Italian princes to revenge himself on the Spaniards. Now, however, the state of things was far different. Urban VIII. had attacked the duke of Parma with all his might: the united forces of Italy had exhausted his own, and forced him to a disadvantageous peace. It could not be denied that the papacy was once more decidedly worsted.

### Innocent X.

The effect of this state of things was forthwith manifested in the new conclave †. The nephews of

\* Nicoletti: Vita di papa Urbano, tom. viii.

† The old violence and disorder of an interregnum were once more seen. J. Niclii Erythrai Epist. lxxviii. ad Tyrrhenum, iii. pop. Aug. 1644. "Civitas sine jure est, sine dignitate re-pública. Tantus in urbe armatorum numerus cernitur quantum, me alias vidisse non memini. Nulla domus est paulo locupletior quam non militum multorum presidio muniatur: ac si in unum omnes egerentur, magnus ex eis exercitus confici posset. Summa in urbe armorum impunitas, summa licentia: passim caedes hominum sunt: nil ita frequenter auditur quam, hic vel ille notus homo est interfectus." [The state is without law, the commonwealth without dignity. The number of armed men visible in the city, surpasses anything I remember to have elsewhere seen. There is not a house possessing some riches that is not defended by a numerous garrison of soldiers, enough if they were all collected together to form an army. Armed vio-

Urban VIII. introduced eight-and-forty cardinals, their uncle's creatures: never had there been so strong a faction. Notwithstanding this, they soon perceived that they could not carry the election of their favourite, Sacchetti: the scrutinies every day turned out more and more against him. To bar at least the accession of a decided adversary to the tiara, Cardinal Francesco at last decided to support Cardinal Pamfili, who at any rate was a creature of Urban VIII., though he leaned strongly to the Spanish party, and though the French court had expressly excepted against him. Cardinal Pamfili was elected on the 16th of September, 1644. He took the name of Innocent X., in memory it is supposed of Innocent VIII., under whom his house had come to Rome.

His accession at once changed the policy of the Roman court.

The confederate princes, particularly the Medici, to whom the pope was chiefly indebted for his elevation, now acquired influence over that authority against which they had just been arrayed in arms: the obliterated inscriptions relating to the Venetians were restored \*; and the first promotions fell almost exclusively to the lot of the friends of Spain. The whole Spanish party revived again, and once more equipsided that of the French, at least in Rome.

The Barberini were the first to feel this revolution in affairs. It is impossible at the present day to determine clearly how much of what was laid to their charge was well founded. They were said to have allowed justice to be violated, to have seized on benefices not properly belonging to them, and, above all, to have embezzled the public money. The pope resolved to call the nephews of his predecessor to account for their administration of the public funds during the war of Castro †.

At first the Barberini thought they could secure themselves through the protection of France. As Mazarine had obtained his promotion in their house, and through their patronage, he did not fail to support them now. They affixed the French arms to their dwellings, and put themselves formally under the protection of France. But Pope Innocent declared that he sat in the chair he occupied to administer justice, and that he could not desist from doing so, though Bourbon stood before the gates.

Jence and licence are at their utmost pitch in the city; assassinations abound; and nothing is more common than to hear it said, such or such a man of note has been killed.]

\* *Relazione de' iv. ambasciatori*, 1645. "Il presente pontefice nel bel principio del suo governo ha con pubbliche dimostrazioni registrate in marmi detestato le opinioni del predecessore, rendendo il lustro alle glorie degli antenati di VV. EE." [The present pope, in the noble commencement of his pontificate, has by demonstrations registered in marble abjured the opinions of his predecessor, restoring their lustre to the glories of your excellencies' ancestors.] We see in what a high tone they took the matter up.

† *Relazione delle cose correnti*, 25 Maggio, 1646. MS. Chigi. "I Barberini, come affatto esclusi del matrimonio del novello pontefice, cominciarono a macchinare vastità di pensieri stimati da loro nobili. Il papa continuò ad invigilare con ogni accuratezza che la discamerata camera fusse da loro sodisfatta." [The Barberini, seeing themselves wholly divorced by the new pope, began to devise a multitude of plans of great merit in their own eyes. The pope continued to watch very sharply that the untreasured treasury should be satisfied by them.]

Upon this, Antonio, who was in most danger, first took flight in October, 1645; and some months later, Francesco and Taddeo, with his children, also withdrew.

The pope caused their palaces to be seized, their offices to be given away, and their luoghi di monte to be sequestered. The Roman people applauded all he did. They held a meeting in the capital on the 20th of February, 1646. It was the most brilliant within the memory of man; so many nobles of illustrious rank and title took part in it. A resolution was passed to solicit the pope to repeal at least that most oppressive of the duties imposed by Urban VIII., the tax on flour. This was opposed by the adherents of the Barberini, in their apprehension lest if the tax were taken off their fortunes would be made to pay the debts founded upon it. Donna Anna Colonna, the wife of Taddeo Barberini, presented a memorial, in which she called to mind the services rendered by Urban VIII. to the city, and his zeal for the administration of justice, and pronounced it unseemly to appeal against the lawful taxes imposed by so meritorious a pope. The resolution was passed notwithstanding. Innocent X. proceeded to act on it without delay. The deficit which would be occasioned thereby was to be made good, as had been justly anticipated, out of the fortune of Don Taddeo \*.

Whilst the family of the late pope was thus violently assailed and persecuted, the question remained to be asked,—now the most important question in every pontificate,—how would the new family arrange its measures? It is an important point in the history of the papacy in general, that this did not take place on the present exactly as on former occasions; although the scandal given by the court was now actually aggravated.

Pope Innocent was under obligations to his sister-in-law, Donna Olimpia Maidalchini di Viterbo, particularly because she had brought a considerable fortune to the house of Pamfili. He esteemed it a high merit in her that she had chosen not to marry again after the death of her husband, his brother†. He had himself derived advantages from this. He had long committed the economical affairs of his family to her guidance: no wonder, then, if she now obtained influence over the administration of the papacy.

She very quickly rose to distinguished consequence. She was the first whom ambassadors visited on their arrival; cardinals had her picture placed in their apartments, as people hang up the portrait of their sovereign; foreign courts sought to conciliate her favour by presents. As the same course was pursued by all who had anything to solicit of the curia,—some having even gone so far as to assert that she exacted a monthly commission for all the smaller places which she was the instrument of procuring,—wealth of course poured

\* For the passage from the *Diario Deone*, see Appendix No. 122.

† Bussi: *Storia di Viterbo*, p. 331. At first she bore a good reputation. "Donna Olimpia," say the Venetian ambassadors of 1645, "è dama di gran prudenza e valore, conosce il posto in cui si trova di cognata del pontefice, gode l'estima o l'affettione della S.<sup>a</sup> S. ha seco molta autorità." [Donna Olimpia is a lady of great prudence and worth, she knows her place as the pope's relation, she enjoys the esteem and affection of his holiness, and has great influence with him.]



in upon her. She soon formed a grand establishment, gave festivals and comedies, travelled, and purchased estates. Her daughters married into the most distinguished and wealthy families; one of them wedded a Ludovisi, the other a Giustiniani. For her son, Don Camillo, who had but little capacity, she thought it at first more advisable that he should become an ecclesiastic, and assume at least in appearance the position of cardinal-nephew\*; but when an opportunity offered for him too to make a brilliant matrimonial connexion,—the richest heiress in Rome, Donna Olimpia Aldobrandini, having recently lost her husband,—he renounced the church and contracted this marriage.

Don Camillo was now as happy as it was possible for him to be. His bride was not only rich, but also still in her bloom; and full of grace and talent: she supplied his deficiencies by her own rare qualities. But she too wished to rule. There never was one moment's peace between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law. The pope's palace rang with the bickerings of two women. The new-married pair were obliged at first to depart; but they did not endure this long: they returned against the pope's will, and the discord now became obvious to every one. Donna Olimpia Maidalchini, for instance, appeared once during the carnival with a magnificent equipage in the Corso; her son and daughter-in-law were standing at a window, and as soon as they caught sight of her carriage they turned away. Every one remarked it: it was the talk of all Rome†. The several parties strove to get hold of the rivals.

Unfortunately pope Innocent was of a character and disposition more calculated to exasperate than to allay dissensions of this kind.

Personally he was a man of by no means common qualities. In his earlier career, in the rota, as nuncio and as cardinal, he had proved active, irrepachable, and upright, and this reputation he still maintained. His exertions were regarded as the more remarkable, since he was already seventy-two years old when he was elected. "Labour," it was said, "does not weary him; he is as fresh after it as before it; he takes pleasure in speaking to people, and he lets every one say out what he has to say." Instead of the haughty reserve of Urban VIII., he displayed affability and cheerful good humour. He was particularly anxious to preserve peace and good order in Rome. It was his ambition to maintain the security of property, to ensure the safety of the person by day and night, and to suffer no ill-usage of the low by the high, or

of the weak by the strong\*. He obliged the barons to pay their debts. As the duke of Parma still refused to satisfy his creditors, and the pope could not show himself in Rome without being accosted with cries beseeching him to see justice done to the montists; and as, moreover, the bishop of Castro was murdered at the instigation, as it was supposed, of the ducal government, it was resolved at last to take decisive steps in the matter. The estates of the Farnesi were again put up to sale: soldiers and sbirri were sent to Castro to take possession of it in the name of the montists†. The duke again resisted, and made attempts to penetrate into the states of the church. But on this occasion he met with no aid. Innocent X. was not, like Urban, feared by the Italian princes: he was rather their ally. Castro was taken and razed to the ground: the duke was forced to yield the country to the administration of the papal camera, which on its part undertook to satisfy his creditors' claims; the duke even assented to the arrangement, that he should absolutely lose his title to the land if he did not redeem the monti Farnesi within eight years. The capital amounted to 1,700,000 scudi, the accumulated interest to 400,000 scudi. The duke did not appear capable of raising so large a sum, so that the agreement—which, moreover, was brought about by Spanish mediation—was tantamount from the first to an enforced, and all but admitted, renunciation.

In all these transactions Innocent appears vigorous, prudent, and determined; but he laboured under one defect which made it hard to deal with him, and which even embittered his life: he reposed unswerving confidence in no one; with him favour and displeasure alternated according to the impression of the moment.

This was experienced among others by the datary Cecchini. After having long stood well in the pope's good graces, he found himself suddenly an object of suspicion, assailed; reproached, and supplanted by his deputy,—that same Mascambruno who was afterwards convicted of the most extraordinary forgeries‡.

But still more painful perplexities arose in the papal family, already vexed enough with dissension.

After the marriage of Don Camillo Pamfili, Innocent X. had no longer a nephew in the

\* Relazione di Contarini, 1648. "Rimira solamente con applicatione alla quiete dello stato ecclesiastico e particolarmente di Roma, acciò gode ciascuno delle proprie facoltà e della libertà del praticare la notte e non rimanga l'inferiore tiranneggiato dal superiore."

† Diario Deone, 16 Giugno, 1649. "Il papa in questo negotio sta posto totalmente, e mi disse: Non possiamo andare per le strade di Roma, che non si venga gridato dietro, che facciamo pagare il duca di Parma. Sono sette anni che non paga, e di questa entrata devon viver molti luoghi pii e vedove e pupilli. [The pope is positively resolved in this matter, and said to me: We cannot pass through the streets of Rome, without being accosted with cries beseeching us to make the duke of Parma pay his debts. He has not paid these seven years, and on the income withheld depend many luoghi pii, widows, and minors.] We see that the pope's motives were not to be despised."

‡ Vita del C. Cecchini scritta da lui medesimo. "Scrittura contro Monsr. Mascambruno; con la quale s'intende che s'istruisca il processo che contro il medesimo si va fabbricando;" and the still more circumstantial statement, Pro R. P. D. Mascambruno, MS.

\* This excited from the very first the surprise of every body. "Io stimo," says Deone, 19 Nov. 1644, "che sia opera della S.<sup>a</sup> donna Olimpia, che ha voluto vedere il figlio cardinale e desidera più tosto genero che nora." [I am of opinion that it is Signora Olimpia's doing, and that it was her choice that her son should be a cardinal, wishing rather to have a son-in-law than a daughter-in-law.]

† Diario Deone. On another occasion he relates as follows:—"Mercoledì la tarda (Aug. 1648), la S.<sup>a</sup> Olimpia con ambedue le figlie con molta comitiva passò per lungo il corso: ogn'uno credeva che ella andasse a visitare la nuora, ma passò avanti la casa senza guardarla." [On Wednesday evening, Aug. 1648, Signora Olimpia went through the corso with her two daughters and a numerous suite: every one thought she was going to visit her daughter-in-law, but she passed before the house without looking towards it.]



church,—a description of person hitherto long deemed requisite to a papal court. He once felt his heart moved to peculiar affection, when Don Camillo Astelli, a distinguished relation of his house, was presented to him; and he made up his mind to raise the young man to the rank of cardinal-nephew. He received him into his household, assigned him apartments in the palace, and gave him a share in public business. He caused this elevation to be proclaimed by public festivities and by salvos from the castle.

Yet nothing else resulted from it but new jarings.

The rest of the pope's relations thought themselves slighted: even the cardinals previously nominated by Innocent took offence at the preference bestowed on a new comer\*; but no one was so much displeased as Donna Olimpia Maidalchini. She had sounded the praises of young Astelli; she had proposed his being made cardinal; but she had never dreamed of his attaining such high favour.

In the first place she herself was sent away. The secular nephew and his wife, who, as a contemporary expresses himself, "was as far above ordinary women as he was below ordinary men," entered the palace.

But the secular nephew and the adoptive ecclesiastical nephew did not long agree. Old Donna Olimpia was again sent for to establish order in the house.

She speedily recovered her wonted authority†.

In a chamber in the villa Pamfili stand the busts of the pope and his sister-in-law. Whoever compares them together, the lineaments of the female, which breathe resolution and talent, with the inexpressive countenance of the pope, will feel convinced that it was not only possible, but even unavoidable, that he should be ruled by her.

But after she had been re-admitted into the palace, she too would not endure that the advantages belonging to the position of a pope's nephew should be shared by any other house than her own. As Astelli did not participate his power with her in the way she wished, she never rested till he lost the pope's favour, was pulled down from his high station, and driven from the palace, and she herself ruled there without a rival. On the other hand, conciliated by presents, she entered

into close alliance with the Barberini, who had now returned.

How sorely must the poor old pope have been tormented by all these changes of favour and disfavour, these incessant quarrels of those by whom he was most immediately and intimately surrounded! Even a formally pronounced rupture cannot undo the inward yearnings of the heart: it only makes them sources of restlessness and pain, instead of producing, as they ought, gladness and comfort. Besides this, the old man felt after all that he was but the tool of a woman's lust of power and pelf: it revolted him, and he would gladly have shaken off the yoke, but he had not the resolution: in fact too, he knew not how to do without her. His pontificate, which glided away without any notable mischances, deserves in other respects to be numbered among the fortunate ones: but its reputation has suffered from these disorders in the family and in the palace. They made Innocent X. still more than he was by nature, capricious, fickle, self-willed, and a burthen to himself\*. Even in the last days of his life we find him busied in despoiling and inflicting fresh banishment on his other relations. In this miserable state of mind he died Jan. 5, 1655.

Three days the corpse lay, without a thought bestowed on its interment by any of those belonging to him, on whom, according to the usages of the court, the duty devolved. Donna Olimpia said she was a poor widow, that the matter was beyond all her means: no one else thought himself bound by any obligation to the deceased. A canon who had formerly been in the pope's service, but who had long been dismissed, at last spent half a scudi, and caused the last honours to be paid to the dead man.

But let us not suppose that those domestic jars produced no more than personal consequences.

It is manifest that the system of ruling by nephews, which had in previous pontificates exercised so entire an authority in the state, and so potent an influence in the affairs of the Church, after receiving such a severe shock in the last years of Urban VIII., had in this reign given no manifestation of its existence, and was indeed approaching its downfall.

#### Alexander VII. and Clement IX.

The new conclave immediately presented an unwonted spectacle.

Hitherto the nephews had appeared, escorted by numerous trains of devoted creatures, to sway the new election. Innocent X. left behind no nephew who could keep together the votes of the cardinals, or unite them into a faction. They were not indebted for their promotion to Astelli, who had been but a short while at the helm; and had

\* Diario, Deone, 10 Sett. 1650. "Discorre la corte che il papa ha perduto il beneficio conferito a tutte le sue creature, che si tengono offesi, che papa habbia preferito un giovane senza esperienza a tutti loro, tra quali son huomini di molto valore, segno che tutti l'ha per diffidenti ovvero inetti alla carica." [It is the talk of the court that the pope has lost his labour in the benefits he has conferred on all his creatures, who are offended that the pope has preferred a youth without experience to them all, among whom are men of much worth: they look on this as a proof that he considers them not trustworthy, or not qualified for office.] The subject is also largely discussed in a work, *Osservazioni sopra la futura elezione*, 1652. "Io credo che sia solamente un capriccio che al improvviso gli venne . . . conoscendo appena Monsr. Camillo Astelli." [It is my belief it is only a caprice that has suddenly seized him . . . hardly knowing Monsignor Camillo Astelli.]

† Pallavicini: Vita di papa Alessandro VII. "La scaltra vecchia passò con breve mezzo dal estremo della diagrafia all' estremo della gratia." [The crafty old woman passed with brief interval from the extremity of disgrace to the extremity of favour.]

\* Pallavicini: "Fra pretiosi arredi oggetto fetente e stomachevole . . . proruppe a varie dimostrazioni quasi di smanie. . . . Assai temuto, niente amato, non senza qualche gloria e felicità ne' successi esterni, ma inglorioso e miserabile per le continue o tragedie o comédie domestiche." [A fetid and loathsome object in the midst of splendid furniture . . . he burst out into various indications of almost frenzy. . . . Feared a good deal, loved not at all, not without glory and prosperity in outward events, but inglorious and miserable by reason of his perpetual domestic tragedies or comedies.]

exercised no commanding influence, nor could they feel themselves in any way bound to him. For the first time for many centuries the new cardinals entered the conclave perfectly free and unfettered. It was proposed to them voluntarily to unite under one head, to which they are said to have answered, that every one of them had a head and feet of his own. They were for the most part distinguished men, of independent ways of thinking: they held indeed together, (they were designated by the name of the *squadrone volante* \*) but they were resolved for once to follow not the beek of a pope's nephew, but their own convictions and judgment.

Beside the very death-bed of Innocent X., one of them, cardinal Ottobuono, cried out, "We must look out for an upright man." "If you want an upright man," rejoined Azzolino, another of them, "there he stands," pointing to Chigi †. Not only had Chigi gained for himself in general the reputation of an able and well intentioned man, but he had also particularly distinguished himself as an opponent of the abuses prevailing in the existing form of government, which indeed had never been more crying than in those days. But though he had friends, he had also powerful adversaries, especially in the French. When Mazarin, driven from France by the troubles of the Fronde, travelled to the frontiers of Germany, to procure armed aid towards recovering his lost authority, he had not received from Chigi, who was the nuncio at Cologne, the assistance on which he thought he had reason to count: from that time forth he bore him a personal ill-will. Hence the election was not effected without great labour: the contest was again very prolonged; but at last the new members of the college, the squadronists, carried their point. Fabio Chigi was elected on the 7th of April, 1655, and took the name of Alexander VII.

An obligation was imposed on the new pope by the very principle that had led to his election, to adopt a different system of government from that pursued by his more recent predecessors: he seemed to resolve on doing so.

For a considerable time he did not allow his nephews to come to Rome, and he boasted that he did not put a single penny in their pockets. His confessor, Pallavicini, who was engaged in writing the history of the council of Trent, hastened to insert in his work a passage, in which he extols Alexander VII., and promises him immortal renown, particularly on account of his forbearance with regard to those of his own blood ‡.

\* Pallavicini mentions the following members of the confederacy: Imperiale, Omodei, Borromei, Odescalco, Pio, Aquaviva, Ottobuono, Albizi, Gualtieri, and Azzolino. The name of *Squadrone* was started by the Spanish ambassador.

† "Se vogliamo un uomo da bene, quegli è desso, et additò Cl. Chigi, che era indì lontano alquanto nella medesima camera." (Pallavicini.)

‡ "Populus," he says in his Latin biography of Alexander VII., "qui prae multis vestigialibus humeris sibi ferre videbatur recentiores pontificas domos tot opibus onustas, huic Alexandri sm. magnanimitati mirifice plaudebat; . . . inexplicabili detrimento erat et sacro imperio distributione minus æqua beneficiorum et perpetuis populi oneribus." [The people, which by reason of the many taxes imposed on it, seemed to carry on its shoulders the new papal families laden with so much wealth, wonderfully applauded this magnanimity of Alexander; . . . immense injury had been done to the holy see through the unfair distribution of bene-

But it is never an easy thing to break through a custom once established; it could never indeed have become prevalent had it not something commendable, something natural to give it credit: at every court there are persons who put forward this better aspect of a custom, and who endeavour to hold fast by usage, even though its abuses stare them in the face.

By degrees one person after another represented to Alexander VII. that it was not becoming that the relations of a pope should remain simple citizens of some town, nor indeed was it even possible; the people of Sienna would not refrain from paying princely honours to his house; in this way he might easily involve the Roman see in misunderstandings with Tuscany. Others not only corroborated this, but added moreover, that the pope would set a still better example if he actually received his nephews, but managed to keep them within bounds, than if he kept them entirely at a distance. But the greatest impression undoubtedly was made by Oliva the rector of the Jesuit college, who declared outright that the pope indulged a sin if he did not call his nephews to him: foreign ambassadors would never place so much reliance in a mere minister as in a blood relation of the pope's; the holy father would be so much the worse supplied with information, and so much the less enabled to discharge the duties of his office \*.

It hardly needed so many arguments to move the pope to what he was of himself well enough inclined to. On the 24th of April, 1656, he proposed the question to the consistory, whether it seemed good to his brethren the cardinals, that he should employ his relations in the service of the holy see. No one ventured to speak in the negative, and shortly afterwards the relations arrived †. The pope's brother, Don Marco, had the secular offices assigned to him, the inspection of the amona, and the administration of justice in the Borgo: his son Flavio became cardinal padrone, and had in a short time 100,000 scudi of ecclesiastical revenue. Another brother of the pope's, whom he particularly loved, was already dead; his son Agostino was selected to found the family, and was endowed

fices, and to the people by the perpetual burthens imposed on them.] *Relazione de' IV. ambasciatori, 1656.* "E continenza sin ora eroica quella di che S. S. si mostra armata, escludendo dall' adito di Roma il fratello, i nepoti, e qualunque si pregia di congiunzione di sangue seco: et è tanto più da ammirarsi questa parsimonia d' affetti verso i suoi congiunti, quanto che non è distillata nella mente dalle persuasione, ma è volontaria e natavi per propria electione." [His holiness's moderation continues heroic, in forbidding access to Rome to his brother, his nephews, and all who boast relationship with him: and we have the more reason to admire this thriftiness of affection towards his kindred, since it has not been instilled into him by the arguments of others, but is the voluntary and native growth of his own free will.]

\* Scritture politiche, etc. "Un giorno Oliva presa occasione di dire al padre Luti, (Father Luti had been brought up with the pope, frequently visited him, and was desirous that the nephews should be called to Rome) che il papa era in obbligo sotto peccato mortale di chiamare a Roma i suoi nepoti." He then gave his reasons as above.

† Pallavicini: "In quei primi giorni i partiali d' Alessandro non potean comparir in publico senza soggiacere a mordaci scerni." [In those early days the friends of Alexander could not appear in public without being exposed to caustic raillery.]

by degrees with the fairest possessions, the incomparable Ariccia, the principality of Farnese, the palace in the Piazza Colonna, and numerous luoghi di monte, and he was married to a Borghese\*. Nay, the pope's favour extended even to more remote connexions of the family, for instance to the commendatore Bichi, who appears occasionally in the Candian war, and indeed to the Siennese in general.

Thus everything seemed to have returned to the old course. This nevertheless was not the case.

Flavio Chigi was far from possessing such authority as Pietro Aldobrandino, or Scipione Caffarelli, or Francesco Barberino; nor did he aim at it; sway had no charms for him; he rather envied his cousin Agostino the layman, to whose share the real enjoyment of high station seemed to fall without much pains or labour on his part.

Indeed Alexander VII. himself no longer ruled with anything like the despotic power of his predecessors.

Under Urban VIII. there had been instituted a congregation di stato, in which the weightiest matters of state were to be discussed and determined, but its functions were really of little moment. It became much more important under Innocent X. Pancirolo, the secretary of that congregation, the first distinguished man who filled the post, and who laid the foundation of its subsequent high credit, retained to his death a very great share in the administration of Innocent X., and to him it is especially ascribed that no nepotism prevailed in that reign. Chigi himself long filled the same office. It now devolved on Rospiolosi, who had already the whole range of foreign affairs in his hands. Associated with him was cardinal Corrado of Ferrara, who had great weight in matters of ecclesiastical immunity. Monsignore Fagnano had the control of monastic orders, and Pallavicini decided theological questions. The congregations, which had been insignificant under former popes, again rose to consequence and discharged special functions. Already some were heard to maintain, that the absolute right of deciding by his own personal authority belonged to the pope only in spiritual matters; while in all secular matters, such as declaring war, concluding peace, alienating a territory, or imposing a tax, he was bound to consult the cardinals†. In fact, Alexander VII. took but little active part in state administration. He used to go for two months into the country to Castelgandolfo, and on these occasions business was sedulously avoided: when he was in Rome the afternoons were devoted to literature; authors presented themselves and read their works before him, the

pope delighting in suggesting emendations. Even in the early part of the day it was difficult to obtain an audience of him on matters of actual business, "I was forty-two months," says Giacomo Quirini, "in the service of pope Alexander, and I perceived that he had but the name of a pope, not the real power. Of those qualities which he displayed when cardinal, vivacity of intellect, talent for discrimination, resolution in trying cases, and facility in expressing himself, not a trace remained: business was put aside; his only thought was, how he might pass his life in unruffled tranquillity\*."

Sometimes Alexander himself was conscious of this, and felt it with displeasure. When his projects failed, he laid the blame upon the interested motives of the cardinals. He was heard to speak to that effect even in his delirium shortly before his death.

But as this state of things was the natural result of circumstances, it continued as before.

Those cardinals of the squadrone who had contributed most to the election of Alexander VII., and who had maintained a high importance throughout his whole reign, had likewise the casting voice in the conclave that ensued upon his death. The only difference was, that on this occasion they were on better terms with France. On the 20th of June 1667, Rospiolosi, hitherto secretary of state, was raised to the papal throne under the name of Clement IX.†

All voices united in declaring that he was the best and kindest man that could be found in that day. True, his activity was not equal to his good intentions. He was compared to a tree perfect in branch and foliage, adorned perhaps with blossoms, but bearing no fruit: he possessed however, in a high degree, all those moral virtues which consist in a freedom from faults,—purity of manners, modesty and moderation. He was the first pope who actually observed moderation in promoting his kinsmen. They were not absolutely repulsed from court, they obtained the usual posts, and even founded new families: but this happened only in consequence of an opportunity occurring to marry a young Rospiolosi to a rich heiress, a Pallavicina of Genoa. The favours they received at their uncle's hand were but very moderate; they did not appropriate the public wealth to themselves, even though luoghi di monte were bestowed on them, nor did they partition out among them the business and the authority of the state.

Here was indeed a vast alteration.

Hitherto on every accession of a pope the public functionaries were either wholly or for the most part changed: the character and proceedings of the court were based on this system. Clement IX.

\* Vita di Alessandro VII. 1666. "Il principato Farnese, che vale 100m. scudi, la Riccia, che costa altrettanto, il palazzo in piazza Colonna, che finito arriverà ad altri 100m. scudi, formano bellissimi stabili per Don Augustino, et aggluntosi i luoghi di monte et altri officii comprati faranno stabili di una sola testa più di mezzo milione senza le annue rendite di 25m. scudi che gode il commendator Bichi, e senza ben 100m. e più scudi d'entrata che ogni anni entrano nella borsa del Cl. Chigi." These are of course such calculations as might have been made in the talk of the day, and to which no great value can be attached.

† Giac. Quirini. "I cardinali, particolarmente Cl. Albicci, pretendevano che il papa potesse disporre d'indulgenze, . . . una per pace e guerra, alienatione di statì, impositione di gabelle dovrebbe ricorrere al cardinali."

\* "Datosi quel capo alla quietà dell' animo, al solo pensiero di vivere, e con severo divieto ripudiato il negotio."

† Quirini: "Dalle pratiche di volanti, ch' in vero ebbero il merito della presente elezione, successe che Chigi con mal regolato consiglio, e fuori di tempo et ordine, si dichiarò in sala regia nell' entrare in capella allo scrutinio, che accompagnava al nomina di Rospiolosi . . . Ottoboni innanzi dell' adoratione fu dichiarato prodatorio, Azzolini segretario di stato." [It was brought about by the practices of the squadristas, who had really all the credit of this election, that Chigi imprudently and inopportunistically declared in sala regia on entering the chapel to vote, that he consented to the nomination of Rospiolosi. Ottoboni was declared prodatorio before the adoration, and Azzolini secretary of state.]

was the first who abolished it: he was averse to giving any one pain; with the exception of a few of the higher places, he confirmed all functionaries in their posts as he found them\*. In those he caused to be vacated, he placed cardinals, such as Ottobuono and Azzolino, members of the squadrone who had been leaders in the last election, and who, independently of this, were men of weight. He was far from copying the proceedings of so many former popes, in persecuting the nephews of his predecessor. The recommendations of Flavio Chigi had not much less weight with him than with Alexander: favours continued to be bestowed through his hand; all things remained as they had been.

How grievously did this pope's countrymen, the Pistojese, find themselves deceived. They had calculated on favours like those but recently bestowed on so many Siennese; every man of them in Rome, it is said, had already assumed airs of consequence, and begun to swear on his honour as a nobleman. How bitter was their surprise when they found that the places on which they counted, were not even vacated, not to say bestowed on them.

But Clement IX. did not fail of the munificence with which the popes were accustomed to mark their elevation to the throne: he even went unusual lengths in this respect, bestowing upwards of 600,000 scudi in presents in the first month of his reign. But this bounty devolved neither on his countrymen nor even on his nephews, to whom indeed representations were made as to this neglect of their interests†, but it was shared among the cardinals and the leading members of the curia in general. People pretended to say that certain stipulations made with the conclave were at the bottom of the matter, but no clear trace of anything of the kind is discoverable.

This conduct is much rather to be looked on as in accordance with the general modification of opinion which had taken place during this epoch throughout all Europe.

There never was a period more favourable to the aristocracy than the middle of the seventeenth century; in which throughout the whole range of the Spanish monarchy, the power of the state, which former kings had withdrawn from the higher nobility, again fell into their hands; in which the English constitution moulded itself amidst the most perilous struggles into the aristocratic form which it wears to this day; in which the French parliaments persuaded themselves they could play a similar part to that of the English parliament; in which, in all the German territories the

nobility acquired a decided ascendancy, with the exception of one or two, where resolute princes beat down all efforts for independence; in which the estates of Sweden strove to impose intolerable restraints on the sovereign authority, and the Polish nobility achieved complete independence. So also it came to pass in Rome. A numerous, wealthy, and powerful aristocracy surrounded the papal throne; the families already established curtailed the growth of the new one; from the absolute will and straightforward boldness of monarchy the spiritual authority lapsed into the deliberation, the quietude, and the phlegmatic slowness characteristic of an aristocratic constitution.

Under these circumstances the court assumed an altered aspect. A remarkable pause occurred to that immigration of foreigners, who used to seek their fortunes there, and to the incessant flux and reflux of new successful adventurers. A fixed population had grown up, whose numbers continued to increase in much less rapid ratio. Let us cast a glance over its composition.

#### *Elements of the Roman population.*

Let us begin with the highest classes of whom we have just been speaking.

Among them flourished the time-honoured stocks of the Savelli, Conti, Orsini, Colonna, and Gaetani. The Savelli still possessed their ancient jurisdiction of the Corte Savella, with the privilege of every year delivering one criminal from the punishment of death\*; according to immemorial custom, the ladies of this family never left their palaces, or if at all, only in carriages carefully closed on all sides. The Conti preserved in their halls the portraits of the popes who had sprung from their house. The Gaetani dwelt with no little pride on the memory of Bonifacius VIII., affirming--and people were inclined to concede the fact--that the spirit of that pope rested upon them. The Colonna and the Orsini boasted that, for eight centuries, no peace had been concluded among the sovereigns of Christendom in which they had not been included by name†. But however powerful they might have been in former times, they had owed their importance to their connexion with the curia and the popes. Though the Orsini were masters of the fairest possessions, which ought to have brought them in 80,000 scudi, they had been greatly reduced by an inconsiderate liberality, and stood in need of the aid of ecclesiastical officers. The contestabile, Don Filippo Colonna, had but just succeeded in re-establishing his pecuniary circumstances, through the permission granted him by Urban VIII. to reduce the rate of interest on his debts, and by the ecclesiastical benefices to which that pope advanced his four sons‡.

\* Discorso del dominio temporale e spirituale del sommo pontefice, 1664.

† Descrizione delle famiglie nobili Romane: MS. in the library of St. Mark, vi. 237 & 284.

‡ Almaden: Relazione di Roma. "Il primogenito è Don Federico principe di Botero; il secondo Don Girolamo cardinale, cuore del padre e meritamente per esser signore di tutta bontà; il terzo Don Carlo, il quale dopo diversi soldi di Fiandra e di Germania si fece monaco ed abate Casinese: il quarto Don Marc Antonio, accasato in Sicilia: il quinto Don Prospero commendatore di S. Giovanni: il sesto Don Pietro abate secolare, stroplo della persona, ma altrettanto fatica d'ingegno."

\* Grimaldi: Relazione. "I suoi corteggiani sono mal soddisfatti, per non haver voluto rinuovere alcuno de' ministri et officiali di quelli dell' antecedente pontefice, come sempre costumarono di far gli altri pontefici." He was blamed for this, because it would leave his nephews without due support. "Quelli che havevano ricevute le cariche di Alessandro VII., benché non rimossi da Clemente, conservavano l'obligatione agli eredi di Alessandro." [Those who have received their offices from Alexander VII., though not removed by Clement, will retain their obligation to the heirs of Alexander.]

† Considerandogli che con tanta profusione d'oro e d'argento una lunga catena per la povertà della loro casa lavoravano." [The thought occurring to them, that with such a profusion of gold and silver they were fabricating a long chain for the poverty of their house.] Quirini.

For it was long an established custom, that the rising families should enter into close relations with those ancient princely houses.

There existed for a long while under Innocent two great clans, or factions. The Orsini, Cesarini, Borghesi, Aldobrandini, Ludovisi, and Giustiniani, were connected with the Panfilii; opposed to them were the Colonnese and the Barberini. The reconciliation of Donna Olimpia with the Barberini made the union general; it embraced all the families of note.

Even in this class we now remark a change. Formerly the reigning family had always played the leading part, and thrown their predecessors into the shade by the acquisition of great wealth. This had now ceased to be practicable: in the first place, because the old families had, either through mutual intermarriages or by sound economy, become too rich for this; secondly, because the resources of the papacy had become gradually exhausted. The Chigi could no longer pretend to surpass their predecessors; the Rospigliosi were far from having any such desire, being quite content if they could succeed in obtaining a footing among them.

Every society is sure to be represented, to mirror itself, if we may use the expression, in some intellectual phenomenon,—some custom, or peculiarity of manners: the most peculiar phenomenon of this Roman society and its intercourse was the ceremonial of the court. Never, on the whole, has there been an epoch in which ceremony was more rigorously insisted on than in those days. This was in general keeping with the aristocratic tendencies of the age: the fact that it was more particularly observable at Rome, may have arisen from the pre-eminence claimed by that court over all others, which it sought to express in certain externals\*, and from the contests for precedence that had been waged there from remote times by the ambassadors of Spain and France. Hence there were innumerable disputes about rank; between the ambassadors and the higher functionaries, such, for instance, as the governors; between the cardinals who had places in the rota and those who had not; between a vast number of other bodies of public officers; and between the various families, such as the Orsini and the Colonna. Pope Sixtus V. in vain decided that the eldest of either house should always have the precedence; if this chanced to be a Colonna, the Orsini did not make their appearance: if it were an Orsini, the Colonna stayed away. But even to these illustrious families the Conti and the Savelli gave way with great reluctance, and only under incessant protestations. The distinctions of rank were most minutely defined. The relations of the pope, for instance, had both wings of the door thrown open for them as they entered the papal apartments: other barons or cardinals were obliged to content themselves with the opening of one wing. A singular fashion of displaying respect was introduced: one who was driving in his carriage would stop when he met the equipage of a person superior to him in rank, or of a patron. It is said that marchese Mattei was the first who paid this compli-

ment to cardinal Alessandro Farnese, and upon that occasion the cardinal also drew up, and they interchanged a few words\*. Others soon followed the example. Ambassadors received this mark of respect from their countrymen: it became an universal usage, an universal duty, notwithstanding its extreme inconvenience. Trifles are precisely what vanity clings to with most pertinacity; they excuse a man for exacting them to the uttermost from his dependants or equals.

Let us go a step lower in the scale.

In the middle of the seventeenth century they counted in Rome about fifty noble families, three hundred years old; five-and-thirty, two hundred; sixteen, one hundred. None were considered of higher antiquity, and they were generally referred to a mean and obscure origin†. A large proportion of them had originally settled in the campagna. Unfortunately, however, at the period when luoghi di monti bore high interest, the majority of them were induced to sell their estates to the families founded by popes' nephews, and to invest the proceeds in papal monti. At first this seemed to afford them no trifling advantage. The nepotes paid very liberally, often beyond the value of their purchase, while the interest drawn without any personal exertions from the luoghi di monte, amounted to more than the net profit which the most careful husbandry could have extracted from the cultivation of the land. But the vendors soon found out that they had exchanged real estates for fluctuating capital. Alexander VII. was driven to reductions of the monti, by which a shock was given to credit, and the value of the luoghi was greatly depressed. There was not a family that did not lose by the event.

But numerous new families arose by the side of the old ones. The cardinals and prelates of the curia proceeded in exact imitation of the popes, each according to the measure of his fortune. They, too, failed not to employ the surplus of their ecclesiastical revenues in enriching their kinsmen, and founding families. Others rose to eminence through judicial appointments. No few owed their elevation to their employment as money-changers in connexion with the dataria. In the time we are treating of, there were reckoned fifteen Florentine, eleven Genoese, nine Portuguese, and four French families, who in this way had risen to more or less distinction, according to their good fortune, or their talents: some there were among them whose reputation no longer depended on the affairs of the day, money-kings, such as, under Urban VIII., the Guicciardini and the Doni, with whom Giustiniani, Primi, and Pallavicini associated themselves‡.

\* I have seen a special treatise on this subject in the Barberini library: Circa il fermar le carrozze per complimento e come s' introdusse in uso.

† Almaden: "La maggior parte delle famiglie oggi stimate a Roma nobili vengono da basso principio, como da notaro, speciale, che sarebbe da sopportare, ma dell' arte puzzolente della conca di corame. Io benchè sappia particolarmente l'origine, non però lo scrivo per non offendere alcuno." [The greater part of the families now deemed noble in Rome sprang from base beginnings, such as notaries and apothecaries, well enough in their way, though stinking like tan pits. Though I am particularly acquainted with the origin of the several families, still, to avoid giving offence, I will not mention it.]

‡ Almaden: "Non passano ancora la seconda generatione

\* Complaints of these attempts were made among others by the French ambassador Bethune, Feb. 23, 1627. See Siri, *Memorie* rec. vi. p. 262.

And even without business of this kind families of note were constantly resorting to Rome, not only from Urbino, Rieti, and Bologna, but also from Parma and Florence. The establishment of the monti, and the saleable offices, were strong allurements. For a long while luoghi di monte were a kind of property in much demand, especially the vacabili, which were a sort of life-annuity, and therefore yielded an interest of ten and a half per cent. : but which were not only transferred from more aged to younger members of a family, but even where this had been neglected, passed absolutely in the way of inheritance,—a practice which the curia made no difficulty of furthering. The same was the case with the saleable offices. They ought to have reverted to the camera on the death of the holder, and for this reason the salaries paid on them bore so high a proportion to the capital originally paid in ; they were, in fact, purely and simply rent-charges, since the holder was bound to no official duties : and even these offices could be transmitted without much difficulty. Many a one of them was not vacant for a century together.

The union of the public functionaries, and of the montists, in colleges, gave them a sort of corporate character ; and although gradual infringements were made on their rights, still they always maintained an independent position. They found their advantage in the aristocratic principle blended with the system of credit and public debt. Strangers, indeed, found them at times very overbearing.

The lower classes grew continually in numbers and solidity, grouped round the many families established, or rising, and daily increasing in stability, into whose hands passed the bulk of the church revenues.

Lists of the Roman population have come down to us, which exhibit, on a comparison of various years, a very remarkable result respecting its growth and formation. It cannot be said, on the whole, that its advance was very rapid. In the year 1600 we find the number of inhabitants about 110,000, and fifty-six years afterwards, somewhat above 120,000, no extraordinary increase. But another circumstance particularly merits our attention. Formerly the population of Rome had been very fluctuating ; its numbers sank under Paul IV. from 80,000 to 50,000, and rose again, after the lapse of a few decenniums, to more than 100,000. The reason of this was that the court was made up for the most part of unmarried men, who had no permanent abode there. Now, on the contrary, the population consisted chiefly of resident families. This began towards the end of the sixteenth century, but it was carried to its greatest height in the first half of the seventeenth. Rome numbered, in the

year 1600,	109,729 inhabitants,	20,019 families.
— 1614,	115,643 ———	21,422 ———
— 1619,	106,050 ———	24,380 ———
— 1628,	115,374 ———	24,429 ———
— 1644,	110,608 ———	27,279 ———

di cittadinanza Romana, . . . son venute da Fiorenza e Genova coll' occasione del danaro . . . molte volte mojono nelle fasce." [Their Roman citizenship is not older yet than the second generation . . . they came hither from Florence and Genoa on money matters . . . they often die in swaddling clothes.]

year 1653, 118,882 inhabitants, 20,081 families.  
— 1656, 120,596 ——— 30,103 ———\*.

We perceive that the number of inhabitants occasionally diminishes, while that of the families constantly augments : it rose upwards of 10,000 in the course of these fifty-six years, which is the more remarkable, since the increase in the number of inhabitants during that period is exactly the same. The multitude of single men passing to and fro declined, whilst the mass of the population became stationary. The proportion has contained the same up to the present time, with the exception of slight modifications resulting from maladies, and from the natural tendency of population to repair its own losses.

After the return of the popes from Avignon and the cessation of the schism, the city, which had seemed hastening to the condition of a mere village, grew up round the curia. But it was only after the papal families had risen to power and opulence, when all fears of intestine disorders and foreign foes had passed away, and the rent-charges derived from the income of the church or of the state afforded the means of enjoying life without labour, that a numerous resident population grew up in Rome. Its prosperity and its wealth were always dependent, whether in respect to direct donations, or of the indirect advantages, on the importance of the church and the court. All were indeed upstarts, like the papal families themselves.

Hitherto the families already established in Rome had continually received accessions to their numbers in the persons of new settlers who flocked thither, particularly from the native town of each successive pope : but the aspect now assumed by the court put an end to this. The capital itself had assumed its character and constitution under the influence of that vast agency in the affairs of the world, which the Roman see had acquired through the general restoration of catholicism ; it was in the course of that great evolution, that those Roman families arose which flourish to this day : from the moment the spiritual dominion ceased to spread, the population likewise desisted from its growth. It was altogether a creation of that epoch.

Nay, the modern city itself, such as it still captivates the attention of travellers, belongs for the most part to the same period of the catholic restoration. Let us advert briefly to its history.

#### *Edifices erected by the Popes.*

We have noticed the magnificence of the architectural schemes projected and executed by Sixtus, and have inquired into the views, with regard to religion and the church, by which they were prompted.

Clement VII. imitated him in this respect. Some of the most beautiful chapels in the churches of San Giovanni and San Pietro owe their erection to him : he laid the foundation of the new palace of the Vatican : the pope and his secretary of state reside at this day in the apartments built by Clement.

But it was, above all, Paul V. who made it his ambition to rival the Franciscan. "Throughout

\* The tables from which these numbers are extracted exist in manuscript in the Barberini library. A later one from 1702 to 1816, is given in Cancellieri, *Del tarantismo di Roma*, p. 73.



the whole city," says a contemporaneous life of him, "he has levelled hills, opened long vistas where before there were crooks and corners, laid out great squares, and rendered them still more stately with new buildings: he has constructed water-works, that throw out no mere jets from pipes, but that gush in streams. The variety of the gardens he has planned, vies with the splendour of his palaces. The whole interiors of his private chapels glisten with silver and gold; they are not so much adorned as filled with jewels. The public chapels tower like basilicæ, the basilicæ like temples, the temples like mountains of marble \*."

It is not, we perceive, the beauty and the symmetry, but the splendour and colossal magnitude of his works that excite our author's praise; and such indeed were their chief characteristics.

In the church of S. Maria Maggiore, he erected opposite to the Sistine chapel one far more gorgeous, constructed entirely of the most costly marble.

He brought the water that bears his name, the Aqua Paolina, to the Janiculus, from a distance of five and thirty miles, a much longer course than that run by the Aqua Felice. Opposite the fountain and the Moses of Sixtus V. but at a distance from them, it bursts forth with five times the force, in four copious branches. Who is there knows not that hill of ancient renown, the site of Porsenna's attack, now clothed all over with vineyards, orchards, and ruins? from its height the eye wanders over the city and the surrounding country, to the distant mountains, wrapped in their transparent veil wrought out of the many-coloured mists of evening. The solitude is sublimely enlivened by the noise of the gushing waters. What distinguishes Rome from all other cities, is the profusion of its waters, and the multitude of its fountains. The Aqua Paolina contributes the largest share towards this charming feature. It fills the incomparable fountains of the Piazza S. Pietro, it is conducted under the Ponte Sisto into the city proper, and it feeds the fountains in the Farnese palace, and many others.

As Sixtus V. reared the cupola of St. Peter's, Paul V. undertook the general completion of the edifice †. This he accomplished on the largest scale, in accordance with the taste of his age. In these days we should, no doubt, prefer seeing the original plan of Bramante and Michael Angelo fully carried out; but the work of Paul V. entirely satisfied the tastes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is true the dimensions are enormous: who can admire that façade? Still an air of cheerfulness, convenience, and grandeur pervades the whole fabric. The colossal proportions of the buildings, the piazza, the obelisk, and the entire range of objects around, produce that impression of the gigantic which was intended, and which forces itself irresistibly on the beholder.

Short as was the reign of the Ludovisi, they yet left behind them imperishable memorials in the church of S. Ignatio, and in their villa in the city.

† Vita Pauli V. compendiose scripta. MS. Barb.

‡ "Magnificentia Pauli V., seu publicæ utilitatē et splendoris opera a Paulo vel. in urbe vel alibi instituta. MS. Unius Pauli jussu impensisque instructa ejus templi pars cum reliquis ab omnibus retro pontificibus extructis partibus merito conferri potest." [That part of the temple erected at Paul's sole order and expense, may justly be compared with the parts constructed by all the popes that preceded him.]

Niccolo Ludovisio once possessed six palaces, all of which he repaired or beautified.

We find reminiscences of Urban VIII. not only in numerous churches, such as S. Bibiana, S. Quirico, S. Sebastiano on the Palatine, but also, more in accordance with his tastes, in palaces and fortifications. After he had surrounded St. Angelo with ditches and ramparts, and thoroughly fortified it, as he boasts on his coins, he constructed the wall round the Vatican and the Belvidere garden, as far as the Porta Cavalleggieri, according to the plan of the accomplished architect, cardinal Maculano. At the last named point, it met with other defensive works, which were intended to embrace the Lungara, Trastevere, and the Janiculus, and to reach as far as the priory on the Aventine: Porta Portuense was principally erected by Urban VIII. It was not till he had thus fenced himself in that he felt secure. He carefully restored the bridge that leads from the papal residence to the castle \*.

Pope Innocent X. was a zealous architect, and left marks of his taste on the Capitol, the two sides of which he endeavoured to harmonize, in the Lateran (church, where he deserves the credit of having dealt with more regard to ancient forms than was usual in his times) and, above all, in the Piazza Navona. It was noticed, that when he crossed the Piazza S. Pietro, he never took his eyes off the fountain which Paul V. had erected there †. He would gladly have vied with that pope, and adorned his favourite piazza with one still more beautiful. Bernini exerted all the powers of his art to that end. An obelisk was brought from Caracalla's circus, and on it were fixed the arms of the house of Pamfili. Houses were pulled down to give the piazza a new form; the church of S. Agnete was rebuilt from the foundations, and near it was constructed the palazzo Pamfili, richly adorned with statues, pictures, and costly internal decorations. The vigna which his family possessed beyond the Vatican, he transformed into one of the most beautiful of villas, comprising within it every thing that can render a country life delightful.

The modern taste for regularity comes forth in the works of Alexander VII. Many were the houses he pulled down to obtain straight streets: the palazzo Salviati was doomed to fall to form the Piazza del Collegio Romano; and the Piazza Colonna, where stood the palace of his family, was transformed by him. He restored the Sapienza and the Propaganda. But his most illustrious monument is unquestionably the colonnades with which he surrounded the upper portion of the Piazza S. Pietro, a colossal work of twelve hundred and eighty-four columns, and eighty-eight pilasters. Whatever may have been urged against it, both then and subsequently ‡, it cannot be denied that

\* Cancellieri copied into his work, *Del tarantismo di Roma*, p. 55, the passages which belong here from the *Diario di Giacinto Gigli*, which was unfortunately purloined from me at Rome,—the greatest loss my collection has sustained.

† *Diario*, Deone; 4 Luglio, 1648. He remarks however, "La quale (la fontana di papa Paolo—there was then only one) difficilmente potrà superare nè in bellezza nè in quantità d'acque." [He will not find it easy to surpass Paul's fountain, either for beauty or quantity of water.]

‡ *Sagredo*. "I colonnati che si vanno intorno alla piazza erigendo, di quattro ordini di questi restar cinta dovendo,



it is in keeping with the pervading idea of the building it adjoins, and that it contributes to the mingled sense of the immensity and of cheerfulness which is called up by the whole place.

Such was the gradual growth of the city, which has since been the object of so many a traveller's pilgrimage. Treasures of art of every description accumulated in it as it rose. Extensive libraries were collected; not only the Vatican, the Augustine, and Dominican monasteries, and the houses of the fathers of the oratory, but likewise the palaces too, were furnished with them: men vied with each other in amassing printed books, and gathering together rare MSS. It was not that science was pursued with very great assiduity; men studied indeed, but leisurely, and less with the desire of novel discoveries, than with a view to acquire and reproduce what was already known. Out of all those academies that sprang up year by year, here and there one devoted itself to some branch of natural science, such as botany for instance, though not with any marked success\*; but all the rest, the Good-humoured †, the Orderly, the Maidenlike, the Fantasties, the Uniform, or whatever other strange names they bore, employed themselves with poetry and rhetoric, or with exercises of intellectual skill, which remained confined to a narrow range of thought, and yet wasted the abilities of many a promising mind. Nor were books the only objects in request to adorn the palaces of Rome: works of art of ancient and recent times, antiquities of various kinds, statues, reliefs, and inscriptions, were likewise considered indispensable. In the times we are considering, the dwellings of the Cesi, the Giustiniani, the Strozzi, and the Massimi, and the gardens of the Mattei, were the most famous in this respect; besides which, collections like that of Kircher at the Jesuits' college excited no less admiration among contemporaries. It was more, however, curiosity and antiquarian pedantry that prompted to the formation of these collections, than susceptibility to the beauty of form or profound understanding of art. It is remarkable, that at bottom the men of those days still thought on the subject as Sixtus V. had done. They were very far as yet from bestowing on the remains of antiquity that attention and guardian care which they have met with in later times. What could be expected

tutti in forma ovata; quali formeranno tre portici coperti con tre magnifici ingressi, e sopra da un corridore che sarà d' altro ordine di piccole colonne e di statue adornato; il papa pretende che servir debbano per ricevere della pioggia e del sole alle carrozze." [The colonnades now in the course of erection round the place, which is to be encircled by four orders of them, are all of them of an oval form, and will constitute three covered porticos with three magnificent entrances; and over them will be a corridor with another order of small columns and adorned with statues. The pope's intention is, that they shall shelter carriages from the sun and rain.] The expenses amounted already to 900,000 scudi, which were drawn from the funds of Fabrica di S. Pietro.

\* I allude to the Lincei founded in 1603, by Federico Cesi, which accomplished indeed little more than the Italian version of the Natural History of Mexico by Fernandez. Tiraboschi: *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, viii. p. 195.

† Die Gutgeleitenten,—for so we must translate Umoristi, according to the accounts given by Erythæus, which are extremely well put together in Fischer's *Vita Erythræi*, p. 4. 41.

of an age in which we find one of the privileges of the Borghese to have been, that they were not to incur punishment for any kind of demolition. It is hardly credible what things were permitted in the seventeenth century. The Thermæ of Constantine for example, had tolerably survived the vicissitudes of so many ages, and assuredly gratitude to their erector, who had done so much for the dominion of the Christian church, should have proved their safeguard; nevertheless they were demolished to the foundation under Paul V., and converted, in accordance with the taste of the day, into a palace and gardens, which were afterwards exchanged for the Villa Mondragone in Frascati. Even the Temple of Peace, at that time in tolerable preservation, found no favour at the hands of Paul V. He conceived the strange idea of erecting a colossal cast iron statue to the Virgin and Child, and to elevate it to such a height, that the whole city might be overlooked by its protectress. Now a column of unusual length was requisite for that purpose; and such an one he found at last in the Temple of Peace. Without troubling himself to reflect, that in its place it was in keeping with the general structure, and that when isolated it would rather look odd and startling, than beautiful and appropriate, he carried it off, and placed on it that colossus which we now behold.

Admitting even that all is not true which has been laid to the charge of the Barberini, it cannot yet be denied that on the whole they proceeded in this self-same style. Under Urban VIII. the intention was actually revived of demolishing that sole surviving and incomparable monument of the republican times, the monument of Cæcilia Metella, in order to employ the travertine of which it was built on the Fontana di Trevi. The project was suggested by Bernini, the most renowned statuary and architect of the day, and the pope gave him a brief sanctioning its execution. The work of destruction was actually begun, when the Roman people, who loved their antiquities, became acquainted with the matter and resisted it by force. For the second time it rescued this, its oldest relic, from the spoiler's hand: the workmen were obliged to desist to avoid a tumult\*.

Now all these acts of destruction were part and parcel of the general spirit of the age. The epoch of the restoration had its own peculiar ideas and impulses, which strove for sole dominion even in art and literature, and could neither understand nor appreciate anything foreign to their own nature, but were resolved on demolishing if they could not subdue it.

Notwithstanding this, Rome was still the metropolis of civilization, unrivalled in its erudite zeal for collecting, and in the practice of art after the fashion sanctioned by the taste of the age: it was still creative in the department of music; the concerted style of the cantata arose then by the side of the church style, and enraptured all travellers. "A man must be by nature perverted," exclaims Spon, who visited Rome in 1674, "who does not find himself satisfied in some branch or another †." He goes through all these branches, the libraries in which the rarest books may be studied; the concerts in the churches and palaces,

\* Deane relates this at full length.

† Spon et Wheeler: *Voyage d'Italie et de Grèce*, i. p. 39.

where the finest voices are daily to be heard ; the multitude of collections of statuary and painting, ancient and modern ; the many noble fabrics of all times, whole villas covered with bas-reliefs and inscriptions, of which he singly copied upwards of a thousand ; the presence of so many foreigners of all nations and tongues ; the enjoyment of nature in the enchanting gardens ; and he adds, that any one who loves devotion will find in churches, relics and processions enough to engage his whole life.

Undoubtedly other places displayed nobler intellectual movements ; but the completeness and rounded fulness of the Roman world, the abundance of wealth, and the tranquil enjoyment, heightened by security and content, which the faithful derived from the uninterrupted contemplation of the objects of their veneration, exerted a mighty charm, sometimes appealing to one feeling sometimes to another, and at times to all alike.

Let us consider the force of this charm in its most striking example, one too which had a lively reaction on the court of Rome.

#### *Digression concerning queen Christina of Sweden.*

We have often had occasion to turn our attention to Sweden.

In that same country where Lutheranism had first revolutionized the whole political constitution, where the anti-reformation in so unusual a manner found representatives and adversaries in the highest personages, and from whence went forth the power that chiefly decided the great struggle that engaged the world, in that country catholicism, under the new aspect it had assumed, now made the most unexpected conquest, gaining over to itself the daughter of the great protestant champion, queen Christina of Sweden. How this took place is a matter well worthy of consideration, both intrinsically, and as regards our subject.

Let us begin by investigating the position occupied by the young queen in her native dominions.

After the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the question was for a moment agitated in Sweden, (just as it had been in Austria in 1619, in Portugal in 1640, and in many other places at that time,) whether the country should not throw off the royal yoke and constitute itself a republic\*.

The proposal indeed was rejected ; homage was paid to the daughter of the deceased king ; but the circumstance that she was a child but six years old, and that there was no one of royal blood capable of grasping the reins of government, threw the powers of the state into the hands of a few. The anti-monarchical tendencies of the times found cordial acceptance in Sweden ; the conduct of the long parliament in England aroused such feelings, and still more so the movements of the Fronde, inasmuch as they were more decidedly aristocratic. "I see plainly," Christina herself once said in the senate, "that people here wish

that Sweden may become an elective monarchy or an aristocracy\*."

But the young sovereign had no inclination to suffer the decay of the royal authority ; she strove to be queen in the full sense of the word. From the moment she entered on the functions of government, in the year 1644, she devoted herself to public business with admirable zeal. She never neglected a sitting of the senate : we hear of her suffering from fever, and having recourse to blood-letting, yet attending the sittings notwithstanding. She was careful to prepare herself beforehand, reading through state-papers many sheets in length, and making herself mistress of their contents : in the evening before retiring to rest, and in the morning on waking, she pondered over the points of difficulty†. She had the art of stating questions for discussion with great dexterity, never letting it appear to which side her own sentiments inclined. After hearing the opinions of the members, she used to pronounce her own, which was always found substantially based, and was usually adopted. Foreign ambassadors were astonished at the personal influence she contrived to acquire in the senate‡, though she herself was never satisfied with it. She had a considerable share in an event of such universal importance as the peace of Westphalia. The officers of the army, and even one of her ambassadors to the congress, were averse to the measure ; and there were also in Sweden persons who disapproved of the concessions made to the catholics, particularly those of the hereditary dominions of Austria. But Christina did not choose to appeal incessantly to fortune ; Sweden had never been so glorious, or so power-

\* A remarkable proof of this aristocratic tendency is the judgment passed on the constitution by the greater part of the estates and "good patriots" of the year 1614, that has recently been published. See Geijer, *Schwedische Geschichte*, iii. 357. None of the five high offices of state were to be filled up in any other way than by the nomination of three candidates by the states, one of whom should be elected. None but one of three proposed by the house of Knights itself should be elected Grand Marshal. A Consistorium politico-ecclesiasticum was demanded, with a president and assessors freely chosen by the estates, &c.

† Paolo Casati al papa Alessandro VII. sopra la regina di Suecia, MS. "Ella m'ha più d'una volta assicurato di non aver portato avanti alcun negotio grave a cui non avesse quasi due anni prima pensato, e che molte hore della mattina, dopo che s'era svegliata da quel poco sonno che era solita di prendere, impiegava nel considerare i negotii e conseguenze loro benchè lontane." [She has more than once assured me that she never carried out any great measure to which she had not previously given nearly two years thought, and that she was in the habit of employing many hours in the morning, on waking from the short sleep she was used to take, in considering matters of state and their consequences however remote.]

‡ *Mémoires de ce qui est passé en Suede tirez des depesches de Mr. Chanut*, i. p. 245. (1648 Févr.) "Il est incroyable comment elle est puissante dans son conseil, car elle ajoute à la qualité de reine la grace, le credit, les bienfaits et la force de persuader." [It is incredible what power she possesses with her council, for she combines with the dignity of queen, grace, credit, beneficence, and persuasive force.] In a copy of these *Mémoires* which appeared in 1675, there have been found marginal notes in the queen's handwriting. These indeed express more the dissatisfaction of a later period, than accurate recollections of the first years of her reign ; but at any rate we must take them as modifying Chanut's assertions.

\* La vie de la reine Christine faite par elle même in Arckenholtz, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Christine*, tom. iii. p. 41 : "On m'a voulu persuader qu'on mit en délibération en certaines assemblées particulières s'il falloit se mettre en liberté n'ayant qu'un enfant en tête, dont il étoit aisé de se défaire, et de s'ériger en république." Compare the note by Arckenholtz.

ful; her pride was gratified in confirming that condition of her kingdom, and restoring peace to Christendom.

She not only repressed the ambition of the aristocracy with all her might, but left them no hope of obtaining in future the power they coveted. Young as she was, she very soon brought forward a proposal for the nomination of her cousin, the count palatine Charles Gustavus, as her successor. She asserts that the prince had never ventured to hope for such a measure; that she carried it through single-handed against the will of the senate, which had objected even to take it into consideration, and against the will of the estates, which assented to it only in deference to her; in short, it was wholly her own suggestion, and she realized it in spite of all difficulties. The succession was irrevocably settled\*.

It is doubly remarkable, that, with all this zeal for business, she devoted herself at the same time to study, with an ardour amounting almost to passion. Even in her childish years nothing had more delighted her than her lessons. This might have been attributable to her residing with her mother, who surrendered herself wholly to grief for the loss of her husband: the child used daily to long impatiently for the moment when she should escape from the gloomy chambers of mourning. But she possessed extraordinary natural talents too, especially for languages; she relates that she learned most of them without a teacher†, which was the more remarkable, as in some of them she really attained to the proficiency of a native. As she grew up, she became continually more fascinated by the charms of literature. It was the epoch in which learning gradually emancipated itself from the fetters of theological controversy, and universally acknowledged reputations towered above the strife of parties. It was her ambition to have men of celebrity about her, and to avail herself of their instruction.

First came a few German philologists and historians, such as Freinsheim, at whose solicitation she remitted his native town of Ulm the chief part of the war contributions imposed on it‡. Next followed Netherlanders: Isaac Vossius brought into vogue the study of Greek; Christina soon made acquaintance with the best authors of antiquity, and even the fathers of the church did not remain unknown to her. Nicolaus Heinsius boasts it as his first good fortune, that he was born in the queen's time: as the second, that he became known to her; for the third and best, he wishes posterity to learn, that he was not wholly

displeasing to her. She employed him chiefly to procure her costly MSS. and rare books from Italy, which he did conscientiously, and with success. The Italians began to complain that ships were freighted with the spoils of their libraries, that the appliances of learning were carried off from them to the extremity of the north\*. In 1650 Salmasius made his appearance: the queen had sent to him to say, that if he would not come to her, she would be forced to go to him. He resided a year in her palace. Lastly, Des Cartes was also induced to visit her. Every morning at five o'clock he had the honour to see her in her library. It is asserted that, to his amazement, he found she had succeeded in deducing his own ideas from Plato. It is certain that in her conferences with the learned, as well as in her discussions with the senate, she displayed a most felicitous memory, and a rapid apprehension and penetration. "Her genius is in the highest degree extraordinary," exclaimed Naudæus in amazement. "She has seen every thing, read every thing, and knows every thing†."

A wonderful production she was of nature and fortune: a young lady free from all personal vanity; she never sought to conceal from herself that she had one shoulder higher than the other. She was told that her greatest beauty consisted in luxuriant hair, yet she did not even devote the most ordinary attention upon it; she was wholly a stranger to all the petty cares of life: never troubled herself about her table, never complained of any food set before her, and drank nothing but water. She never could understand any womanly work: on the other hand, she delighted to be told, that at her birth she had been mistaken for a boy; that in her earliest childhood, instead of being terrified at the discharge of artillery, she clapped her hands, and proved herself a genuine soldier's child. She sat her horse with great boldness: no sooner had she one foot in the saddle, than she would start off at speed; in hunting she would bring down the game at the first shot. She studied Tacitus and Plato, and sometimes understood those authors better than philologists by profession. Young as she was, she was capable of conceiving independent and just opinions, and of triumphantly maintaining them among senators grown grey in worldly experience. She plunged into business with the quick spirit of innate acuteness; above all things, she was penetrated with a sense of the high importance conferred on her by her descent, and by the necessity of ruling by herself. She never referred an ambassador to her minister; she would never suffer a subject of hers to wear a foreign order; she would not, she said, have a member of her flock marked by another's hand. She knew how to assume a countenance that struck generals mute before whom Germany had quailed: had a new war broken out, she would undoubtedly have placed herself at the head of her troops.

Such tastes as these, and so imperious a disposi-

\* Règne de Christine Jusqu'à sa résignation, in Arckenholtz, iii. 162. Notes.

† La vie de Christine écr. p. e. m. p. 53; "Je savais à l'âge de quatorze ans toutes les langues, toutes les sciences et tous les exercices dont on vouloit m'instruire. Mais depuis j'en ai appris bien d'autres sans le secours d'aucun maître: et il est certain que je n'en eus jamais pour apprendre la langue Allemande, la Française, l'Italienne, ni l'Espagnole." [I knew at the age of fourteen all the languages, all the sciences, and all the accomplishments they chose to teach me. But since then I have learned many others without the help of any master, and it is certain that I never had one to learn the German, French, Italian, and Spanish languages.]

‡ Harangue panégyrique de Freinsheimius à Christine 1647, in Arckenholtz, second appendix, p. 104.

\* Compare Grauert: Königin Christina und ihr Hof, p. 379. 407.

† Naudé à Gassendi, 19 Oct. 1652. "La reine de la quelle je puis dire sans flatterie qu'elle tient mieux sa partie des conférences qu'elle tient assez souvent avec Messieurs Bochart, Bourdelot, du Fresnoie et moi, qu'aucun de la compagnie, et si je vous dis que son esprit est tout à fait extraordinaire je ne mentirai point car elle a tout vu, elle a tout lus, elle sait tout."

tion, made the thought of marrying—of giving a man rights over her person—intolerable to her. Whatever obligation she might be under to her kingdom to contract such an engagement, she thought herself sufficiently absolved from it by the settlement of the succession. After her coronation, she declared she would rather die than marry\*.

But could such a position as hers be maintained? There was something forced and laboured in it; it wanted the equilibrium of health, the serenity of a natural and self-satisfied state of existence. It was not love of business that plunged her into it so impetuously: ambition and the pride of the sovereign impelled her, but she found no pleasure in it. Neither was she fond of her native land, its pleasures or its habits, its religion, or its political constitution; nor yet of its past history, with which she had no sympathy. The ceremonies of state, the long harangues to which she was obliged to listen, every official duty in which she was called on to engage personally, was absolutely hateful to her; the range of education and learning to which her countrymen were content to confine themselves, was contemptible in her eyes. Had she not occupied the throne of Sweden from her childhood, it would perhaps have appeared an object of desire to her; but having been a queen from the earliest moment her memory could recall, all the longings that shape men's future destinies had in her taken a bent that averted her from her native land. Fancy, and love of all that was unusual, began to obtain mastery over her: she knew no prudential considerations, nor ever thought of opposing to the chance impulses of the moment the superior force of that moral symmetry that became her position. True, she was highminded, courageous, full of elasticity and energy, magnanimous; but unbridled, impetuous, elaborately unfeminine, by no means amiable, unfilial even, and that not to her mother alone; she spared not even the sacred memory of her father for the sake of a caustic retort: it would seem at times as though she knew not what she said†. Exalted as was her station, such conduct could not fail to produce its natural results, and to make her proportionally incapable of feeling contented, attached to her home, or happy.

This spirit of discontent fastened above all on matters of religion, and the following were the results.

The queen dwelt with peculiar pleasure on the memory of her instructor, doctor Johann Matthiæ, whose simple, pure, and gentle spirit had gained her affection from the first, and who was her earliest confidant even in all the little affairs of childhood‡.

\* "Je me serois," she says in her autobiography, p. 57, "sans doute mariée si je n'eusse reconnue en moi la force de ne passer des plaisirs de l'amour." [I should no doubt have married, had I not felt myself capable of foregoing the pleasures of love.] And we may the more readily believe her assertion, since this work is a sort of confession.

† No other conclusion can be drawn from her conversation with her mother, given in Chanut, iii. 365. May, 1654.

‡ "Très capable," she says in her Autobiography, p. 51, "de bien instruire un enfant tel que j'étois, ayant une honnêteté, une discrétion et une douceur qui le faisoient aimer et estimer." [A very fit and able instructor for a child such as I was, his integrity, discretion, and gentleness being such as made him loved and respected.]

Immediately after it had become obvious that none of the existing church parties would be able to overpower the rest, an inclination to unite them arose here and there in some right-thinking minds. Matthiæ was one of those who cherished this desire, and he published a book in which he discussed the question of an union between the two protestant churches. The queen shared his sentiments, and conceived the design of founding a theological academy, which was to undertake the reconciliation of the two confessions. But the unbridled zeal of inflexible Lutherans was immediately let loose against the project. A superintendent of Calmar made an indignant attack on Matthiæ's book, and the estates took part against him. The bishops admonished the council of state to watch over the national religion, and the grand chancellor appeared before the queen with representations that forced tears of vexation from her eyes\*.

It is probable she now thought she could clearly perceive that it was no pure zeal which stirred her Lutheran subjects. She was of opinion that an attempt was made to delude her by the idea of God that was set before her, with a view only to bend her to the purposes of the party. The representations made to her of God struck her as unworthy of that great Being†.

The prolix sermons, which had always been wearying to her, and to which she had been compelled by the ordinances of the kingdom to listen, now became intolerable to her. She often manifested her impatience, shifting her chair, and playing with her lap-dog; the inexorable preachers only strove to keep her the longer.

She was presently confirmed, by the arrival of foreigners of learning, in the temper produced by these annoyances, which had excited in her an inward aversion to the established religion of the country. Some of these strangers were catholics; others, for instance Isaac Vossius, gave reason to suspect them of infidelity; Bourdelot, who had the most influence with her, since he had ably and successfully treated her for a dangerous illness,—the very man for courts, full of information and talent for conversation, and totally divested of pedantry,—jested at every thing, the polyhistor and the national creeds, and was held a downright anti-supernaturalist.

The young queen gradually fell into incurable doubts. It seemed to her that all positive religions were inventions of men, that every argument was of equal force against them all indiscriminately, and that it was in the end a matter of indifference which of them an individual embraced.

With all this, however, she never went the length of absolute irreligion; some convictions she still retained, that were not to be shaken: in her royal solitude of a throne, she could not forego the idea of God, nay she even thought she was placed

\* Letter from Axel Oxenstierna, 2 May, 1647, in Arkenholtz, iv. App. n. 21, and particularly one from count Brahe, Arken. iv. p. 229.—Matthiæ's work is the "Idea boni ordinis in ecclesia Christi."

† "Je crus," she says, in a note given by Goldenblad, "que les hommes vous faisoient parler à leur mode et qu'ils me vouloient tromper et me faire peur pour me gouverner à la leur." Arkenholtz, tom. iii. p. 209. [I believed that men represented you speaking in their own style, and that they wished to deceive and to frighten me, that they might govern me in their own way.]

one step nearer to Him. "Thou knowest," she cried, "how often in language unknown to common souls, I have implored thy grace to enlighten me, and vowed to thee to obey thee, though it should be at the sacrifice of life and happiness." She connected this with her other peculiar notions: "I renounce," she said, "all other love, and devote myself to this."

But could it be that God had left man without the knowledge of the true religion? She was particularly struck by an expression of Cicero's, that the true religion could be but one, and that all others must be false\*.

The question was, which was this one?

Let us not think to ask what were her arguments and proofs. She often declared that she discovered no essential error of doctrine in protestantism. But as her disinclination for that creed sprang from an original feeling which was now not to be overcome, and which circumstances but made more intense, so did she rush towards catholicism with an equally inexplicable inclination and entire sympathy.

She was nine years old when she first received any precise account of the catholic church, and it was told her among other things, that in that communion the unmarried state was considered honourable. "O!" she cried, "how fine that is! That is the religion for me."

This was gravely rebuked; but she only persisted the more obstinately in her determination.

Other impressions of a congenial nature were associated with this. "If one is catholic," she says, "one has the comfort of believing what so many noble souls have believed for sixteen centuries, of belonging to a religion ratified by millions of miracles, and millions of martyrs; one," she adds, "which, lastly, has produced so many illustrious virgins, who have triumphed over the weaknesses of their sex, and consecrated themselves to God."

The constitution of Sweden is based on protestantism: on it repose the fame, the power of that country, and the position it occupies amidst the nations of Europe. But on Christina protestantism was imposed by necessity: disgusted by a thousand accidental circumstances, untouched by its spirit, she asserted her own free will, and broke loose from its bondage: the opposite system, of which she had but a glimmering preconception, attracted her; that the pope was invested with infallible authority, appeared to her an institution in accordance with the goodness of God; day by day she clung more decidedly to this idea: it would seem as though she thus felt the cravings of her womanly nature satisfied, as though faith sprung up in her heart, and took the place in others occupied by love, that love which is born of unconscious instinct, which is condemned by the world and must be concealed, but which therefore only strikes the deeper root, and which makes the cherished bliss of a woman's heart, who is prepared to sacrifice all for it.

It is at least certain, that Christina, in her desire of approximating to the court of Rome, had recourse to that mystery and craft which are commonly displayed only in the concerns of passion or of ambition; she engaged, as it were, in an

intrigue to become a catholic. In this she showed herself wholly a woman.

The first to whom she made known her inclination was a Jesuit, Antonio Macedo, father confessor to the Portuguese ambassador, Pinto Pereira\*. Pereira spoke nothing but Portuguese, and brought with him his confessor to act as interpreter. The queen took a strange pleasure, in the audience she gave the ambassador, in discussing with his interpreter, not state affairs, as the ambassador supposed, but religious controversies, and in confiding to him, in presence of a third party, who did not understand a word of what was passing, her most secret thoughts and speculations†.

Macedo suddenly disappeared from Stockholm. The queen affected to have him sought for and followed; but, in reality, she had herself sent him to Rome to make known her intention to the general of the Jesuits, and request him to send her a couple of members of his order.

In February 1652 they arrived in Stockholm. They were two young men, who represented themselves to be noblemen on their travels from Italy, upon which they were invited to the royal table. She instantly surmised what they were, and as they went immediately before her into the dining-room, she said in a whisper to one of them, perhaps he had letters for her. He answered in the affirmative without turning, upon which she hurriedly enjoined him to silence, and immediately after dinner sent her most confidential servant, Johann Holm, to conduct them to the palace next morning with the utmost secrecy‡.

In the royal palace of Gustavus Adolphus, ambassadors from Rome met his daughter, to treat with her of her conversion to the Roman church. The peculiar charm the transaction had for Christina, was that no one had the least suspicion of it.

The two Jesuits proposed at first, to observe the rules of the catechism; but they soon perceived that in this case they could not be applied. The queen proposed to them questions altogether different from those adverted to in that document;—whether there was any ultimate distinction between good and evil, or whether all depended on the utility or mischief of an action; how the doubts were to be set at rest which might be suggested against the belief in a providence; whether the soul of man is really immortal; whether it were not most expedient to conform externally to the established religion of one's country, and inwardly to live in accordance with the laws of reason. The Jesuits do not inform us how they replied to these questions: they tell us, that during the parley, thoughts occurred to them which had never crossed their

\* A certain Gottfried Franken has sometimes been represented to have been the author of her conversion. According to the account of the matter given by Arckenholz, i. 465, the first thought of sending Franken to Stockholm arose on the return of Salmassius from thence, which took place in 1651. Now Macedo had been there as early as 1650: his claims are indisputable.

† Pallavicini: "Arctius idcirco sermones et colloquia miscuit, non tunc solum quum ad eam Macedus ab legato mittebatur, sed etiam ipso presentē, qui nihil intelligens animadvertēbat tamen longiores esse inter eos sermones quam res ferrent ab se interpreti proposita et sibi ab interprete relatā."

‡ Relazione di Paolo Casati al papa Alessandro VII. For an extract, see Appendix, No. 131.

\* Pallavicini Vita Alexandri VII. For the passage, see Appendix No. 130.

minds before, and which they immediately forgot again; that the Holy Ghost acted directly on the queen's mind. In fact, she was already possessed by a decided bias that supplied whatever was wanting to each argument, and to conviction itself. The most frequent stress was laid on the 'prime maxim, that the world cannot be left destitute of the true religion, and then the assertion was subjoined, that of all existing religions the catholic is the most reasonable. "Our grand effort," say the Jesuits, "was to prove that the points of our holy faith are above reason, but by no means contrary to it." The principal difficulty concerned the invocation of the saints, and the adoration of images and relics. "But her majesty," they continue, "conceived with great penetration the whole force of the arguments we set before her; otherwise we should have needed a great length of time." She also talked with them of the difficulty there would be, should she resolve on conforming to the church of Rome, in putting her design into effect. These difficulties seemed at times insurmountable, and one day the queen told the Jesuits when she received them, that they had better return home, that the project was impracticable, and that she could hardly ever become a catholic in her heart. The good fathers were amazed; they urged every argument to fix her to her purpose, set before her God and eternity, and pronounced her doubts to be suggestions of Satan. It was highly characteristic of her, that she was more decided at this very moment than at any previous interview. "What would you say," she ejaculated suddenly, "if I were nearer to becoming catholic than you imagine?" "I cannot describe the emotions we felt," says the Jesuit narrator, "we were like men raised from the dead." The queen asked if the pope could not give her a dispensation to receive the sacrament once every year, according to the Lutheran ritual. "We answered no: then, said she, there is no help for it, I must abdicate."

In truth her thoughts daily tended more and more towards that step.

The affairs of the country did not always proceed as could be wished. Contrasted with the powerful aristocracy which was closely knit together, the queen, with her retinue and adherents gathered from so many foreign lands, with the heir to the throne whom she had forced on the country, and count Magnus de la Gardie whom she honoured with her confidence, but whom the Swedish nobility would never acknowledge as their equal in birth, constituted a party that was regarded almost as foreign. Her unbounded liberality had exhausted the finances, and the moment was seen approaching when every resource would be dried up. Already in October, 1651, she had announced to the estates her intention of resigning. This was at the moment when she sent Antonio Macedo to Rome. She, however, suffered herself to be dissuaded for the time from her design. The chancellor of the realm entreated her not to be determined by the financial difficulties of the country; due care would be taken that the splendour of the crown should not be impaired\*. She saw plainly too, that her conduct would not wear that heroic aspect in the world's eye she at first supposed. When prince Frederick of Hesse shortly after-

wards meditated a similar step, she exhorted him expressly against it; not exactly on religious grounds; she only reminded him that those who change their religion are hated by the party they abandon, and despised by that to which they go over\*. But by degrees these considerations ceased to influence herself. It was in vain she endeavoured by frequent nominations to make a party in her favour in the council of state, which she increased from twenty-eight members to thirty-nine: the credit and consequence of the house of Oxenstierna, which had been for a while obscured, acquired fresh lustre by means of family connexions, by the force of habit, and by a talent that seemed as it were hereditary in the race. In many important affairs, as for instance, in the adjustment of matters with Brandenburg, the queen was left in the minority. Count Magnus de la Gardie too lost her favour. Money began to be sensibly scarce, and there was often not sufficient for the daily necessities of the royal household†. Were it not really better that she should live abroad after the fashion of her own heart upon a stipulated yearly income, without being subjected to the endless interference of fanatic preachers, who saw in all her ways and doings nothing but romantic singularity and apostasy from the faith and the manners of the country? Business was already become irksome to her, and she felt unhappy when she saw her secretaries approach her. Already the only intercourse she took pleasure in, was that of the Spanish ambassador Don Antonio Pimentel, who took part in all her social pleasures and amusements, and in the meetings of the order of the amaranth, which she founded, and the members of which were obliged to pledge themselves to a kind of celibacy. Don Antonio was privy to her catholic intentions, and communicated them to his sovereign, who offered the queen an abode in his dominions, and promised to prepare the pope for her conversion‡. Meanwhile preliminaries had been arranged in Italy by the Jesuits, who by this time had returned thither.

She was now no longer to be dissuaded by any arguments from her purpose. Her letter to the French ambassador Chanut proves how little she counted on approval: at the same time she affirms that this gave her no concern. She should be happy, strong in herself, without fear before

\* Lettre de Christine au prince Frédéric Landgrave de Hesse, in Arckenholtz, i. p. 218. "Pouvez-vous ignorer combien ceux qui changent sont hais de ceux des sentimens desquels ils s'éloignent, et ne saurez-vous pas par tant d'illustres exemples qu'ils sont méprisés de ceux auprès desquels ils se rangent?"

† Motivi onde si crede la regina di Svezia aver presa la resolutione di rinunciare la corona, in Arckenholtz, ii. App. No. 47, probably by Raymond Montecuculi.

‡ Pallavicini, Vita Alexandri VII. "Aulæ Hispanicæ administrari, cum primum rem proposuit Malines (who had been sent thither), omnino voluissent ab regina regnum retineri, ob emolumenta quæ tum in religionem tum in regem catholicum redundassent; sed cognito id fieri non posse nisi læsa religione, placuit regi patronum esse facti tam generosi." [The ministers of the Spanish court, when the affair was first proposed to the king by Malines, would by all means have had the queen retain her crown, on account of the advantages which would thence accrue both to religion and to his catholic majesty; but when it was known that this could not be done without detriment to religion, the king was pleased to become the patron of so high-souled an act.]



God and man, and behold from the harbour the sufferings of those, who were still tossed on the stormy waves of life. Her only care was to secure her pension in such a manner, that she could never again be deprived of it.

On the 24th of June, 1654, the ceremony of abdication took place. However numerous the causes of complaint the queen's administration had given, yet high and low were deeply affected by this renunciation of her native kingdom by the last scion of the stock of Gustavus Vasa. Old count Brahe refused to take from her the crown he had placed on her head three years before\*: he held the tie between sovereign and subject to be indissoluble, and deemed such a proceeding unlawful†. The queen was obliged herself to take the crown from her head; it was only from her hand he would receive it. Stripped of the insignia of royalty, and in a plain white dress, the queen now received the parting homage of her estates. After the rest appeared the speaker of the peasantry, "a plain country fellow in his clouted shoon and all other habits answerable." He knelt down before the queen, "took her by the hand and shook it heartily, and kissed it two or three times; then turning his back to her he pulled out of his pocket a foul handkerchief, and wiped the tears from his eyes, and in the same posture as he came up he returned back to his place again‡."

Meanwhile all her thoughts and schemes were directed to foreign lands: she would not remain one moment in a country in which she had resigned the sovereign authority to other hands. She had already sent off her valuables: while the fleet was getting ready that was to convey her to Wismar, she seized the first favourable opportunity to escape in disguise with a few trusty attendants from the irksome supervision exercised over her by her late subjects, and to betake herself to Hanburg.

She now began her travels through Europe.

On arriving in Brussels she secretly conformed to catholicism, and afterwards publicly in Insbruck: attracted by the promise of the pope's benediction she hastened to Italy, where she laid down her crown and sceptre at the shrine of our lady of Loretto. The Venetian ambassadors were astonished at the sumptuous preparations made for her reception in all the towns of the ecclesiastical states. Pope Alexander, whose ambition was gratified by the occurrence of so brilliant a conversion during his pontificate, exhausted the apostolic coffers to celebrate the event with due solemnity. Christina entered Rome, not as a penitent but in triumph§.

\* She had assumed the reins of government in 1544: her coronation took place some years later.

† "It was opposed to God, to the common law of nations, and to the oath by which she was bound to the realm of Sweden and to her subjects—he could be no honest man who gave her majesty such advice." Life of count Peter Brahe, in Schlözer's *Schwedischer Biographie*, li. p. 409.

‡ Whitlocke's Journal, li. p. 166.

§ *Relazione de' iv. ambasciatori*: "Il sospetto che prese papa Innocentio che il ricevimento dovesse costarli caro ritardò il suo arrivo in Roma: e contento quel buon pontefice del risparmio del danaro lasciò la gloria entiera al suo successore d'accomplire a questa memoranda funzione. Intorno a ciò ritrovammo al nostro giungere in Roma occupate le maggiori applicationi della corte, et al ritorno ei al fece vedere tutto lo stato della chiesa involto in facende et a gara l'una città dell'altra chi sapeva fare maggiore ostentatione

During the first years of her private life we often find her travelling; we meet her in Germany, twice in France, and even in Sweden. She did not always remain so much aloof from political struggles as she had at first intended. She once exerted herself in downright earnestness, and not without some prospect of success, to obtain the crown of Poland, which she might at least have been able to wear as a catholic. Another time she incurred suspicion of designing to attack Naples in the interests of France. The necessity of seeing after her pension, the payment of which was often in arrear, seldom left her entire repose. Her pretensions, though not wearing a crown, to exercise the independent prerogatives of a crowned head, especially in the way she herself understood them, were twice attended with very serious consequences. Who can excuse the cruel sentence she pronounced at Fontainebleau in her own cause on Monaldeschi, a member of her household, and which she caused to be executed by his accusers and enemies? She granted him only an hour to prepare for death\*. She regarded as high treason the breach of faith, of which the victim was said to have been guilty towards her; and she deemed it beneath her dignity to summon him before any tribunal whatever. "To own no power above one," she exclaimed, "is worth more than to rule over the whole earth." She even despised public opinion. Monaldeschi's execution excited universal abhorrence in Rome, where the wranglings of her household were better known than to herself; yet nevertheless she hastened back thither. Where else indeed could she have lived but in Rome? She would have been involved in incessant collision with any secular power, with pretensions of a similar character to her own. She often quarrelled bitterly even with the popes, with Alexander himself, whose name she had added to hers on conforming to the church.

Gradually, however, her temper grew milder, her habits more tranquil; she forced herself to observe some considerations of propriety, and recognized the necessities incident to her abode in a city where, after all, the ecclesiastical rule allowed ample scope to aristocratical privileges and personal independence. She took more part in the splendour, the business, and the life of the curia: habituated herself to the tone of Roman society, and gradually made herself fully at home. She now increased the collections she had brought from Sweden, at so much cost, and with such taste and success, that she surpassed the native families, and elevated the pursuit from merely ministering to curiosity, to a higher importance with regard to learning and art. Men like Spanheim and Havercamp have thought it worth their while to illustrate her coins and medals, and Sante Bartolo devoted his practised hand to her engraved gems. The Correggios of her collection have always been

di pomposi accoglimenti." [Pope Innocent's surmise, that the reception would cost him dear, retarded her arrival in Rome; and that worthy pontiff, content with saving his money, left to his successor the sole glory of discharging that memorable function. On arriving in Rome we found the court engrossed with preparations for this affair, and on our return we beheld the whole ecclesiastical state engaged in making arrangements, and every city vying with the rest, which should make the grandest show of welcome.]

\* Pallavicini. See Appendix No. 130.



the brightest ornaments of the galleries into which time and chance may have carried them. The MSS. of her library have contributed in no small degree to uphold the fame of the Vatican, in which they were included at a late period. Acquisitions and possessions of this kind fill up the hours of every day life with harmless enjoyment. She also took a lively interest in the pursuits of science. It is highly to her honour, that she supported with all her power the exiled Borelli, who was reduced in his old age to give instruction, and that she had printed, at her own cost, his celebrated and still unsurpassed work on the mechanics of animal motions, which has had such an influence on the progress of physiology. Nay, I think we may even venture to assert, that she herself, after her mind had been improved and matured, exerted a strong and enduring influence on her age, and especially on Italian literature. It is well known what extravagant turpitude, far-fetched conceits, and vapid trifling, prevailed in the Italian poetry and rhetoric of those days. Queen Christina had too much taste and intellect to be caught by this fashion; it was her aversion. In the year 1680 she founded an academy in her house for political and literary discussion, one of the most prominent statutes of which was, that the members should abstain from the modern inflated and metaphor-crammed style, and follow only the dictates of sound sense and the models of the Augustan and Medicean ages\*. The impression made on us is singular, when we light on the labours of this academy in the Albani library in Rome: essays by Italian abbati corrected by the hand of a northern queen; but this strange association is not without its significance. From Christina's academy issued men like Alessandro Guidi, who had formerly adopted the usual style of the day, but who, after he had come in contact with the queen, resolutely renounced it, and leagued himself with a few friends, in order, if possible, to abolish it altogether. The Arcadia, an academy to which has been ascribed the merit of accomplishing this good work, arose out of queen Christina's association. On the whole, it is not to be denied, that, amidst the multitude of influences with which she was surrounded, the queen preserved a noble independence of mind. She had no mind to exhibit that ostentatious piety which the world or themselves are wont to exact of converts. Catholic as she was, and frequently as she reiterated her conviction of the pope's infallibility, and of the necessity of believing whatever was enjoined by him and by the church, still she entertained a cordial hatred of bigots, and abhorred the direction of confessors, who then tyrannized over the whole course of life. She would not be withheld from enjoying

carnivals, concerts, and comedies, and all the other amusements of Rome; above all, the internal movement of an intellectual and animated society. She owned she loved satire; Pasquin was her delight. She was always mixed up in the intrigues of the court, the quarrels of the papal houses, and the factions of the cardinals. She adhered to the squadronists, the head of which party was her friend Azzolini, a man whom others besides herself regarded as the most gifted member of the curia, but whom she for her part looked upon as a god-like, incomparable man, the only one she thought superior to the venerable chancellor Axel Oxenstierna. She wished to erect a monument to him in her memoirs. Unfortunately but a small part of them has been made public; but this displays an earnestness, a truth in her dealings with herself, a freedom and firmness of mind, before which calumny is dumb. Not less remarkable, are the apophthegms and scattered thoughts, the productions of her leisure hours, which have come down to us\*. They bespeak much knowledge of the world, an insight into the play of the passions attainable only through experience, and observations upon them of the subtlest kind, yet withal a decided bent towards the essential; a lively conviction of the power of self-direction, and of the nobility of the mind; a just appreciation of earthly things, which are estimated neither too meanly nor too highly; and a mental constitution that seeks only to satisfy God and itself. The great intellectual movement that manifested itself towards the close of the seventeenth century in every branch of human activity, and opened a new era, wrought also in the person of this princess. Hence a residence in the centre of European civilization, and the leisure of private life, were, if not absolutely necessary to her for the completion of that mental development, yet unquestionably highly advantageous. Passionate was her love for all that the life of that great city presented to her: she thought it impossible to live, if she did not breathe the atmosphere of Rome.

#### *Administration of Church and State.*

There was hardly, besides the court of Rome, another spot in the then world that could exhibit so much social refinement, such manifold efforts in literature and art, so much racy, intellectual enjoyment, and, in fine, an existence so filled with interests that captivated the feelings and engaged all the powers of the mind. The yoke of government was little felt: power and splendour were in reality shared among them by the ruling families. Nor could the church any longer enforce its claims in their full rigour: the temper of the times imposed upon them no inconsiderable check. This was rather an age of enjoyment, a lusty harmonious revel of time-won personal advantages and intellectual impulses.

The question now was, how church and state were to be governed under these circumstances of the times.

\* We have them edited in two forms, varying somewhat from each other. *Ouvrage de loisir* de Christine reine de Suede, in the appendix to the second, and *Sentimens et dits mémorables* de Christine, in the appendix to the fourth volume of Arkenholtz.

\* *Costituzioni dell' accademia reale*, in Arkenholtz, iv. p. 28. § 28. "In quest' accademia si studj la purità, la gravità e la maestà della lingua Toscana; s' imitano per quanto si può i maestri della vera eloquenza de' secoli d' Augusto e di Leone X. . . e però si dia bando allo stile moderno turgo e di ampollino, ai traslati, metafore, figure etc." Another paragraph (11) prohibits all eulogy of the queen,—a very necessary provision. There is a description of this academy in the fourth vol. of Niccolotti's life of Urban VIII., the chief point in which is, that its most distinguished members, Angelo della Noce, Giuseppe Suarez, Giovanni Francesco Albani (afterwards pope), Stefano Gradi, Ottavio Falconieri, and Stefano Pignatelli, had all been domesticated with cardinal Francesco Barberini.

For undoubtedly the court—or rather the pre-lacy, which properly included only the really efficient members of the curia—had the administration of both in its own hands.

The institution of the prelacy had grown to its modern form as early as the pontificate of Alexander VII. To become *referendario di segnatura*, a step on which all future promotion depended, it was required that the candidate should be a doctor juris, that he should have studied three years with an advocate, have reached a certain age, possess a certain fortune, and furthermore, that his character should be irreproachable. The age had originally been fixed at twenty-five years, the fortune at an income of 1000 scudi. Alexander made the somewhat aristocratic change, by which twenty-one years were held sufficient in point of age, but the income required was raised to 1500 scudi. The candidate who could prove his possession of these requisites, was invested by the *prefetto di segnatura*, and appointed to plead two causes before the assembled *segnatura* \*. In this way he took possession of his office, and was thereby qualified for every other. From the governorship of a town or a district, he rose to a nunciature, or a vice-legation, or he obtained a place in the rota, or in the congregations; then followed the cardinal's hat, and the rank of legate. On the appearance of the legate in a town, certain honorary privileges of the bishop were suspended: the legate bestowed the benediction on the people in like manner as the pope. The members of the curia passed incessantly to and fro between spiritual and secular offices. Let us first advert to the latter, to the administration of the state.

Every thing depended on the wants of government, on the demands made on the subject, on the state of the finances.

We have seen to what a ruinous pitch the system of debt had risen under Urban, chiefly through the war of Castro; but even then loans were successfully effected, and the *luoghi di monte* maintained a high price: the popes pursued the beaten path without reflection or hesitation.

In 1644, Innocent X. found the number of *luoghi di monte* 182,103½, and left it 264,129½ in 1655, so that the capital represented by them had risen from eighteen to twenty-six millions. Though with this sum he had discharged debts of another kind, and paid off other loans, there was still a serious augmentation of the public debt, which was reckoned at his decease at forty-eight millions of scudi. He had been fortunate enough to derive a surplus revenue from the taxes imposed by Urban VIII., on which he founded the new monti. On Alexander's accession an augmentation of the taxes was palpably impracticable: loans had become so habitual, that it was in a measure impossible to dispense with them. Alexander resolved to seek a new source of profit in the reduction of the rate of interest.

The monti vacabili, which paid ten and a half per cent., stood at one hundred and fifty: he determined to pay them off. Though he did so at the current price, still he had a great profit on the transaction, since the camera raised money in general at four per cent.; and hence, though it should

pay with borrowed money, it would for the future have to disburse, instead of ten and a half, only six per cent. interest.

Upon this, pope Alexander bethought him of reducing all the non vacabili which bore more than four per cent. to that rate of interest \*. But as in this operation he took no account of the market price, which was one hundred and sixteen per cent., but paid the holders the bare nominal value to which he was pledged, of one hundred to the *luogo*, he was here too a very considerable gainer. The amount of all these interests was defrayed, as we have seen, by the taxes, and it is possible that the first intention may have been to remit the most oppressive of these; but the old system of economy being persisted in, this turned out to be impracticable. A reduction of the price of salt was very soon followed by an augmentation of the tax on flour: the whole profit realized in the financial operations above-mentioned was swallowed up by the administration, or by nepotism. If the savings effected by the reductions be summed up, it will be seen that they must have amounted to about 140,000 scudi, the employment of which, by way of interest on new loans, would signify an augmentation of the debt by about three millions.

Clement IX., too, had no other device for carrying on the administration besides that of new loans. But he soon found himself brought to such a pass, that he was forced at last to lay hands on the proceeds of the *dataria*, which hitherto had always been spared, being, in fact, the fund appropriated to the support of the papal court. He founded upon it 13,200 new *luoghi di monte*. In the year 1670 the papal debts may have amounted to some fifty-two million scudi.

The result of all this was, in the first place, that with the best inclinations it was not possible to effect more than imperceptible and transient diminutions of the burthens that so sorely pressed a country destitute both of manufactures and commerce.

Another complaint was, that foreigners were among the shareholders in the monti, and enjoyed the interest yielded by them without contributing anything to the taxes. It was estimated that 600,000 scudi were annually sent to Genoa. The country thus became the debtor of the foreigner, a circumstance which could by no means be favourable to the free development of its powers.

\* Pallavicini; Vita di Alessandro VII. "Per ciocchè in nessun altro paese d' Italia la rendita del danaro avease tanto pingue e tanto sicura, pian piano era succeduto che quei luoghi del primitivo lor prezzo di 100 fussero cresciuti nella piazza al valor di 116. Hor la camera valendosi del suo diritto, come avrebbe potuto qualsivoglia privato, rendeva il prezzo originario di 100 non permettendo la vastità della somma (he calculates 26 millions) nè persuadendo la qualità de' padroni, in gran parte ricchi e forestieri, che ad aggravati de' poveri, alle cui spalle stanno tutti i publici pesi, il pontefice usasse più la liberalità usata da lui nell' estinzione de' monti vacabili." [Because no other country in Italy afforded such ample and well secured return for money, it gradually came to pass that these luoghi rose from their original price of 100 the *luogo* to 116. At present the treasury, availing itself of its rights, as any private person might have done, returned the original price of 100, the magnitude of the sum not permitting the pope, nor the rank of the proprietors, a large proportion of whom were rich and foreigners, inducing him, to exercise his usual liberality in the extinction of the monti vacabili, to the increased suffering of the poor, on whose shoulders rest all the public burdens.]

\* Discorso del dominio temporale e spirituale del S. Pontefice Romano, 1654. MS.

Another effect that wrought still more deeply was observable.

How could it fail to be that the holders of the annuities, the monied men, should obtain great influence over the state and its administration?

The great commercial houses acquired a direct participation in public business. With the *tesoriere* was always associated a commercial house, which received and paid out all monies: the coffers of the state were in point of fact always in the hands of traders; and these were also farmers of the revenue, and treasurers in the provinces. Numerous offices were saleable, and these they had the means of making their own. Then again, no inconsiderable pecuniary means were requisite towards obtaining promotion in the curia. About the year 1665, we find the most important places in the administration, filled by Florentines and Genoese. So mercantile a spirit pervaded the court, that by and by promotion depended far less on desert than on money. "A merchant with his purse in his hand," exclaimed Grimani, "in the end has always the preference. The court is becoming filled with mercenaries, whose only desire is gain, who look on themselves only as traffickers, not as statesmen, and who have not a thought that is not low and sordid \*."

Now this was the more serious, forasmuch as there was no longer any independence in the country. Bologna alone displayed at times a sturdy resistance, so that they even thought once in Rome of building a citadel there. Other communities indeed stood out now and then against the government: the inhabitants of Fermo once refused to permit grain, of which they thought they themselves stood in need, to be carried out of their country †: the people of Perugia refused to pay arrears of taxes: but the commissioners general of the papal court easily put down these movements, and then enforced so much the more rigid subordination: by degrees the administration of the property of the communes was subjected to the disposal of the court.

The institution of the *annona* affords a remarkable instance of the course of this administration.

The principle of discouraging the export of the necessaries of life being universally acted on in the sixteenth century, the popes too took measures to that end, especially with a view to prevent the rise of the price of bread. But the *prefetto dell'annona*, to whom was committed this branch of the executive, possessed originally but very limited powers. These were first enlarged by Gregory XIII. The corn gathered was not to be carried out of the country without the permission of the *prefetto*, nor even from one district in it to another. This permission was only to be obtained in case grain

was below a certain price on the 1st of March. Clement VIII. fixed this price at six, Paul V. at five and a half *scudi* the rubbio. A special tariff was fixed for bread according to the varying price of corn \*.

By and by it was found that the wants of Rome increased from year to year. The number of the inhabitants augmented, whilst agriculture declined in the Campagna. The decay of the Campagna took place chiefly in the first half of the seventeenth century, and was attributable, if I mistake not, to two causes: first, to the alienation of the small estates to the great farmers; for the soil of that country demands the most careful cultivation, such as is usually bestowed only by small proprietors, whose whole incomes are involved in the employment: secondly, to the increasing deterioration of the atmosphere. Gregory XIII. had exerted himself to extend the cultivation of grain, Sixtus V., to destroy the lurking places of the banditti, and so the former had cleared the lowlands near the sea of their trees and underwood, and the latter had stripped the hills of their forests †. Neither the one nor the other can have been advantageous: the *aria cattiva* spread, and conduced to the depopulation of the Campagna, the produce of which diminished from year to year.

This disproportion between the demand and supply, occasioned Urban VIII. to render the system of inspection more strict, and to augment the powers of the *prefetto*. By one of his first constitutions he prohibited outright the exportation of corn, cattle, or oil, whether out of the state or from one district in it to another, and empowered the *prefetto* to fix the price of corn at *Campofiore* according to the yield of each harvest, and prescribe to the bakers the weight of bread in proportion.

This rendered the *prefetto* all powerful, and he failed not to turn the privileges conferred on him to account for himself and his friends. He had actually the monopoly of corn, oil, meat, and all the prime necessities of life in his hands. It cannot be said that the cheapness of these articles was much improved in consequence; favoured parties were even permitted to export, and little other result was experienced from the new measures, than the vexations imposed on purchase and sale. It was forthwith remarked that agriculture still more sensibly declined ‡.

Now began those complaints of the general decay of the States of the Church which have never since ceased. "On our journeys from one place to another," say the Venetian ambassadors in 1621, in whose reports I find the first mention

\* A long list of papal edicts on the subject is to be found in a work of Nicola Maria Nicolai, *Memorie*, vol. ii. *Leggi et osservazioni sulle campagne e sull' annone di Roma*, 1803.

† Relatione dello stato di Roma presente, or Almaden. See Appendix No. 123.

‡ Pietro Contarini, 1627: "Il pontefice avendo levato le tratte concesse a diversi da suoi predecessori . . . hora vendendole ne cava bona somma di danaro: non vole i prezzi troppo villi nè grano forestiere: l' arte del campo viene ad abbandonarsi per il poco o niun guadagno che ne traggono." [The pope having resumed the tracts granted to various persons by his predecessors . . . now gained a considerable sum of money by settling them: he does not wish for too low prices or foreign grain: agriculture is falling into disuse from the little or no profit it yields.]

\* Antonio Grimani. "Per la vendita della maggior parte degli officii più considerabili si viene a riempire la corte d' uomini mercenarij e mercanti, restanti indietro quelli che potrebbero posseder tali officii per merito e per virtù; male veramente notabile che smacca il credito concepito della grandezza della corte Romana, non avendo detti mercenarij d' officii involto l' animo che in cose mecaniche e basse e più tosto mercantile che politiche."

† Memoriale presentato alla S.<sup>a</sup> di N. S.<sup>a</sup> papa Innocentio dalli deputati della città di Fermo per il tumulto ivi seguito alli 6 di Luglio, 1648, MS. See Bisaccioni, *Historia delle guerre civili*, p. 271, in which Fermo appears by the side of England, France, Poland, and Naples.

of them, "we noticed great poverty among the peasants and common people, and small signs of thriving, not to say very straitened circumstances among all the other classes. This is the fruit of the system of government, and more especially of the scantiness of commerce. Bologna and Ferrara derive a certain degree of splendour from their palaces and their nobility; Ancona has some trade with Ragusa and Turkey; but all the other towns are sunk very low." About the year 1650, the opinion universally prevailed that an ecclesiastical government was fatal to its subjects\*. The inhabitants already begun to complain bitterly. "The taxes imposed by the Barberini," exclaims a contemporary biographer, "have exhausted the country; the rapacity of Donna Olimpia, the court: the virtues of Alexander VII. gave hope of an amelioration; but all Siena has poured in upon the States of the Church, to suck them utterly dry†." Yet still the exactions made on the country never abated.

A cardinal once compared the country under such a system of administration, to a jaded horse that is goaded to fresh exertion, and sets off anew till it falls exhausted. That moment of utter exhaustion seemed now arrived.

There had arisen the worst spirit that can animate a body of public functionaries: every man looked on the commonwealth chiefly as subservient to his own advantage, often but as an object for the indulgence of his rapacity.

How frightfully did corruption stalk through the land!

At the court of Innocent X., Donna Olimpia procured places for aspirants, bargaining with them for a monthly testification of their gratitude. Would we could say she was alone in this practice. But Donna Clementia, the sister-in-law of the datario Caeclini, followed the same course. Christmas was particularly the great harvest time of presents.

The refusal of Don Camillo on one occasion to share with Donna Olimpia, as he had given her reason to expect, excited her violent indignation, and was the primary cause of his downfall. What forgeries was Mascambruno induced by bribes to commit! He subjoined false summaries to the decrees which he laid before the pope; and as the latter read nothing but the summaries, he signed things of which he had no conception, and which covered the Roman court with infamy‡. Nothing

can be more painful than to read that the brother of Alexander VII., Don Mario, owed his wealth among other things to his having in his hands the jurisdiction of the Borgo.

For unhappily this foul plague had tainted even the administration of justice.

A catalogue has come down to us of the abuses in the court of the rota, delivered to pope Alexander, by a man who had for twenty-eight years practised in it as an advocate\*. He reckons that there was not one auditor di rota who did not receive 500 scudi in presents every Christmas. Those who could not gain access to the auditors in person, still contrived to reach their relations, assistants, or servants.

But no less pernicious were the effects wrought by the recommendations of the court or of the great. There were even instances of the judge apologizing to the parties themselves for the unjust judgments he pronounced against them, declaring that justice was constrained by force.

What a system of jurisdiction was this! The vacations lasted four months; during all the rest of the year business was carried on in a desultory, fitful, and fretting manner; judgment was inordinately procrastinated, and yet finally displayed every mark of precipitation. Appeals would have been all in vain. The cause no doubt would thereby be transferred to the arbitration of other members; but what more remote would they be than their brethren from the same corrupting influences? In addition to this, their judgment was even biassed by the decision previously given.

These evils beginning from the supreme tribunal, diffused themselves through all the others, and affected the course of justice and of government in the provinces†.

In a paper which has been preserved to our times, cardinal Sacchetti represented in the most urgent manner to pope Alexander, the oppression of the poor, who had none to help them, by the powerful; the perversion of justice through the intrigues of cardinals, princes, and retainers of the palace: the procrastination for years and tens of years of causes that might be dispatched in two days; the tyranny practised against those who ventured to appeal from an inferior functionary to a superior; the impoundings and executions employed in exacting the taxes; cruel expedients, the only use of which was to make the sovereign hated, and his servants wealthy: "Sufferings, most holy father," he exclaims, "worse than those of the Israelites in Egypt. Peoples, not conquered by the sword, but which have become subject to the Roman see, either through the donations of princes, or of their own free accord, are more inhumanly treated than the slaves in Syria or in Africa. Who can behold this without tears‡?"

\* Diario, Deone, tom. iv. 1649, 21 Ag. "E dovero di favorir la chiesa: però veggiamo che tutto quello che passa a lei è in pregiudicio del publico, come che le terre sue subito sono disabitate e le possessioni mal coltivate, si vede in Ferrara, in Urbino, in Nepe, in Nettuno et in tutte le piazze che sono passate nel dominio della chiesa." [It is right to favour the church: still we see that all that falls into its hands is prejudicial to the public, and the sudden depopulation of its lands, and their bad state of cultivation, are manifest in Ferrara, Urbino, Nepe, Nettuno, and all those places which have fallen under the rule of the church.]

† Vita di Alessandro VII. "Spolpato e quasi in teschio ridotto dalle gabelle Barberine lo stato ecclesiastico e smunta la corte dall' ingordigia di Olimpia confidavano generoso ristoro della bontà d' Alessandro."

‡ Pallavicini endeavours to palliate this on the ground that the transactions of the dataria were written "di carattere francese come è restato in uso della dataria d'apoi che la sedia fu in Avignone," [in French characters, as had been the practice in the dataria since the residence of the popes in Avignon,] and which the pope did not like to read.

\* Disordini che occorrono nel supremo tribunale della rota nella corte Romana e gli ordini con i quali si potrebbe riformare, scrittura fatta da un avvocato da presentarsi alla S. di N. S. Alessandro VII. MS. Rangone in Vienna, No. 23.

† Disordini. "Con le male decisioni di questo tribunale supremo (della rota) si corrompe la giustizia a tutti gli altri minori, almeno dello stato ecclesiastico, vedendosi da giudici dare sentenze con decisioni si fatte."

‡ Lettre du cardinal Sacchetti écrite peu avant sa mort au pape Alexandre VII. en 1663, copie tirée des Manuscrits della regina di Svezia in Arckenholtz, Mémoires, tom. iv. App. No. xxxii.: a very instructive document, which is

Such was already the condition of the states of the church in the middle of the seventeenth century.

Now was it to be expected that the administration of the church should remain free from abuses of this kind?

It was, equally with the administration of the state, dependent on the court, and its course was shaped by the spirit of the latter.

No doubt restrictions were imposed on the curia with regard to ecclesiastical affairs. In France the crown possessed prerogatives of the highest importance; in Germany the chapters maintained their independence. On the other hand, the curia had free scope in Italy and Spain, and in these countries it recklessly insisted on its lucrative rights.

The Roman court possessed the right of nomination to all the inferior ecclesiastical posts and benefices in Spain, and to all without exception in Italy. It is almost incredible what sums flowed into the dataria from Spain from installations, spolia, and the incomes of vacant benefices. The curia, however, regarded as a whole, derived, perhaps, still greater advantages from its relations to Italy; the richest bishoprics and abbeys, a multitude of priories, commanderies, and other benefices, went immediately to enrich its members.

Well had it been if this were all!

But on these rights, in themselves sufficiently objectionable, were superinduced the most pernicious abuses. I will mention but one of them, but that indeed the worst. The practice crept in, and obtained full vogue in the middle of the seventeenth century, of encumbering all benefices conferred, with pensions in favour of some member or another of the curia.

In Spain this was expressly prohibited: in that country none but natives could hold benefices, nor could pensions be conferred on any others. But contrivances were found at Rome for evading this regulation. Pensions were nominally assigned to native or naturalized Spaniards, who bound themselves by a civil contract, to pay a stipulated sum yearly to some Roman commercial house on account of the actual receivers of the pensions. There was no need in Italy of adopting this subterfuge: the bishoprics there were often encumbered to an intolerable degree. Monsignor de Angeli, bishop of Urbino, complained in the year 1663, that his whole net income from that rich see amounted to no more than 60 scudi yearly, and that he had already tendered his resignation, which the court refused to accept. For years together no one would accept the sees of Ancona and Pesaro, subject to the heavy conditions imposed on them. In the year 1667, twenty-eight bishops and archbishops were counted in Naples, who were deprived of their sees, because they did not pay the pensions to which they were liable. This monstrous

corroborated by many others, as for instance a Scrittura sopra il governo di Roma, of the same period, (Bibl. Alt.) "I popoli, non avendo più argento nè rame, nè biancherie nè materezze, per sodisfare alla indiscretione de' commissarij, converrà che si venderanno schiavi per pagare i pesi camerali." [The people having no longer silver or copper, or linen or bedding, to satisfy the ruthless commissioners, nothing remains but that they sell themselves for slaves to pay the exactions of the camera.]

abuse passed down from the bishoprics to the parishes. The incumbent of the richest parish often derived from it only a scanty means of subsistence, while the poor country priests often found their casual fees burthened with charges\*. Some revolted against this and threw up their livings; but new candidates always presented themselves sooner or later; nay, even vied with each other in bidding higher pensions to the curia.

Judge what must have been the character of men concerned in these foul transactions, which could have no other result than the corruption of the parochial clergy, and the neglect of the common people.

The protestant church did far better in at once abolishing all superfluities, and establishing the authority of law and order.

It is very true that the wealth of the catholic church, and the worldly rank conferred by ecclesiastical dignity, had the effect of attracting the higher aristocracy. Pope Alexander even made it a maxim to select men of good birth, by preference, for promotion, upon the strange principle, that as earthly princes like to see around them servants of illustrious descent, so it must be pleasing to God that his service should be discharged by persons of exalted station. But this was, assuredly, not the way in which the church had risen in early times, nor yet that in which it had been restored in later days. The convents and congregations which had contributed so much to the revival of catholicism, were now suffered to fall into contempt. The nepotes liked none who were bound by monastic obligations, if it were only because such persons could not incessantly pay them court. The secular clergy were now the successful competitors for place, however inferior they might be to the regular in merit or learning. "It seems to be held for certain," says Grimaldi, "that the episcopal office or the purple would be disgraced, if bestowed on a member of a monastic order." He thinks he can perceive that monks no longer like to show themselves at court, since they meet there with nothing but mockery and insult. It was already

\* The malicious Basadone says: "Bisogna conchiudere che ogni beneficio capace di pensione rimanga caricato come l'asino di Apulejo, che non potendo più sostenere il peso meditava di gettarsi in terra, quando il veder caduto il compagno e tosto de' vetturini scorticato hebbe per bene sopportare l'insopportabil soma." [In fine, every benefice must remain charged like the ass of Apuleius, which, unable longer to bear up its burden was thinking of stretching itself on the ground, when seeing its fallen comrade instantly flayed by the drivers, it thought it best to support its insupportable load.] All contemporary writers agree in their description of the evil. The practice was revived of making churches over to others, with a reservation of a part of the proceeds. Deone, Diario, 7 Genn. 1615, after speaking of the archbishopric of Bologna transferred by cardinal Colonna to Albregati, proceeds to say: "Con questo esempio si è aperta la porta d'ammettere le risegne; e così stamana si è pubblicata la risegna della chiesa di Ravenna fatta dal cardinal Capponi nella persona di monsignor Tugianini suo nipote con riserva di pensione a suo favore e dopo la morte sua d'una buona parte al card. Pamfilio." [This example has opened the door to the practice of transfers: thus there has been published this morning the transfer of the church of Ravenna, made by cardinal Capponi to his nephew monsignor Tugianini, with the reservation to himself of a pension, and of a considerable interest for cardinal Pamfilio after his own death.]

become apparent, that none but persons of humble birth were disposed to enter the convents. "Even a bankrupt shopkeeper," he exclaims, "thinks himself too good to assume the hood \*."

Whilst the convents thus actually declined in intrinsic importance, it is no wonder if people already began to look on them as superfluous. It is a memorable fact, that this opinion first unfolded itself in Rome, and that there it was first thought necessary to put restrictions on monasticism. In the year 1649, Innocent X. prohibited by bull all new admissions into any regular order, till the incomes of the several convents were computed, and the number of persons they were capable of containing was determined †. Still more important was a bull of the 15th of October, 1652, wherein the pope complained that there were so many small convents, in which the offices could not be duly performed, either by day or night, nor spiritual exercises practised, nor monastic seclusion observed,—mere asylums for licentiousness and crime: their number was now increased beyond all measure. He suppressed them all at one blow; for the tares, he said, must be separated from the wheat ‡. The thought soon suggested itself, and that too first of all in Rome, of alleviating the financial difficulties even of foreign states by confiscations, not of convents alone, but of whole institutions. When Alexander VII. shortly after his accession, was solicited by the Venetians to support them in the war of Candia against the Turks, he proposed to them of his own accord, the suppression of some orders in their country. The Venetians were rather averse to this, since these orders afforded a provision for poor nobili: but the pope accomplished his design. The existence of those convents, he said, was rather a cause of offence than of edification to the faithful; he would do like the gardener who cuts away useless

branches from the vine, to make it more fruitful \*.

It could not be pretended that any very shining talents were conspicuous among those who were selected for promotion. Complaints of the dearth of distinguished men were universal in the seventeenth century †. Men of talent were in many cases excluded from the prelacy, because their poverty prevented their complying with the conditions required for admission ‡: but besides this, promotion was too absolutely dependent on the favour of the nepotes, which was only to be attained by a fawning suppleness that could not be propitious to the growth of high mental endowments. This had its effect on the whole body of the clergy.

It is certainly a striking fact, that the age presented scarcely a single Italian author of originality in the most important branches of theology; neither in the exposition of Scripture, in which nothing was done besides repeating the works of the 16th century; nor in morals, though these were elsewhere cultivated with great assiduity; nor in dogmatic theology. Foreigners alone figured in the congregations that debated the question of the means of grace; and in the later controversies concerning freewill and faith, Italians took little part. No distinguished preacher appeared even in Rome after Girolamo da Narni. The fact is remarked with astonishment in the diary already quoted, extending from 1640 to 1650, and composed by a very strict catholic. "With the carnival," it states, "comedies cease in theatres and houses, and begin in the pulpits of our churches. The sacred office of the preacher is made subservient to the passion for applause, or to flattery. Metaphysics are propounded, of which the speaker understands little, and his hearers nothing at all. Instead of admonishing and censuring, the preacher deals in encomiums with a view to his own advancement. The selection too of a preacher no longer depends on merit, but on connexion and favour."

In fine, that mighty inward impulse which had formerly swayed court, church, and state, and given them their strict religious character, was now extinct; the tendency towards restoration and conquest had passed away; other springs were now in action, which urged only towards the acquisition of power and enjoyment, and once more obtruded a worldly character upon spiritual affairs.

The question naturally presents itself, what under these circumstances was the course adopted by that society which was so peculiarly founded on the principles of the restoration, namely, the order of Jesuits?

\* Relatione de' iv. ambasciatori 1656. See Appendix, No. 129.

† Grimalani. "Tolti l'economia esteriore ogni altra cosa si deteriora; . . . d'huomini di valore effettivamente scarseggia al presente la corte al maggior segno."

‡ Relatione di Roma sotto Clemente IX. "Portando lo stile che le cariche si trasferiscono solamente a' prelati e che la prelatura si concede solo a quelli che hanno entrata sufficiente per mantenere il decoro, ne siegue però che la maggior parte di soggetti capaci restà esclusa." [It being the established usage that high offices are entrusted only to prelates, and those only being admitted to the rank of prelates who have sufficient income to keep up a becoming appearance, the result is that the majority of able men are excluded.]

\* Grimalani adds: "Si toglie ad ognuno affatto la voglia di studiare e la cura di difendere la religione. Deteriorandosi il numero de' religiosi dotti e esemplari, potrebbe in breve soffrirne non poco detrimento la corte: onde al mio credere farebbono bene i pontefici di procurar di rimettere i regolari nel primo posto di stima partecipandoli di quando in quando cariche . . . e così nelle religioni vi entrerebbero huomini eminenti." [All wish for study and care for the defence of religion are smothered. The court may soon suffer not a little from the diminution in the number of learned and exemplary men; wherefore, in my opinion, the popes would do well to endeavour to restore the regular clergy to their former credit, by bestowing employments on them from time to time . . . in this way superior men would be induced to enter the orders.]

† Our Journal describes the impression made by the constitution on the 1st of January 1650. "Non entrando quella ragione ne' cappucini et altri riformati che non possedono entrata, temono che la prohibitione sia perpetua, e così cred' io, fin a tanto che il numero de' regolari hoggi eccessivo sia ridotto a numero competente e la republica da loro non venga oppressa." [This condition not subsisting among the Capuchins and other reformed orders which do not possess revenues, they are afraid that the prohibition will be perpetual, and I think so too, till the now excessive numbers of the regular clergy be reduced to a fit standard, so that the commonwealth be no longer overburdened with them.]

‡ Constitutio super extinctione et suppressione parvorum conventuum, cumque reductione ad statum secularem, et bonorum applicatione, et prohibitione erigendi nova loca regularia in Italia et insulis adjacentibus. Idibus Oct. 1652.



*The Jesuits in the middle of the seventeenth century.*

The most prominent change in the internal constitution of the society of Jesus, consisted in the advancement of the professed members to the possession of power.

At first the professed members who took the four vows were but few. Removed from the colleges, and subsisting solely on alms, they had confined themselves to the exercise of spiritual authority. The places which required the active talents of men of the world,—such as those of rectors, provincials, and college offices in general,—fell to the lot of the coadjutors. But this was now altered. The professed members themselves attained to the administrative posts; they had part in the revenues of the colleges, and they became rectors and provincials\*.

The first result of this was the gradual cooling of that fervent spirit of personal devotion which had been peculiarly fostered in the isolation of the houses of the professed. Even upon the admission of members it was no longer possible to look narrowly into their fitness for ascetic vocations. Vitelleschi in particular admitted many who were novice thus qualified. All strove after the highest station, because it conferred at once spiritual consideration and temporal power. The union of these was in every respect prejudicial. Coadjutors and professed had formerly acted as a check on each other; but now practical importance and spiritual pretensions were united in the same individuals. The shallowest among them had a high conceit of their own abilities, because no one ventured to gainsay them. In possession of exclusive power, they began to enjoy at their ease the wealth, which the colleges had acquired in the course of time, and to bend their thoughts only on increasing it. They abandoned to the younger members the real discharge of duty, both in the schools and in the churches†. They even assumed a very independent position with regard to the general.

The magnitude of the change is particularly manifested in the character and fortunes of the generals,—in the sort of men who were chosen for heads of the society, and in the manner in which they were dealt with.

How different was Muteo Vitelleschi from his absolute, crafty, indomitable predecessor, Aquaviva! Vitelleschi was by nature gentle, indulgent, and conciliatory: his acquaintances called him the angel of peace; and on his death-bed he derived comfort from the assurance that he had never injured any man. These admirable qualities of his amiable disposition were far, however, from sufficing for the government of so widely diffused, active, and powerful an order. He was unable to enforce strict discipline even in the article of dress,

\* In a collection of Scritture politiche, morali e satiriche sopra le massime, istituti e governo della compagnia di Gesù (MS. Rom.) there is a circumstantial essay of nearly 400 leaves: "Discorso sopra la religione de' padri Gesuiti e loro modo di governare,"—written between 1681 and 1686, evidently by a man fully initiated, from which the statements in the text are chiefly derived.

† Discorso. "Molti compariscano, pochi operano: i poveri non si visitano, i terreni non si coltivano . . . Escludendo quei pochi, d'ordinario giovani, che attendono ad insegnare nelle scuole, tutti gli altri, o che sono confessori o procuratori o rettori o ministri, appena hanno occupazione di rilievo."

not to speak of his resisting the demands of resolute ambition. It was under his administration, from 1615 to 1645, that the change noticed above took place.

His example was followed by his more immediate followers. Vincenzo Caraffa (1645-9), a man who even rejected all personal attendance, and was full of humility and piety\*, but who could effect nothing either by his example or his admonitions: Piccolomini (1649-51), who renounced the disposition to vigorous and decisive measures that was natural to him, and only pondered how he might give satisfaction to his brethren of the order.

For by this time it was no longer advisable to attempt any change in the society. Alessandro Gottofredi (from January to March, 1651) would fain have done this, and strove at least to set bounds to the aspiring ambition of the members; but the two months of his tenure of office were enough to make him universally hated in the order; his death was hailed as a release from tyranny. Still greater was the aversion which the next general, Goswin Nickel, drew down on himself. He could not be charged with contemplating any very sweeping measures of reform: he left things on the whole to go on as they were; only he was used to adhere obstinately to opinions once adopted, and his demeanour was rude, discourteous, and repulsive; but this was enough to wound the self-love of powerful members of the order so deeply and so keenly, that the general congregation of 1661 proceeded to measures against him, the possibility of which the monarchical nature of the Jesuit institution would not have led us to anticipate.

They first begged permission of pope Alexander VII. to associate with their general a vicar with the right of succession. The permission was readily obtained, the court even pointing out a candidate for the proposed office,—that same Oliva who had first advised the calling of the pope's nephews to court, and the order was complaisant enough to elect that favourite of the palace. The only question now was, in what mode the power of the general might be transferred from his hands to the vicar's. The order could not prevail on themselves to pronounce the word deposition. To get at the thing, and yet evade the word, the question was proposed, whether the vicar should have a cumulative power, i.e., jointly with the general, or a privative power, i.e., without him! The congregation of course decided for the privative, and, in consequence of this decision, declared expressly

\* Diario, Deone, 12 Giugno, 1649. "Martedì mattina morì generale de' Gesuiti: fu di poche lettere, ma di santità di vita non ordinaria: quanto alla sua persona, egli non ha mai voluto carrozza al suo servizio, nè esser differenziato da qualsivoglia minimo tra di loro nel trattar del vitto o vestito: quanto agli altri, voleva che i padri Gesuiti fossero e vivessero da religiosi, lasciando i trattati politici e l'frequente le corti, nel che havendo trovato difficoltà impossibile gli hanno cagionato il sedio della morte." [On Tuesday morning died the general of the Jesuits. He was a man of little learning, but of no common sanctity of life: as for his own person, he would never have a carriage for his use, nor be treated in any respect differently as to food or raiment from the humblest of the brethren: as for the others, he wished that the Jesuit fathers should truly lead the lives of religious men, ceasing to meddle in politics and to frequent courts; the insurmountable difficulties he encountered in trying to effect this, were the primary cause of his death.]



that the general had forfeited all his authority, which was to be entirely transferred to the vicar\*.

Thus it came to pass, that the society, the very principle of which was unconditional obedience, itself deposed its chief, and that without any real transgression on his part. It is manifest how much this act established in this order too the predominance of aristocratical tendencies.

Oliva was a man who loved outward repose, good living and political intrigue. He had a villa not far from Albano, where he cultivated the rarest foreign plants; even when he was in the city, he used to retire from time to time to the noviciate house of Santo Andrea, where he gave audiences to no one; his table was furnished with none but the choicest meats; he never went abroad on foot; in his dwelling comfort was carried to an excessive degree of refinement; he enjoyed his position and his power;—assuredly such a man was not fitted to revive the ancient spirit of the order.

In fact, it daily departed more and more from the principles on which it had been founded.

Had it not been pledged, above all things, to defend the interests of the Roman see, and been founded for that special purpose? But to such a pitch had it now carried its connexion with France, and with the house of Bourbon, that in the competition gradually arising between the Roman and the French interests, it almost invariably sided with the latter†. Occasionally Jesuit works were condemned by the inquisition at Rome, because they too vehemently defended the rights of the crown. The heads of the French Jesuits avoided intercourse with the papal nuncio, to avoid incurring the suspicion of entertaining ultramontane opinions. Nor could the Roman see boast of the obedience of the order in other respects in those days: in the missions especially, the pope's enactments were almost always treated with contempt.

Another fundamental principle of the order was, that they should renounce all worldly ties, and devote themselves solely to spiritual duties. How rigidly had it been insisted on in past times, that every one on entering the order should abandon all his possessions! First, the act was postponed for a while, and then it was performed but conditionally, because the member was liable after all to expulsion; at last the custom became established, for the member to make over his property to the society itself,—always, however, with a clear understanding, that it should fall to the share of the college into which he himself entered, in such wise that he often retained the management of it in his

own hands, only under another title\*. The members of the colleges had often more leisure than their relations who were engaged in active life, whose business therefore they managed, collected their money, and carried on their law-suits†.

But the mercantile spirit seized the colleges too in their corporate capacity. They wished to secure their prosperity, and as large donations ceased to be made to them, they endeavoured to make up for them by means of trade. The Jesuits admitted no marked difference between tilling the ground, as the earliest monks had done, and carrying on business in the way they themselves pursued. The collegio Romano engaged in the manufacture of cloth at Macerata, at first only for its own use, then for that of all the colleges in the province, and finally for the public; their agents attended the fairs. The close connexion between the several colleges gave rise to a money-changing traffic. The Portuguese ambassador at Rome was directed to draw upon the Jesuits of his own country. Their transactions in the colonies were particularly prosperous: the commercial connexions of the order spread like a net over the two continents, having its centre in Lisbon.

This was a spirit which, when once evoked, necessarily affected the entire internal economy of the order.

It still held fast to the principle of giving gratuitous instruction. Presents however were accepted on the admission of pupils, and on certain festival occasions, occurring twice at least yearly‡, wealthy pupils were welcomed by preference. Now the consequence of this was, that these youths felt a proportionate consciousness of independence, and would no longer submit to the strictness of the ancient discipline. A Jesuit who raised his stick against a pupil was stabbed by him with a poniard; a young man in Gubbio, who was treated too harshly by the father prefetto, killed him. Even in Rome the commotions in the college were the incessant theme of conversation in the city and the palace. The teachers were once actually imprisoned a whole day by their pupils; and finally, it

\* Vincentii Carraffe epistola de mediis conservandi primum spiritum societatis: "Definitis pro arbitrio dantis domibus sive collegiis in quibus aut sedem sibi fixurus est aut jam animo fixerit . . . anxie agunt ut quæ societati reliquerunt ipsinet per se administrant."

† Epistola Goswini Nickel de amore et studio perfectæ paupertatis: "Illud intolerabile, si et lites inferant et ad tribulationes confugiant et violentas pecuniarum repetitiones faciant, aut palam negotiantur ad quæstum, . . . specie quidem primo aspectu etiam honesta, caritate in consanguineis, decepti."

‡ Discorso: "Per lo meno l'anno due volte cioè al natale e nel giorno della propria festa si fanno le loro offerte ovvero mancie, le quale ascendono a somma considerabile. — Il danaro poi di queste offerte o che venga impiegato in argenti, quadri o tappezzerie, calli o altri addobbi sormeglianti tutto ridonda in utilità de' collegi medesimi. Avegna che i rettori locali se ne servono indifferentemente, dal che ne derivano infinite offensioni, poco o nulla stimano i lamenti de' propri scolari." [At least twice a year, that is on birthdays and patron saints' days, they make their offerings, which amount to a considerable sum.—The money of these offerings, or that which is expended in plate, pictures, tapestry, chalices, and other rich furniture of the kind, is all applied to the use of the same college. The local rectors make use of it indiscriminately, which gives rise to endless offence, but they care little or nothing for the complaints of their pupils.]

\* Detailed account in a contemporary Discorso. "Venendo noi," the author says at the conclusion, "in tal tempo a Roma ed andando a fargli riverenza (to Nickel) . . . conchiuse con dire queste parole: Io mi trovo qui abbandonato e non posso più niente." [On arriving in Rome at that time, and going to pay our respects to him . . . he ended by saying these words: "I am left here alone, and have not the least power left."]

† Relazione della nuntiatura di monsr. Scotti nunzio alla Mtà. del re Xmo. 1639—1641. "I Gesuiti, che dovrebbero essere come altre volte defensori della santa sede, più degli altri la pongono in compromesso.—Professano totale ritiratezza (dalla nuntiatura) dubbiosi sempre nell' accostarsi al nuntio di non perdere appresso ministri regi."

was found necessary to comply with their demand, and actually to dismiss the rector. These may be regarded as symptoms of a general conflict between the old order of things and the new tendencies. In the end the latter prevailed. The Jesuits were no longer able to maintain the influence with which, in earlier days, they had swayed the minds of men.

On the whole, it was no longer their aim to subjugate the world, or to imbue it with the spirit of religion; rather had their own spirit stooped to the world's ways; their only endeavour was to make themselves indispensable to mankind, effect it how they might.

Not only were the rules of the institution, but even its religious and moral doctrines, modified with this view. They gave a turn for ever memorable to the office of confession, that office through which they exercised so direct an influence over the innermost springs of individual conduct.

We possess unquestionable documents bearing on this point. The Jesuits have laid down, in numerous elaborate works, the principles they themselves observed in the confessional, and which they commended to others. These are, in general, the very same with which they have been so often reproached. Let us endeavour to comprehend at least the main principles on which they built their general system of the confessional.

In confession everything will infallibly depend on the particular view taken of transgression and sin.

Sin they define to be a voluntary departure from God's commands\*.

And wherein, we may further inquire, consists this freedom of volition? Their answer is, in thorough understanding of the misdeed, and perfect consent of the will†.

This principle they embraced, with the ambition of propounding something novel, and with the anxious desire to accommodate themselves to the common practices of life. With scholastic subtlety, and with a comprehensive view of the various occurring cases, they worked it out to the most revolting deductions.

According to their doctrine, it is enough only not to will the commission of sin as such: the sinner has the more reason to hope for pardon the less he thought of God in the perpetration of his evil deed, and the more violent was the passion by which he felt himself impelled: custom, and even bad example, inasmuch as they restrict the freedom of the will, avail in excuse. What a narrowing is this of the range of transgression! Surely

\* Definition by Fr. Toledo: "Voluntarius recessus a regula divina."

† Busenbaum, *Medulla theologiæ moralis*, lib. v. c. ii. dub. iii. expresses himself thus: "Tria requiruntur ad peccatum mortale (quod gratiam et amicitiam cum Deo solvit), quorum si unum desit, sit veniale (quod ob suam levitatem gratiam et amicitiam non tollit): 1. ex parte intellectus, plena advertentia et deliberatio; 2. ex parte voluntatis, perfectus consensus; 3. gravitas materiæ." [Three things are requisite to mortal sin (which cuts off grace and friendship with God), whereof if one be wanting the sin becomes venial, (which by reason of its lightness does not take away grace and friendship): 1. on the part of the intellect, full perception and deliberation; 2. on the part of the will, perfect consent; 3. gravity of the thing itself.]

no one loves sin for its own sake. But, besides this, they admit other grounds of excuse of a different kind. Duelling, for instance, is by all means forbidden by the church: nevertheless the Jesuits are of opinion, that if any one incur the risk of being deemed a coward, or of losing a place, or the favour of his sovereign, by avoiding a duel, in that case he is not to be condemned if he fight\*. To take a false oath were in itself a grievous sin: but, say the Jesuits, he who only swears outwardly, without inwardly intending it, is not bound by his oath; for he does not swear, but jests†.

These doctrines are laid down in books that expressly profess to be moderate. Now that their day is past, who would seek to explore the further perversions of ingenuity to the annihilation of all morality, in which the propounders of these doctrines vied, with literary emulation, in outdoing each other. But it cannot be denied, that the most repulsive tenets of individual doctors were rendered very dangerous through another principle of the Jesuits, namely, their doctrine of probability. They maintained that, in certain cases, a man might act upon an opinion, of the truth of which he was not convinced, provided it was vindicated by an author of credit‡. They not only held it allowable to follow the most indulgent teachers, but they even counselled it. Scruples of conscience were to be despised; nay, the true way to get rid of them, was to follow the easiest opinions, even though their soundness was not very certain§. How strongly did all this tend to convert the most inward and secret promptings of conscience into mere outward deed. In the manuals of the Jesuits all possible contingencies of life are treated of, nearly in the same way as is usual in the systems of civil law, and examined with regard to their degree of veniality: one needs but to open one of these books, and regulate himself in accordance with what he finds there, without any conviction of his own mind, to be sure of absolution from God and the church. A slight turn of the thoughts unburthened from all guilt.—With some sort of decency, the Jesuits themselves occasionally marvelled how easy the yoke of Christ was rendered by their doctrines.

#### *The Jansenists.*

All life must have been extinct in the catholic church, if no opposition had been evoked in it on the instant against such pernicious doctrines, and all the causes and consequences in the state of society connected therewith.

Most of the orders were already ill disposed to the Jesuits; the Dominicans on account of their dissent from the views of Thomas Aquinas; the

\* "Privandus alioqui, ob suspicionem ignaviæ, dignitate, officio vel favore principis." Busenbaum, lib. iii. tract. iv. cap. i. dub. v. art. i. n. 6.

† "Qui exterius tantum juravit sine animo jurandi, non obligatur nisi forte ratione scandali, cum non juraverit sed luserit." (lib. iii. tract. ii. cap. ii. dub. iv. n. 8.)

‡ Em. Sa.: Aphorismi Confessariorum s. v. dubium. "Po-test quis facere quod probabili ratione vel auctoritate putat licere, etiam si oppositum tutius sit: sufficit autem opinio alicujus gravis auctoritatis."

§ Busenbaum, lib. i. c. iii. "Remedia conscientie scrupulose sunt, 1. scrupulos contemnere, 4. assuefacere se ad sequendas sententias mitiores et minus etiam certas."

Capuchins and Franciscans, on account of the exclusive power they arrogated to themselves in the missions to further Asia : at times they were opposed by the bishops, whose authority they narrowed ; at times by the parish clergy, on whose functions they encroached ; in the universities too, at least in those of France and the Netherlands, adversaries often rose up against them. But all these desultory efforts were not equivalent to that effective resistance which could only flow from more profound convictions, embraced with a fresh and lively spirit.

For, after all, the moral doctrines of the Jesuits were in close keeping with their dogmatic notions. In the former, as well as in the latter, they gave great scope to the freedom of the will.

This was the very point upon which was directed the greatest resistance the Jesuits ever encountered. It arose in the following manner.

During the years when the catholic theological world was intensely occupied with the controversy on the means of grace, two young men were studying at Louvain, Cornelius Jansé, a Hollander, and Jean du Verger, from Gascony, who, with kindred convictions, adopted the stricter doctrines that had never indeed been lost in Louvain, and conceived a vehement dislike to the Jesuits. Du Verger was a man of family and fortune : he took his friend with him to Bayonne. There they plunged deeply and unceasingly into repeated study of the works of St. Augustine, and imbibed for that father's doctrines of grace and free will an enthusiasm that shaped the whole subsequent tenor of their lives \*.

Jansenius, who became professor in Louvain and bishop of Ypres, adopted rather the theoretical course, du Verger, who was appointed to the abbey of St. Cyran, rather the practical and ascetic, with a view towards reviving those doctrines in their full force.

The book, entitled *Augustinus*, in which Jansenius elaborately and systematically unfolded his convictions, is highly deserving of note, not only for the bold front with which it met the Jesuits, on the ground of their dogmatic and moral tendencies, but also for the mode of its opposition, which consisted in its working out anew into living thoughts, the traditional formulæ of grace, sin, and forgiveness.

Jansenius sets out from the principle of the non-freedom of the human will ; laying it down that it is tied and enthralled by the lusts after earthly things ; that it cannot of its own strength raise itself out of that condition ; that it needs the aid of grace, of grace which is not so much the forgiveness of sin, as the liberation of the soul from the bonds of lust †.

\* *Synopsis vite Jansenii*, prefixed to the *Augustinus* : "In Cantabrigiæ deinde migravit, ubi eruditissimorum virorum consuetudine et familiari studiorum communione in SS. Patrum et præsertim Augustini intelligentia magnos progressus fecisse, sæpe testatus est." [He then removed to Gascony, where in the society and familiar studious intercourse of very learned men, he has frequently testified that he made great progress in understanding the holy fathers, especially Augustine.]

† *Corn. Jansenii Augustinus*, tom. iii. lib. i. c. ii. "Libertas voluntatis non est peccati remissio, sed relaxatio quædam delectabilis vinculi consensientialis, cui innox servit animus quoad per gratiam infusa celestiali dulcedine ad supremam diligendam transferatur." This is likewise Pascal's

view of this doctrine. "Dieu change le cœur de l'homme par une douceur céleste qu'il y répand." *Les Provinciales*, l. xviii. tom. iii. p. 413.

And here his distinctive views presented themselves. He attributes the influx of grace to the higher and purer pleasure which the soul derives from heavenly things. The effectual grace of the Saviour is nothing else, he says, than a spiritual delight, by which the will is moved to will and to do what God has decreed : it is the involuntary impulse impressed by God upon the will, by which man is made to take pleasure in good, and to strive after it †. He insists, again and again, that good must be done, not from fear of punishment, but from love for righteousness.

From this point he next proceeds to the higher question, What is this righteousness ?

He answers, God himself.

We must not think of God as a corporeal being, nor under any material similitude, not even that of light. We must contemplate Him and love Him as the eternal truth, the fountain of all truth and wisdom, as righteousness, not in its acceptance as a quality of the soul, but as it comes before it as an idea, as a supreme inviolable rule. The rules for our conduct flow from the eternal law ; they are a reflection of its light : he who loves righteousness loves God himself †.

Man does not become good by bending his soul upon this good or that, but by fixing his eyes upon the unchangeable, indivisible, supreme good, which is truth, which is God Himself. Virtue is the love of God.

And in this very love consists the liberation of the will : its ineffable sweetness extinguishes the pleasures of our lusts ; there arises a voluntary and blissful necessity of not sinning, but of leading a good life ‡, the true free will, that is, a will freed from evil and filled with good.

It is a characteristic of this work, deserving of admiration, with what a high degree of philosophic clearness the development of its dogmatic principles is followed out, even amidst the polemical zeal of a hostile discussion : its fundamental ideas are at once moral and religious, speculative and practical ; it opposes to the outward self-accommodating precepts of the Jesuit doctrines, strict requirements of the inward man, the ideal of a system of action springing from the love of God.

Now whilst Jansenius was engaged upon the completion of this work, his friend was already occupied with the endeavour to show forth in his own life, and practically to diffuse among those about him, the ideas on which it was founded.

St. Cyran, for so du Verger was now called, had made him a learned ascetic hermitage in the midst of Paris. Unwearied in his study of the sacred scriptures, and of the fathers of the church, he strove to penetrate himself with their spirit. The peculiarity of the doctrine in which he agreed with

view of this doctrine. "Dieu change le cœur de l'homme par une douceur céleste qu'il y répand." *Les Provinciales*, l. xviii. tom. iii. p. 413.

\* *Tom. iii. lib. iv. c. i.*

† *Tom. iii. lib. v. c. iii.* "Regulæ vivendi et quasi luminaria virtutum immutabilia et sempiterna non sunt aliud quam lex æterna, quæ in ipsa Dei æterna veritate splendet, quam proinde diligendo non aliud diligit nisi ipsam Deum seu veritatem et justitiam ejus incommutabilem, a qua promanet et ex ejus refulgentia lucis fulget quicquid velut justum et rectum approbamus."

‡ *Tom. iii. lib. vii. c. ix.* "Voluntas felix, immutabilis et necessaria non peccandi recteque vivendi."

Jansenius, would of necessity lead him at once to the sacrament of penance. The penitential ordinances of the church were not sufficient for him : he was often heard to say, that the church had been purer at its commencement, as are streams nearer their source ; that many a gospel truth was now obscure \*. His demands, on the other hand, were extremely rigorous. To humble oneself, to endure, to depend on God, utterly to renounce the world †, and to devote oneself and all one's acts and aims to the love of God, that alone appeared to him Christianity. So profound was his apprehension of the necessity of inward conversion, that according to his doctrine, grace must precede penance. " If God wills to rescue a soul, he begins from within :—is the heart once changed, then and not till then is true repentance felt, and all the rest follows : absolution can but betoken the first beam of grace : as a physician has but to follow the movements and inward workings of nature, so the physician of souls must follow the workings of grace." He often repeats, that he had himself traversed the entire road from temptation and sin, to contrition, prayer, and exaltation. He communicated his feelings to but few, and always without many words, in a manner expressive of tranquillity : but as his whole soul was filled with what he uttered, as he always waited a fit season and frame of mind both in himself and in those he addressed, the impression he made was irresistible ; his hearers involuntarily felt themselves transformed ; tears burst from their eyes before they suspected it ‡. Very speedily some distinguished men attached themselves to him as decided proselytes : Arnauld d'Andilly, who was in close connexion with cardinal Richelieu and Anne of Austria, and was employed in the most important affairs ; his nephew, Le Maitre, who was admired in those days as the first orator in parliament, and who had the most brilliant career open to him, but now actually retired to a hermitage near Paris ; Angélique Arnauld, to whom we have already alluded, and her nuns of Portroyal, attached themselves to St. Cyran with all the unbounded affection which pious women are wont to feel for their prophet.

Jansenius died before he saw his book in print ; St. Cyran was cast into prison, immediately after he had effected his first conversions, by Richelieu, who had a natural antipathy to efforts of such a character and such efficacy : but these mischances did not hinder the progress of their doctrines.

The work of Jansenius gradually produced a general and profound impression, both from its intrinsic merit and from its polemical boldness §. St. Cyran continued his career of conversion even

from within his prison walls. His unmerited sufferings, which he bore with great resignation, exalted him in the public eye : when he was set at liberty after the death of Richelieu, he was regarded as a saint, as a John the Baptist. He died indeed a few months after, (Oct. 11, 1643) but he had established a school which saw their gospel in his own and in his friends' doctrines : " his disciples," says one of themselves, " went forth like young eagles under his wings ; inheritors of his virtue and his piety, they transmitted to others what they had received from him. Elijah left behind him Elisha to prosecute his work."

If we seek to define the general relation in which the Jansenists stood to the dominant church party, it strikes us as manifestly analogous to that of protestantism. They insisted with the like zeal on purification of life, and strove no less eagerly to give a new aspect to doctrine, by removing from it the interpolations of the schoolmen. But this is by no means sufficient, in my opinion, to warrant us in looking on them as a kind of unconscious protestants. The grand distinguishing point, historically considered, consists in this, that they willingly assented to a principle to which, from the very first, the protestants refused to be reconciled ; they held fast by those most eminent fathers of the Latin church, who had been abandoned in Germany as early as 1523—St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Gregory, and added to them, some Greek fathers besides, above all St. Chrysostom : in the works of these fathers they believed they possessed a pure and unvitiated tradition, from which St. Bernard in his day had never departed, but which after that " last of the fathers" had become obscured by the intrusion of the Aristotelic doctrines. We find them therefore far remote from that energetic zeal with which the protestants reverted directly to the doctrines of Holy Writ : their perceptive powers were satisfied with the first formations, which served for the basis of the latter system. They abide by the principle that the visible church, in spite of temporary darkness and deformity, is yet one in spirit, nay one in body with Christ, infallible, and imperishable : they adhere most earnestly to the episcopal hierarchy ; they live in the faith that St. Augustine had been inspired of God to communicate to the world in all its bearings that doctrine of grace which is the essence of the new covenant ; in him, to their minds, Christian theology received its completion ; they wish to grasp this at the very root, to understand it in its very core, for many had been the instances of mistaking Pelagian notions for Augustinian. Luther's mind had been aroused by St. Augustine, but he had immediately and unconditionally fallen back on the primary source of knowledge, the scriptures, the word of God : in contrast with him, catholicism had held fast by the entire system accumulated in the course of centuries ; the Jansenists sought to assert the creed of St. Augustine as that which had first comprised the earlier system, and laid the basis for the latter. Protestantism repudiates tradition, catholicism clings to it, Jansenism seeks to purify it, to re-establish it in its primitive form, expecting thereby to regenerate life and doctrine.

Already there was gathered together round Le Maitre, in the hermitage of Portroyal des Champs, to which he had retired, an assemblage of persons

\* Extracts from his trial in Reuchlin : *Geschichte von Portroyal*, i. p. 151.

† " *S'humilier, souffrir et dépendre de Dieu est toute la vie Chrétienne.*"

‡ *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Portroyal*, par Mr. Fontaine, i. p. 225. Racine : *Hist. de Portroyal*, p. 134.

§ Gerberon ; *Histoire du Jansénisme*, 63. " *Les théologiens de Paris s'appliquèrent tellement à l'étude de l'Augustin d'Ipres, où il reconnoissoient celui d'Hippone, . . . qu'on commençoit à n'entendre plus parmi ces théologiens que les noms de Jansénius et de S. Augustin.*" [The theologians of Paris applied themselves to such a degree to the study of the Augustine of Ypres, in whom they recognized him of Hippo . . . that by and by nothing was heard among them but the names of Jansenius and St. Augustine.]

of no mean consideration, who held the principles we have described. It is not to be denied that the society was originally somewhat limited, consisting chiefly of members and friends of the Arnauld family. Le Maître drew after him his four brothers; their mother, who had instilled their spiritual feelings into their minds, was an Arnauld: St. Cyran's oldest friend, to whom he bequeathed his heart, was Arnauld d'Andilly, and he too at last joined the society; the first important work on its behalf, was the production of the brother of d'Andilly, Antoine Arnauld. These first members were followed by a great number of friends and relations. The convent too of Portroyal in Paris was almost exclusively in the hands of the family. D'Andilly relates that his mother, who at last joined, was accompanied by twelve daughters and granddaughters\*. We may mention in passing, that it was the elder Antoine Arnauld, from whom all the others we have mentioned were descended, by whose brilliant plaidoyer in the year 1594, the banishment of the Jesuits from Paris was chiefly decided. The aversion to the order seemed, as it were, hereditary in the family.

But this narrow circle of friends was very rapidly and vastly extended.

In the first place many joined it, attracted by no other kinship than that of sentiment. An influential preacher of Paris, Singlin, an adherent of St. Cyran, was particularly active in the cause. It was Singlin's strange peculiarity, that in common life he expressed himself but with difficulty, but as soon as he mounted the pulpit, an overpowering flow of eloquence burst from his lips†. He sent those who adhered most zealously to him to Portroyal, where they were gladly welcomed. They were young clergymen and scholars, substantial merchants, men of the best families, physicians already of considerable standing, members of other orders, but all of them men whom nothing but inward impulse and decided conviction urged to this step.

Many were the religious exercises practised in this retirement, which resembled a voluntary convent held together by no vows: the churches were diligently visited; prayer was frequent both in common and in private; agricultural pursuits were plied, and some few members practised handicrafts; but literature was the chief occupation: the society of Portroyal was likewise a sort of literary academy.

Whilst the Jesuits were piling up erudition in enormous folios, or losing themselves in the revolting scholastic subtleties of an artificial system of morals and dogmas, the Jansenists addressed themselves to the nation.

They began to translate the scriptures, the fathers, and Latin books of prayer. They had the happy skill to avoid the antiquated Frankish forms that had previously disfigured works of the kind, and to express themselves in an attractive and intelligible manner. An educational establishment which they formed in Portroyal gave them occasion to compose school-books on ancient and modern languages, logic, and geometry, which, proceeding from men of original conceptions, presented new methods, the merit of which became

universally acknowledged\*. At intervals they produced works of a different kind, controversial writings, the acuteness and precision of which annihilated their adversaries; works of profound piety, such as the *Heures de Port Royal*, which were greedily caught up, and were as fresh, and in as great demand, after the lapse of a century, as the first day. From amongst them issued minds of such scientific eminence as Pascal's, coryphæi of French poetry like Racine, scholars of the most extensive reading, like Tillemont. Their efforts reached, as we see, far beyond the theological and ascetic circle marked out by Janse and du Verger. It is surely not venturing too far to assert, that this community of gifted men, animated with a grand purpose, who in their mutual intercourse spontaneously evolved a new tone of expression, and a new mode of communicating ideas, exercised in general a very remarkable, inwardly-working influence on the literature of France, and thereby on that of Europe,—that to it may in part be traced back the literary splendour of the reign of Louis XIV.

Was it possible that the spirit that prompted to all these productions, should fail to win its way through them to the nation at large? In every quarter adherents arose, especially among the parish clergy, who had long detested the Jesuit confessional system. At times,—as, for instance, in the days of cardinal Retz,—the principles of the society seemed likely to gain ground among the higher clergy; important places were conferred on some of the members. Ere long we find them not only in France and in the Netherlands, but even in Spain they had partisans; as early as the times of Innocent X. a Jansenist teacher was heard publicly preaching in Rome†.

The grand question now was, in what light would the Roman see regard these opinions.

*The position of the court of Rome with regard to the two parties.*

The same strife had been revived, only under some modification of form, which forty years be-

\* Notice de Petitot, prefixed to the *Memoirs of Andilly*, i. in other respects a work marvellous for its party spirit.

† Deone, tom. iv. "Fu citato per il sant' officio monsieur Honorato Herzan (Hersent) dottor della Sorbona di Parigi, per la predica che fece in San Luigi nel giorno della festa, nella quale sostenne e difese l'opinione di Jansenio con esaltarlo per unico interprete di S. Agostino; non specificandolo, ma però delineandolo che da ciascheduno era inteso. Egli si ritirò in casa dell' ambasciator di Francia e di là a Parigi. Il suo libro è proibito, et il maestro del sacro palazzo ne ha havuto qualche travaglio per haverne permesso la stampa: egli si scusa con dire che veniva dedicato al papa et era in lingua francese, la quale egli non intende, però contenendo il libro l'opinione favorevole all' opinione loro contro l' opinione de' Gesuiti." [Monsieur Honoré Hersent, doctor of the Sorbonne of Paris, was cited before the holy office for the sermon he preached in the church of St. Luigi on the saint's day, in which he maintained and defended the opinions of Jansenius, extolling him as the only interpreter of St. Augustine, not mentioning him by name, but indicating him in such a manner as to be understood by every body. He withdrew to the house of the French ambassador, and from thence to Paris. His book is prohibited, and the maestro del sacro palazzo got into some trouble for having allowed it to be printed: for this he pleaded in excuse, that

\* *Mémoires d'Arnauld d'Andilly*, i. p. 341.

† *Mémoires de Fontaine*, ii. p. 283.

fore neither Clement VII. nor Paul V. had ventured to decide.

I know not whether Urban VIII. or Innocent X. would have been more determined, had it not unfortunately occurred that a passage appeared in the work of Jansenius at which the Roman see took great offence on other grounds.

In his third book on the state of innocence, Jansenius adverts to a tenet of St. Augustine's, concerning which he cannot deny that it had been condemned by the Roman court. For a moment he ponders which of the two he shall follow,—the father or the pope. After some deliberation, however, he remarks\*, that the Roman see occasionally condemns simply for peace's sake, without thereby meaning to declare that false which it condemns; and he pronounces himself absolutely in favour of the principle of Augustine.

His adversaries of course availed themselves of the passage: they pointed it out as an attack on the papal infallibility. Urban VIII. was induced to express his displeasure against a work which condemned, to the detriment of the dignity of the apostolic see, tenets already condemned by former popes.

But this declaration of the pope's effected little. The Jansenist doctrine spread not the less vigorously, and a general schism occurred in France. The adversaries of Portroyal deemed it necessary to obtain from the Roman see another and more pointed condemnation. To this end they embodied the doctrines of Jansenius, as they themselves understood them, in five propositions, and called on pope Innocent X. to pronounce his apostolic judgment thereon †.

Upon this a formal investigation was set on foot at the court of Rome. A congregation of four cardinals was appointed, under whose inspection thirteen theological consultors proceeded to the examination.

Now the five propositions were so drawn up, that at the first glance they seemed to contain pure heterodoxes, though upon closer inspection they appeared capable, at least in part, of an orthodox interpretation ‡. Varieties of opinion arose at once among the consultors. Four of them—two Dominicans, a minorite, Luca Wadding, and the general of the Augustines—deemed sentence of condemnation unadvisable: the rest, however, were

for it\*. The question now was, would the pope side with the majority?

The whole controversy was disagreeable to Innocent X. He detested all difficult theological investigations; but for this one in particular he further perceived, that, however it should be decided, nothing but unpleasant consequences would ensue from it. He could not decide, in defiance of the judgment of so large a majority. "When he approached the edge of the precipice," says Pallavicini, "and measured with his eye the boldness of the leap, he hung back, and was not to be moved forwards."

But these scruples were not shared by the whole court. Immediately at the pope's side stood a secretary of state, cardinal Chigi, who incessantly spurred him on. Chigi had got hold of the book and read it when he was in Cologne, and even then the above-named passage had so kindled his devout wrath, that he flung the book from him. His displeasure had been strengthened by some members of the German monastic orders. He had taken an active part in the congregation of inquiry, and had done his part towards bringing about the result. He now urged the pope not to keep silence,—silence, he said, would in this case be taken for consent; he must not suffer the doctrine of papal infallibility to fall into discredit; it was assuredly one of the high prerogatives of the apostolic see to decide the doubts of the faithful †.

Innocent was, as we know, a man who suffered himself to be carried away by sudden impressions. In an unlucky hour he was overcome by the representations made to him of the danger threatening the papal infallibility. The day being that of St. Athanasius, he took these representations for a warning from on high. On the 1st of June, 1653, he published his bull, in which he condemned the five propositions as heretical, blasphemous, and accursed. He declared that he hoped thus to restore the peace of the church; that he had nothing so much at heart as that the bark of the church might hold her course through tranquil seas, and arrive at the haven of bliss ‡.

But how totally different was the result destined to be.

The Jansenists denied that the propositions condemned were to be found in the book of Jansenius, and still more positively, that they were understood by themselves in the sense in which they had been condemned.

Now indeed it became manifest in what a false position the Roman court had placed itself. The French bishops urgently demanded that Rome should declare the five propositions to have been actually condemned in the sense intended by Jansenius. Chigi, who meanwhile had ascended the papal throne under the name of Alexander VII., was the less in a condition to refuse this, since he had himself been so active in effecting the condemnation. He accordingly pronounced, pointedly and formally, that, "the five propositions had decidedly been extracted from the work of

the book, though containing opinions favourable to those of the Jansenists and hostile to those of the Jesuits, was dedicated to the pope, and was in the French language, which he did not understand.

\* De statu nature pure, lii. c. xxii. p. 403. "Quodsi," he adds, "vel tunc ostendi potuisset hanc aliasque nonnullas propositiones ab Augustino doctorem omnium coryphæo traditas, nunquam, arbitror, hujusmodi decretum ab apostolica sede permanasset." [But could it have possibly appeared even then, that this and some other propositions had come down from Augustine, the coryphæus of all doctors, never, I think, would a decree of the sort have emanated from the apostolic see.]

† Pallavicini: Vita di Alessandro VII.: "Acciochè ben informato dichiarasse ciò che dovea permettersi o proibirsi intorno cinque principali proposizioni di quell' autore." [In order that, on full information, he might declare what was to be permitted or prohibited with respect to the five principal propositions of that author.]

‡ Racine: Abrégé de l'histoire ecclésiastique, tom. xi. p. 15.

\* Pallavicini, who was one of the consultors, communicates these details. He says of the pope, "Il suo intelletto alienissimo di sottigliezze scolastiche."

† Communicated by Pallavicini.

‡ In Cocquel. vi. lii. 248. We learn from Pallavicini, that it was drawn up by Chigi and by Albizi, an assessor of the Inquisition.

Jansenius, and condemned in the sense of their author\*."

But the Jansenists were ready armed against this. They replied, that a declaration of this kind exceeded the limits of the papal authority; that the papal infallibility did not extend to a judgment respecting facts.

Thus to the dogmatical controversy was superadded a question touching the limits of the papal authority: in their undeniable opposition to the Roman see, the Jansenists still knew how to maintain the character of good catholics.

This party was no longer to be put down. Attempts were occasionally made to that end on the part of the crown: formularies were issued in accordance with the bull of condemnation, which were to be subscribed by all ecclesiastics, and even by schoolmasters and nuns. The Jansenists made no difficulty of condemning the five propositions, which, as we have mentioned, admitted of a heterodox interpretation; they only refused to acknowledge, by an unconditional subscription, that they were contained in Jansenius, that they were the doctrines of their master. Such was the effect of their steadfastness, that their numbers and their credit rose day by day; ere long there were even among the bishops numerous champions of their opinions†.

To restore peace, at least outwardly, Clement IX. was constrained, in the year 1668, to declare himself content with such a mode of subscription as even a Jansenist could comply with. He was satisfied with a general condemnation of the five propositions, without insisting that they had actually been put forth by Jansenius‡. Now this in

\* In Cocquel. vi. iv. 151. "Quumque illas propositiones ex libro præmemorati Cornelii Jansenii episcopi Iprensis cui titulus Augustinus excerptas ac in sensu ab eodem Jansenio intento damnatas fuisse declaramus et definimus."

† Letter from nineteen bishops to the pope, Dec. 1, 1667. "Novum et inauditum apud nos nonnulli dogma præcedunt, ecclesie nempe decretis quibus quotidiana nec revelata divinitus facta deciduntur, certam et infallibilem constare veritatem." [Some persons have set up a new and unprecedented doctrine among us, to wit, that decrees deciding on every day matters of fact, not matters of divine revelation, are marked by certain and infallible truth.] This is, in fact, the recognized solution of the question of "droit" and "fait."

‡ The last formulary of Alexander VII. (15th Feb. 1665.) runs thus: "Je rejette et condamne sincèrement les cinq propositions extraites du livre de Cornelius Jansenius intitulé Augustinus, et dans le sens du même auteur, comme le saint siège apostolique les a condamnées par les susdites constitutions." [I reject and condemn sincerely the five propositions extracted from the book of Cornelius Jansenius, entitled 'Augustinus,' and in the sense of the same author, as the holy apostolic see has condemned them by the aforesaid constitutions.] On the other hand, there is the more circumstantial declaration of peace: "Vous devez vous obliger à condamner sincèrement, pleinement, sans aucune réserve ni exception tous les sens que l'église et le pape ont condamnés et condamnent dans les cinq propositions." [You are to hold yourself bound to condemn sincerely, fully, and without any reserve or exception, all the senses which the church and the pope have condemned and do condemn in the five propositions.] A second article follows: "Déclarons que ce seroit faire injure à l'église de comprendre entre les sens condamnés dans ces propositions la doctrine de St. Augustine et de St. Thomas, touchant la grace efficace par elle-même nécessaire à toutes les actions de la piété Chrétienne et la prédestination gratuite des élus." [We declare that it

reality implied an essential concession on the part of the court of Rome: not only did it allow its claim to decide on matters of fact to fall to the ground, but it even acquiesced in seeing its sentence of condemnation pronounced upon Jansenius remain null and void.

From that period the party of St. Cyran and Jansenius rose more and more in strength and importance, tolerated by the curia, on a friendly footing with the royal court (the well known minister Pomponne was a son of Andilly), and encouraged by some of the nobles. Its literary activity now wrought its full effect upon the nation. But, simultaneously with the rise of the society, there had grown up a lively opposition to the Roman see; the Jansenists well knew, that, had matters gone as the curia intended, they could never have subsisted as a party.

#### *Relation of the Roman see to the temporal power.*

By this time there had likewise arisen in another quarter an opposition, to say the least of it, not less dangerous than that of the Jansenists, and one that constantly increased in vehemence, and spread more widely.

The Roman see began, in the seventeenth century, to assert its jurisdictional prerogatives, I know not whether with more vivacity and effect, but certainly with more system and unbending rigour. Urban VIII., who owed his elevation in part to the distinction he had acquired as a zealous champion of these claims\*, established a special Congregation of Immunities. He entrusted to a few cardinals—who, as usual with their class, were in correspondence with the powers of Europe, and who, as young prelates, would hope to be promoted according to the zeal with which they discharged the duty—the task of keeping a watchful eye upon all the encroachments of sovereigns upon the jurisdiction of the church. From that time the vigilance exercised was much keener and more regular, and the admonitions more urgent; official zeal and personal interest co-operated; the public spirit of the court regarded it as a proof of piety, to watch jealously over every item of those ancient hereditary rights†.

would be an insult to the church, to include within the meanings condemned in these propositions, the doctrine of St. Augustine and of St. Thomas, touching grace efficacious of itself, and necessary to all the actions of Christian piety, and touching the gratuitous predestination of the elect.]

\* Relazione de' iv ambasciatori, 1625. "Professa sopra tutte le cose haver l'animo inflessibile e che la sua indipendenza non ammetta alcuna ragione degl' interessi de' principi. Ma quello in che preme con insistenza et a che tende l'impiego di tutto il suo spirito è di conservare e di accrescer la giurisdittione ecclesiastica. Questo medesimo concetto fu sempre sostenuto dal pontefice nella sua minor fortuna, e ciò è stato anche grandissima causa della sua esaltazione." [He professes above all things, inflexible determination and independence, not to be swayed by any consideration of the interests of sovereigns. But what he most urgently insists on, and what he bends all the power of his mind to, is the conservation and the augmentation of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This same thought was always cherished by the pope when in lower station, and it likewise proved in a very great measure the cause of his elevation.]

† Joh. Bapt. de Luca S. R. E. Cardinalis: Relatio curie Romanæ, 1683. Disc. xvii. p. 109. "Etiam apud bonos et zelantes ecclesiasticos remanet quæstio, an hujus congre-



But was it likely that the states would willingly submit to this more strict supervision? The feeling of religious union, that had been kindled in the conflict with protestantism, was grown cold; every effort of the nations was bent towards the attainment of internal strength and political compactness; the court of Rome found itself involved in rancorous disputes with all the catholic states.

Even the Spaniards at times made attempts to restrict the influential interference of Rome, as for instance in Naples, where they desired to introduce some civil assessors to the tribunal of the inquisition. The court of Rome rather hesitated about admitting the emperor's claim to the patriarchate of Aquileia, for fear he should use it for the purpose of acquiring a greater degree of ecclesiastical independence. The estates of the German empire sought in the election capitulations of 1654 and 1658 to limit the jurisdiction of the nuncios and of the curia by stricter provisions. Venice was incessantly in commotion concerning the influence of the court of Rome over the nomination to spiritual appointments in the country, the pensions, and the arrogant pretensions of the nepotes: sometimes Genoa, sometimes Savoy found occasion to recall their ambassadors from Rome; but the most vehement opposition to Rome, was that which it encountered from the French church, as might have been expected from the principle on which the restoration of the latter had been effected\*. There was no end to the cry of grievances set up by the nuncios, particularly as regarded the restrictions imposed on the spiritual jurisdiction: before they took a single step, appeals were lodged against them; questions of marriage were taken out of their hands under the pretence that there was abduction in the given case; they were excluded from interference in criminal trials; clergymen were sometimes executed without having been previously degraded; the king, of his own sole authority, issued edicts touching heresy and simony; the tenths to the crown had gradually become a permanent tax. The more apprehensive retainers of the curia looked on these usurpations as harbingers of schism.

The mutual bearing of the parties resulting from these disputes, was necessarily connected with other circumstances besides, especially with the political attitude assumed by the court of Rome.

*gationis erectio ecclesiasticæ immunitati et jurisdictioni profusa vel præjudicialis fuerit, potissime quia bonus quidem sed forte indiscretus vel asper zelus aliquorum, qui circa initia eam regebant, aliqua produxit inconvenientia præjudicialia, atque asperitatis vel nimium exactæ et exorbitantis defensionis opinionem impressit apud seculares.* [It remains a question even among good and zealous ecclesiastics, whether the establishment of this congregation has been advantageous or prejudicial to ecclesiastical privilege and jurisdiction, especially because the honest but perhaps indiscreet or harsh zeal of some persons who had the direction of it in the beginning, produced some hurtful inconveniences, and conveyed to the minds of the laity an impression of harshness, or of too rigorous and exorbitant an assertion of right.] A very important confession to be made by a cardinal.

\* Relazione della nunziatura di Francia di Monsr. Scotti, 1641, 5 Aprile. He has a distinct section, *Del impedimenti della nunziatura ordinaria*: "Li giudici del sì può dire che levino tutta la giurisdizione eccles. in Francia alli prelati." [It is a fact that the royal judges take the entire ecclesiastical jurisdiction in France out of the hands of the prelates.]

Out of deference to Spain, neither Innocent nor Alexander ventured to recognize Portugal, which had separated from that monarchy, nor to grant canonical institution to the bishops nominated there. Almost the whole legitimate episcopacy of Portugal died out; church property was in great part assigned to the officers of the army; king, clergy, and laity, lost the habit of their former submissiveness to Rome.

But independently of this, the popes after Urban VIII. again inclined to the side of Spain and Austria.

This need not excite surprise, since the superior strength of France so soon put on a character formidable to the general freedom of Europe. In addition to this, these same popes had owed their elevation to Spanish influence, and both were personal enemies of Mazarin\*. In Alexander this enmity displayed itself with ever increasing force: he could not forgive the cardinal that he had allied himself with Cromwell, and long prevented peace with Spain from personal motives.

Now the consequence of this was, that the opposition to the Roman see became more and more inveterate in France, and broke out from time to time into violent explosions. Severely was Alexander made to experience this!

A dispute which arose in Rome between the suite of the French ambassador de Créquy and the Corsican city guard, in which de Créquy was at last personally insulted, gave the king an opportunity of interfering in the quarrels of the Roman see with the houses of Este and Farnese, and finally of absolutely marching troops into Italy. The unfortunate pope endeavoured to save himself by means of a secret protest: but he was obliged, in the face of the world, to concede all the king's demands in the treaty of Pisa. The fondness of the popes for inscriptions in their honour is well known; not a stone, it was said, did they suffer to be set in a wall without their cyphers. Alexander was compelled to endure the erection of a pyramid in one of the most frequented squares of his capital, the inscription on which was to perpetuate his humiliation.

This act alone was sure greatly to degrade the dignity of the papacy.

But furthermore, that dignity had already begun to decline from about the year 1660. The papal see had originated the peace of Westphalia, and by its negotiations furthered it and brought it to a conclusion: it had been present by its ambassadors at the arrangement of the peace of Westphalia, but even then it had felt constrained to protest against the stipulations agreed on: lastly, it did not even ostensibly take any part in the peace of the Pyrenees; the contracting parties avoided admitting its envoys to the conference; scarcely was it

\* Deone, Ottobre, 1664: "Si sa veramente chg l' esclusione di Panfilio fatta da cardinali Francesi nel conclave non era volontà regia, nè istanza del Cl. Antonio, ma opera del Cl. Mazzarini emulo e poco ben affetto al Cl. Panziroli, il quale prevedeva che doveva aver gran parte in questo ponteficato." [It is known for certain the exclusion of Panfilio, effected by the French cardinals in the conclave, was not in pursuance of the royal will, nor at the instance of cardinal Antonio, but was the work of cardinal Mazzarini, the rival and enemy of cardinal Panziroli, who he foresaw was likely to play an important part in that pontificate.] As was actually the case.

thought of in the transaction \*. How soon afterwards followed treaties of peace, in which papal fiefs were disposed of without so much as consulting the pope !

*Transition to the later epochs of the papacy.*

It is by all means a most remarkable fact, and one that affords us an insight into the general course of human affairs, that at the moment the papacy broke down in the execution of its plans for the renovation of its universal supremacy, it began likewise to fall into internal decay.

Everything pertaining to it had undergone a fundamental repair during the period of progress and restoration. The doctrines of the church had been renovated, its privileges more strongly centralized, alliances had been formed with sovereigns, fresh life had been infused into the old orders, and new ones had been founded, the force of the ecclesiastical states had been firmly compacted, and converted into an instrument of church policy, the curia had been reformed morally and intellectually, and everything brought to bear on the one object of the restoration of the papal authority and of the catholic faith.

This, as we have seen, was not a new creation ; it was a reanimation through the might of new ideas, which, abolishing some abuses, did but carry along with a fresh impulse the already existing elements of social life.

Now undoubtedly a renovation of this sort is more exposed to the decay of the vivifying principle than is a radically new creation.

The first check which the catholic restoration encountered befel it in France. The papal authority could not force its way upon the beaten path ; it was doomed to see the growth and elevation of a church, catholic indeed, but not moulded under the influences it intended, and to be reduced to enter on a compromise with that church.

There followed other occurrences tending to the same end :—violent internal dissensions arose, controversies upon the most important points of faith, and upon the relation of the spiritual to the temporal authority ; nepotism unfolded itself in the curia in a perilous manner ; the financial resources, instead of being wholly directed to their legitimate purpose, were rendered mainly subservient to the advantage of single families.

But Rome had still a grand and universal object, towards which it strode onwards with extraordinary good fortune. In this high endeavour all contradictions were reconciled, the conflicts concerning doctrine and the temporal pretensions of the church were assuaged, the disorders of the sovereign powers healed, the progress of the common enterprises sustained : the curia was the centre and the beacon of the catholic world ; the work of conversion sped on the grandest scale.

Yet we have seen how it came to pass, that the desired end was not reached, but that the aspiring church was, through dissensions within and resistance from without, flung back upon itself.

\* Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato della pace conclusa fra le due corone, 1664, has at p. 120, " Osservazioni sopra le cause per le quali si conclude la pace senza intervento del papa." We learn hence that the bad feeling between the pope and Mazarin in those times was matter of notoriety.

Thenceforth all the affairs of the state, and the whole internal condition of the papal dominions likewise, assumed another aspect.

Devotedness is a feeling inseparable from the spirit of conquest and acquisition that aims at a great purpose ; it is incompatible with a narrow selfishness. The curia was now possessed by the spirit of worldly enjoyment and of lucre. A society of annuitants sprung up, which thought itself fully entitled to the revenues of the state, and the proceeds of the ecclesiastical administration. Whilst they fatally abused their usurped right, they still clung to it with the same zeal as though it were bound up with the very essence of the faith.

This it was that provoked implacable resistance from opposite quarters.

A doctrine came forth, which, originating from a new view of the profounder principles of religion, was condemned and persecuted by the Roman court, but could never be put down. The several states assumed a more independent position ; they emancipated themselves from their subservience to the papal policy ; they challenged for themselves a right of absolute control over their own internal affairs, that continually narrowed the influence of the curia even in ecclesiastical matters.

On these two grand points hangs all the subsequent history of the papacy.

Epochs followed, in which, so far from manifesting any spontaneous activity, it rather seems, while assailed now on this side and now on that, to have been every moment occupied with the sole thought how it might best defend itself.

The attention of mankind is usually attracted by energy and power, and it is only by following out the efficient cause that the event can be understood ; nor does it come within the design of this work to describe the later epochs of the papacy. Nevertheless they present an exceedingly remarkable spectacle ; and as we began with a review of the earlier ages, so we can hardly close the subject without making an attempt, though but a brief one, to survey the papacy likewise in its more recent stage.

The first thing that presents itself to our notice is the attack on the part of the states. It was most intimately connected with the division of the catholic world into two hostile portions, the Austrian and the French party, which the pope was no longer in a condition to master or to appease. The political attitude assumed by Rome, determined the measure of ecclesiastical devotedness which it encountered. We have already seen the manner in which this state of things began : let us now observe its further progress.

*Louis XIV. and Innocent XI.*

However staunch a catholic was Louis XIV., it yet seemed intolerable to him that the Roman see should pursue an independent policy, nay, one that often ran counter to his own.

Clement X. (1670 to 1676,) and his nephew Pauluzzi Altieri, inclined to the side of the Spaniards \*, as had Innocent and Alexander, and if not

\* Morosini: Relazione di Francia, 1671. " Conclusa naturale partialità del card. Altieri per la corona cattolica rende alla Xma sospetta ogni sua azione. Il pontefice presente è considerato come un'immagine del dominio che risiede veramente nell'arbitrio del nipote." [The known partiality

Clement IX., at least his court and adherents. Louis XIV. revenged himself for this by incessant inroads upon the spiritual power.

He arbitrarily confiscated church property, oppressed various monastic orders, claimed the privilege of burthening the church livings with military pensions; he sought to extend to provinces in which it had never been in force, the right which had become so celebrated under the name of *regale*, of appropriating the revenues of vacant bishoprics, and filling up the benefices dependent upon them; he inflicted the most severe wound on the Roman annuitants, by subjecting the remission of moneys to the court of Rome to a crippling supervision\*.

He continued the same course during the pontificate of Innocent XI., who on the whole pursued the same system of policy, but from him Louis encountered resistance.

Innocent XI., of the house of Odescalchi of Como, had arrived in Rome in his twenty-fifth year, with sword and pistol, to settle himself in some secular employment, perhaps in the military service of Naples. The advice of a cardinal, who penetrated better into his character than he himself had done, induced him: to enter on the career of the curia. This he did with so much devotedness and zeal, gradually winning for himself such a reputation for ability and good intentions, that during the conclave the people shouted his name under the porticoes of St. Peter, and public opinion was gratified, when he came forth from that church decked with the tiara (Sept. 21, 1676).

He was a man who would summon his servants to attend him, provided always they were quite at leisure; one, of whom his confessor averred that he had never discovered anything in him which could sever the soul from God; a gentle and placid being, whom yet the same conscientiousness that ruled his private life, now also impelled to fulfil the obligations of his office without fear or truckling.

How vigorously did he grapple with the existing abuses, particularly those in the financial department. The out-goings had risen to 2,578,106 scudi, 91 baj.; the incomings, dataria and spolia included, amounted to but 2,408,500 scudi, 71 baj.; so huge a deficit, 170,000 scudi yearly, threatened a public bankruptcy†. To Innocent XI. is undoubtedly due the merit of having prevented matters reaching that extreme. He forbore altogether from the practice of nepotism. He declared that he loved his nephew Don Livio, whose modesty deserved his love, but for that very reason he would not have him in the palace. He absolutely confiscated all the offices and revenues which before his time had been the perquisite of the pope's nephews. He did the same with many other places,

of cardinal Altieri for the catholic crown renders every action of his suspicious to the most Christian king. The present pope is considered but an effigy of the power of the see, which really resides in the will of his nephew.]

\* Istruzione per Mons.<sup>r</sup> Arcivescovo di Patrasso, 1674.

† Questo fatto arrivato alla corte sicome eccitò lo stupore e lo scandolo universale, così pervenuto alla notizia di N. Sre. mosse un estremo cordoglio nell'animo di S. Beato. [On this fact becoming known to the court, it excited universal amazement and scandal, and when it came to the ears of our lord the pope, it caused his holiness extreme affliction.]

† Stato della camera nel presente ponteficato di Innocenzo XI. MS. (Bibl. Alb.)

the existence of which was more burthensome to the state. He abolished innumerable abuses and exemptions; and when the state of the market at last made it practicable, he did not hesitate still further to reduce the interest on the monti from four to three per cent\*. In a few years he actually succeeded in raising the public income to no insignificant excess above the expenditure.

With the same resolute spirit, this pope now withstood the attacks of Louis XIV.

Two Jansenist bishops, who opposed the extension of the *regale* before mentioned, were harassed and persecuted by the court on that account; the bishop of Pamiers was reduced for a while to subsist on charity. They appealed to the pope, and Innocent did not delay to espouse their cause†.

Once, twice, he admonished the king not to give ear to flatterers, not to lay hands on the liberties of the church; and bade him beware, lest he should cause the fountains of Divine grace to dry up for his kingdom. Receiving no answer, he repeated his admonitions a third time, but now he added that he would not write again, that he would not content himself with mere admonitions, but would employ every instrument of that power which God had put into his hands. No danger, no storm should appal him; his glory was in the cross of Christ‡.

It has always been a maxim of the French court to use the papal power as a check upon its clergy, and to employ the latter to restrict the influence of the former. But never did a sovereign hold his clergy in more perfect command than did Louis XIV. The addresses they presented to him on ceremonial occasions breathe a spirit of submissiveness that has never been equalled. "We hardly venture," they say, "to make requests, for fear of setting a limit to your majesty's zeal for the church. The unhappy privilege of stating grievances, is now transformed into the delightful necessity of praising our benefactor §." The prince of Condé gave it as his opinion, that if the king were of a mind to pass over to the protestant church, the clergy would follow him with all speed.

At any rate the clergy stood by their king against the pope without scruple: year after year they put forth more decided declarations in favour of the royal authority. At last ensued the convocation of 1682. "It was summoned and dissolved," says a Venetian ambassador, "at the convenience of the king's ministers, and guided by their suggestions ||."

\* In a MS. of 763 pages of the year 1743, "Erethione et agglione de monti camerati," are to be found the decrees and briefs concerning this matter. In a brief of the year 1681 to the treasurer Negroni, Innocent first declares his intention "d'andar liberando la camera del frutto di 4 p.c. . . che in questi tempi è troppo rigoroso." [to relieve the camera of the burthen of interest at 4 per cent.—too oppressive in these times]

† Racine: Histoire Ecclésiastique, x. p. 328.

‡ Brief of the 27th Dec. 1679.

§ Remontrance du clergé de France (assemblé à St. Germain en Laye en l'année, 1680) faite au roi le 10 juillet par l'illme. et révme. J. Bapt. Adheimar de Monteil de Grignan. Mém. du clergé, tom. xiv. p. 787.

|| Foscarini: Relazione di Francia, 1684. "Con non dissimile dipendenza segue l'ordine eccles. le massime e l'interesse della corte, come l'ha fatto conoscere l'assemblea sopra le vertenze della regalia, unita, diretta e disciolta secondo le convenienze ed ispirazioni del ministero politico,

The four articles it drew up have ever since been regarded as the manifesto of the Gallican liberties. The first three reiterated principles asserted before,—the independence of the secular power as regarded the spiritual, the superiority of councils over the pope, and the inviolability of the Gallican usages. But the fourth is particularly remarkable, since it limits even the spiritual authority of the pope. "Even in questions of faith the pope's decision is not incapable of amendment, so long as it has not received the assent of the church." We see that the two national authorities supported each other. The king was emancipated from the interference of the pope's temporal power, the clergy from the unconditional authority of his spiritual power. It was the opinion of contemporaries, that though France was still within the pale of the catholic church, yet its foot was on the threshold to depart from out it. The king exalted the propositions above mentioned into a sort of articles of faith, or symbolical book. The teaching in all schools was to be in conformity therewith; no one was to obtain a degree in the faculties of law or theology who did not swear to those propositions.

But the pope too had his weapon. The king advanced to episcopal offices the authors of the declaration, and the members of the convocation, in preference to all other candidates. Innocent refused to grant them spiritual institution. They might enjoy the revenues of their sees, but they received no ordinations, and could not exercise one spiritual function of episcopacy.

The quarrel became more complicated from the fact, that at this juncture Louis XIV., chiefly for the purpose of evincing his perfect orthodoxy, proceeded to his cruel extirpation of the Huguenots. He thought thereby to render a great service to the catholic church. It has also been alleged that pope Innocent was privy and consenting to the design\*: but in reality this was not the case. The Roman court would now have nothing to do with a conversion effected by armed apostles: "Christ had not employed that method; men should be led but not dragged into the temple†."

Still fresh dissensions constantly arose. The French ambassador entered Rome in the year 1687, with so strong a retinue, not less than a couple of squadrons of cavalry, that it would not have been easy to dispute his claim to the right of asylum, to which the ambassadors in those days pretended, not only for their palaces, but likewise for the neighbouring streets, although the pope had solemnly repealed the privilege. With armed

force he braved the pope in his own capital. "They come with horses, and with chariots," said Innocent, "but we will walk in the name of the Lord." He pronounced the censure of the church upon the ambassador; the church of San Luigi, at which that functionary had been present at a solemn high mass, was laid under an interdict\*.

Upon this the king had recourse on his part to the most extreme steps. He appealed to a general council, caused Avignon to be taken possession of, and the nuncio to be shut up in St. Olon. It was thought he had in view to create archbishop Harlai, who had sanctioned, if not prompted all these steps, patriarch of France.

To such a length had matters gone: the French ambassador excommunicated in Rome, the papal nuncio in France forcibly detained; thirty-five French bishops without canonical institution; a papal territory seized by the king: here was schism in fact already broken out. Notwithstanding all this, Innocent XI. did not yield a foot.

If we ask on what he relied in this trying emergency, it was not on any effect of his censure in France, not on the might of his apostolic dignity; but it was above all things on that general resistance which had been aroused by the enterprises of Louis XIV. which threatened the freedom of Europe in its very being: in this the pope likewise joined.

He aided Austria in its Turkish war to the utmost of his ability†: the prosperous issue of that undertaking placed the whole party, and the pope with it, in a new position.

It can hardly indeed be proved that Innocent, as it has been alleged, was in direct alliance with William III., and was personally cognizant of his designs upon England‡. But we may with unhesitating confidence assert that his ministers were privy to them. The pope was only told that the prince of Orange was to have the command on the Rhine, and to defend the rights of the empire and of the church against Louis XIV.; to this object he promised considerable subsidies. But his secretary of state, count Cassoni, had by the end of the year 1687, positive intelligence that the plan of the English malcontents was to dethrone king James, and to transfer the crown to the princess of Orange. The count was ill-served: the French had got hold of a traitor in his household. It was from

\* "Legatio marchionis Lavardinii Romam ejusque cum Romano pontifice dissidium, 1697." A refutation of Lavardin, which investigates this affair with much dispassionate judgment: it belongs to the series of excellent political papers which were called forth in Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, and Italy, by the assumptions of Louis XIV.

† Relatione di Roma di Giov. Lando, 1689. The subsidies are here computed at two millions of scudi.

‡ This assertion is made in the *Mémoires sur le règne de Frédéric I. roi de Prusse*, par le comte de Dohna, p. 78. It is stated that the letters passed through queen Christina's hands to his father, "qui les fesoit passer par le comté de Lippe, d'où un certain Paget les portoit à la Haye" [who forwarded them through the county of Lippe, whence one Paget carried them to the Hague]. In spite of these details, we must doubt the fact, when we consider, that during all this period queen Christina was at variance with the pope. Her position with regard to the pope, as set forth in her correspondence, makes me think it impossible that the pope, who once said of her with a shrug, "à una donna," [she is a woman,] would have trusted her with such a secret. There may, for all that, have been secret despatches from Rome.

Provenendo della mano del re l'esaltatione e fortuna de' soggetti che lo compongono, dominati sempre da nuove pretese e speranze, si accorgono più attaccati alle compiacenze del monarca che gli stessi secolari."

\* Bonamici, Vita Innocentii in Lebreit: Magazin viii. p. 98, and Lebreit's note "Also ist es nicht zu widersprechen," &c.

† Venier: Relatione di Francia, 1689. "Nell'opera tentata nella conversion degli Ugonotti dispiacque al re, non riportar dal pontefice lode che sperava, e riceve il papa in mala parte che fosse intrapresa senza sua partecipazione et eseguita con i noti rigori, . . . pubblicando che non fosse propria fare missioni d'apostoli armati, e che questo metodo nuovo non fosse il migliore, giacché Christo non se n'era servito per convertire il mondo: in oltre parve importuno il tempo di guadagnar gli eretici all'ora che erano più bollenti le controversie col papa."

the papers which that man had an opportunity of inspecting in his master's most secret cabinet, that the courts of France and England derived their first knowledge of those plans. Strange complication ! It was at the court of Rome that the threads of a machination were destined to meet, which had for its aim and its result, to liberate protestantism in the West of Europe from the last great danger that threatened it, and to secure the English throne for ever to that creed \*. Even, as we said before, though Innocent XI. knew nothing of this whole scheme, still it is undeniable that he adhered to an opposition based for the most part on protestant resources, and urged by protestant impulses. His resistance to the candidature for the archbishopric of Cologne favoured by France, was in the interest of that opposition, and was the main incentive to the outbreak of war.

A war, however, which, as regarded France, turned out very favourably to the papal principle. If the pope by his policy promoted protestantism, the protestants in their turn, whilst maintaining the European balance against "the exorbitant power" of France, were thereby co-operating to compel that power to assent to the spiritual pretensions of the papacy.

It is true Innocent XI. did not live to witness that consummation ; but the very first ambassador who appeared in Rome after his death (August 10, 1689,) abandoned the claim to the right of asylum ; the king's bearing was changed : he restored Avignon, and began to negotiate.

This was the more necessary, inasmuch as the new pope, Alexander VIII., however widely he departed in other respects from the strict example of his predecessor, in this point at least adhered firmly to Innocent's principles. Alexander proclaimed anew the resolutions of 1682 † to be invalid and void, null and of no effect, not binding, even though backed by the force of an oath ; declaring that, day and night, he thought on them with a heart full of bitterness, and lifted up his eyes with tears and sobs.

After the early death of Alexander VIII. the French strained every effort to procure the election of a pope of pacific temper and disposed to a recon-

ciliation \* ; such an one they obtained in the person of Antonio Pignatelli,—Innocent XII. (July 12, 1691.)

But this pope, too, was little disposed in any respect to compromise the dignity of the Roman see ; and just as little had he any urgent motive for so doing, since the allied arms plied Louis XIV. with such formidable energy.

Negotiations were carried on for two years. Innocent more than once rejected the formule proposed to him by the French clergy. At last they were forced to declare, that all that had been discussed and determined in the assembly, should be looked on as not discussed and not determined : "prostrate at the feet of your holiness we profess our unspeakable sorrow for the same †." It was not till this absolute recantation that Innocent granted them canonical institution.

Peace was restored only on these conditions. Louis XIV. wrote to the pope that he recalled his orders respecting the observance of the four articles. Thus do we see that the Roman see once more stood fast upon its prerogatives, in opposition to the most powerful of monarchs.

But was it not in itself a grievous disadvantage, that assertions so decidedly hostile had enjoyed a validity legally authorized by the government ? They had been proclaimed with noisy ostentation, as though they had been decrees of the empire ; their retraction was made privately, in the quietest way, in the form of letters, and that only on the part of individuals who were particularly in need of the favour of the court of Rome. Louis XIV. permitted this ; but we must not believe that he recalled the four articles, though the matter was sometimes looked on in that light in Rome. At a much later period he would not endure that the Roman court should refuse institution to the adherents of the four articles. He declared that he had only revoked the obligation of teaching them ; but it was just as little reasonable that any one

\* Domenico Contarini: Relazione di Roma, 1696: "Tendendosi questa volta da Francesi bisogno d' un papa facile e d' animo assai rimesso, e che potesse facilmente esser indotto a modificare la bolla fatta nell' agonia di Alessandro VIII. sopra le propositioni dell' assemblea del clero del anno 1682, diedero mano alla elezione di esso."

† It has, indeed, been asserted, and Petitot among others (Notice sur Portroyal, p. 240) is of opinion, that this letter was an invention of the Jansenists, "pour répandre du ridicule et de l'odieux sur les nouveaux évêques; [to cast ridicule and odium on the new bishops:] but, in the first place, no other formula was ever produced by the opposite party; secondly, the above has always been acknowledged, at least indirectly, by the Roman writers, as, for instance, by Novæus, Storia del Pontefici, tom. xi. p. 117; lastly, it was at the very time universally regarded, and even at court, as indisputably genuine. Domenico Contarini says, "Poco dopo fu preso per mano da Francesi il negotio delle chiese di Francia proponendo diverse formule di dichiarazione, . . . materia ventilata per il corso di dug anni e conclusa ed agguistata con quella lettera scritta da vescovi al papa che si è diffusa in ogni parte." [Shortly afterwards the French took in hand the affair of the churches of their country, and proposed various forms of declaration, . . . the affair was under discussion for the space of two years, and was concluded and adjusted by means of that letter from the bishops to the pope, which has been made public in all quarters.] Now this is the very formula in question. None other has ever been made known. Daunou too, (Essai historique sur la puissance temporelle des papes, li. p. 196.) gives this letter as authentic.

\* Little notice has been taken, (though it is decisive upon the subject), of the Lettre écrite par le C<sup>te</sup> d'Étrées, ambassadeur extraord. de Louis XIV. A. M. de Louvois, 18 Dec. 1687. Œuvres de Louis XIV. tom. vi. p. 497. It shows how early James II. was informed of the projects on foot. Young lord Norfolk, who was incognito in Rome, instantly dispatched a courier to him. Mackintosh (History of the Revolution, li. 157) is of opinion that James was convinced by the first week in May, 1688, of the prince's designs upon England. But, as early as the 10th or 11th of March, he had said to the papal nuncio, "Il principe aver in principal mira l' Inghilterra" [that the prince's chief aim was England]. (Lettres di Monsieure d'Adda, ibid. p. 346.) His misfortune was that he did not confide in himself.

† "In dictis comitiis anni 1682, tam circa extensionem juris regaliæ quam circa declarationem de potestate ecclesiastica actorum ac etiam omnium et singulorum mandatorum, arrestorum, confirmationum, declarationum, epistolarum, edictorum, decretorum quavis auctoritate sive ecclesiastica sive etiam laicali editorum, necnon aliorum quomodolibet præjudicialium prælatorum in regno supradicto quandoque et a quibusvis et ex quacunque causa et quovis modo factorum et gestorum ac inde actorum quorumcunque tenores. 4th Aug. 1690." Cocquel. ix. p. 38.

should be prohibited from acknowledging them\*. There is also another observation we have to make. It was by no means by its own strength the Roman court had maintained its ground, but only in consequence of a great political combination, only by reason of the fact that France had been forced generally to retreat within narrower limits. What then would be the result should this state of things change,—should it come to pass that there was no longer any one to protect the see of Rome against the aggressive party?

#### *The Spanish succession.*

The extinction of the Spanish line of the house of Austria was an event of the greatest importance for the papacy.

On the antagonism in which the Spanish monarchy stood with regard to France, which determined the general character of European politics, rested also in the last result the freedom and independence of the papal see: for a century and a half the principles of the Spaniards had kept the ecclesiastical states at peace. Whatever might be the upshot, it was in any case perilous, that a state of things with which every habit of existence was bound up, should be put in jeopardy.

But it was still more perilous that a dispute prevailed concerning the succession to the crown, threatening to create a general war,—a war which in that case would be chiefly fought out in Italy. The pope himself could hardly avoid the necessity of adopting one party or another, even though he could not flatter himself with the prospect of contributing any thing essential to the triumph of the cause he should espouse.

I find it stated†, that Innocent XII., who was

\* The king's words, in his letter to Innocent XII. Versailles, 14th Sept. 1693, are: "J'ai donné les ordres nécessaires afin que les choses contenues dans mon édit du 22 Mars, 1682, touchant la déclaration faite par le clergé de France (à quoi les conjonctures passées m'avoient obligé) ne soient pas observées." [I have given the necessary orders, to the end that the matters contained in my edict of the 22nd March, 1682, touching the declaration made by the clergy of France, (to which past conjunctures had compelled me,) be not observed.] In a letter of the 7th of July, 1713, made known to us by Artaud, (*Histoire du Pape Pie VII.* 1836, tom. ii. p. 16.) it is said: "On lui (au Pape Clément XI.) a supposé, contre la vérité, que j'ai contrevenu à l'engagement pris par la lettre que j'écrivis à son prédécesseur, car je n'ai obligé personne à soutenir contre sa propre opinion les propositions du clergé de France; mais il n'est pas juste que j'empêche mes sujets de dire et de soutenir leurs sentiments sur une matière qu'il est libre de soutenir de part et d'autre." [It has been insinuated to him, contrary to the truth, that I have contravened the engagement entered into by the letter I wrote to his predecessor, for I have not obliged any one to maintain, contrary to his own opinion, the propositions of the clergy of France; but it is not just that I should hinder my subjects from expressing and maintaining their sentiments on an open question.] We see that even in his latter years, Louis XIV. was not quite so devoted a Romanist as is commonly supposed. He says decidedly, "Je ne puis admettre aucun expédient." [I cannot admit any compromise.]

† Morosini: *Relazione di Roma, 1707.* "Se il papa abbia avuto mano o partecipazione nel testamento di Carlo II., io non ardirò d'asserirlo; nè è facile di penetrare il vero con sicurezza. Bensì addurrò solo due fatti. L'uno che questo arcano, non si sa se con verità, fu esposto in un manifesto uscito alle stampe in Roma ne' primi mesi del mio ingresso all'ambasciata, all'ora che dall'uno e l'altro partito si trat-

now reconciled to France, had counselled Charles II. of Spain to declare the French prince his heir, and that this advice of the holy father had been the chief among the causes that conduced to the drawing up of that will on which so much depended.

At any rate, the Roman see abandoned the anti-French policy which it had pursued almost uninterruptedly since the times of Urban VIII.: it may possibly have regarded it as the more trifling change, and the lesser evil, if the whole monarchy devolved without partition on a prince of a house which then showed itself so pre-eminently catholic. Clement XI., Gianfranc Albani, elected November 16, 1700, publicly lauded the resolution of Louis XIV. to accept the inheritance. He addressed a letter of congratulation to Philip V., and granted him subsidies raised upon ecclesiastical property, just as if no doubt subsisted as to his rights\*. Clement XI. might be looked on as a perfect and genuine representative of the Roman court, which he had never quitted; affability, literary talent, and an irreproachable life, had won him universal popularity†. He had contrived greatly to ingratiate himself with the three last popes, different as they were in character, and to render himself indispensable to them. He won his way upwards by tried, practical, yet never formidable, talents. If, as he once said, he had been able to give good advice as cardinal, but as pope knew not how to serve himself, this may be taken as an indication that he felt himself better qualified to seize and carry out a given impulse, than to conceive an original resolution and to carry it into effect. In taking up, for instance, the jurisdictional question with renewed vigour immediately on his accession, he only followed the bent of public opinion and the interests of the curia. In like manner he was a believer in the fortune and might of the great king. He did not doubt that Louis XIV. would be triumphant in the end. The Venetian ambassador avers, that he could not conceal his joy and satisfaction at the progress made by the French arms in relation to the German and Italian enterprise against Vienna in the year 1703, which promised to be final and decisive.

tava la guerra non meno con l'armi che con le carte. L'altro che il papa non s'astenne di far pubblici elogi al Cristismo. d'essersi ritirato dal partaggio, ricevendo la monarchia italiana per il nepote." [I will not pretend to affirm whether or not the pope had hand or part in the will of Charles II., nor is it easy to arrive with certainty at the truth. I will cite, however, but two facts. The one is, that this secret was published, whether with truth or not is not known, in a manifesto which issued from the Roman press in the first months of my embassy, at the time when war was actually waged between the two parties. The other fact is, that the pope did not abstain from publicly eulogizing the most Christian king, because he had discountenanced the partition of Spain, and accepted the monarchy entire for his nephew.]

\* Buder: *Leben und Thaten Clemens XI.*, tom. i. p. 148.

† Erizzo: *Relazione di Roma, 1702.* "Infatti pareva egli la delizia di Roma, e non eravi ministro regio né nazione che non credesse tutto suo il cardinale Albani. Tanto bene," he adds, "asapeva fingere affetti e variare linguaggio con tutti. [In fact, he appeared the darling of Rome, and there was not a royal minister or nation that was not certain of engrossing all cardinal Albani's good-will. So well did he know how to assume the appearance of sympathy, and to adapt his language to every one.]



But the fortune of war changed at that moment. The king's German and English antagonists, with whom Innocent XI. had connected himself, but from whom Clement XI. had gradually estranged himself, achieved unprecedented victories: the imperial troops, in conjunction with those of Prussia, poured down on Italy; they were not disposed to show forbearance to a pope whose conduct was so ambiguous; the old pretensions of the imperial power, which had not been thought of since the days of Charles V., awoke again.

We will not enter upon all the bitter animosities in which Clement XI. became involved\*. At last the imperialists assigned him a term within which he was to accept their proposals for peace, among which the most important was, the recognition of the Austrian claimant to the Spanish throne. In vain the pope looked round for help. He waited till the appointed day, January 15, 1709, after the lapse of which, should he come to no decision, the imperialists had threatened to overrun his capital and his dominions. It was not till the last hour of that day, eleven o'clock p.m., that he gave his signature. He had formerly congratulated Philip V.: he now found himself compelled to acknowledge his rival, Charles III., as the catholic king†.

This event not only gave a severe blow to the authority of the papal see as umpire, but even despoiled it of its freedom and independence. The French ambassador left Rome, declaring it was no longer the seat of the church‡.

The whole aspect of European affairs was changed. It was, after all, protestant England that had finally decided the destiny of the Spanish and catholic monarchy; what further influence could the pope exercise over the movements of general policy?

By the peace of Utrecht, Sicily and Sardinia,—countries which he regarded as his own fief,—were consigned to new sovereigns without his being so much as consulted§. The convenience of the great powers superseded the infallible decision of the chief pastor of the church.

Nay, a peculiar misfortune befel the papal see in this crisis.

It had always been one of the foremost aims of its policy to possess influence over the Italian states, to assert as far as possible an indirect sovereignty over them.

But now, not only had German Austria, while almost at open war with the pope, made good its footing in Italy, but the duke of Savoy too had attained to royal power, and a great augmentation of his possessions, in defiance of the pope's opposition.

\* For instance, those respecting the troops quartered in Parma and Piacenza, where the clergy were compelled to furnish contributions of war. "Accord avec les députés du duc et de la ville de Plaisance, 14 déc. 1708, art. ix. que pour soulager l'état tous les particuliers, quelque très privilégiés, contribueroient à la susdite somme." This the pope would not submit to. The imperial claims were thereupon re-asserted with increased vehemence. Contredéclaration de l'empereur, in Lamberty, v. 85.

† The conditions, which were at first kept secret, were made known by a letter from the Austrian ambassador to the duke of Marlborough. Lamberty, v. 242.

‡ Lettre du maréchal Tessé au pape, 12 juillet, 1709.

§ For proofs of the ambiguous conduct of the duke of Savoy, see Laflau, Vie de Clément XI. tom. ii. p. 78.

And so it went on in other instances.

In order to appease the dispute between the houses of Bourbon and Austria, the allied powers acceded to the wish of the queen of Spain, that they should grant Parma and Piacenza to one of her sons. For two centuries the feudal suzerainty of the popes over that duchy had never been questioned; the dukes had received it as a fief, and paid tribute: but now that this right assumed a new importance, now that it was foreseen that the male line of the house of Farnese would soon become extinct, it was no longer respected. The emperor assigned the country as a fief to an infant of Spain. Nothing remained for the pope but to put forth protests which no one heeded\*.

The peace between the two houses was, however, but momentary. In the year 1733, the Bourbons revived their pretensions to Naples, which was in the hands of Austria; and the Spanish ambassador offered palfrey and tribute to the pope. Clement XI. would now have been glad to leave matters as they stood; he nominated a commission of cardinals, which decided in favour of the imperial claims. But on this occasion too the fortune of war was contrary to the judgment of the pope: the Spanish arms were victorious. Ere long Clement was forced to grant investiture of Naples and Sicily to that same infant whom he had beheld with such mortification take possession of Parma.

The final result of all these struggles was truly not very different from what the Roman court had originally contemplated; the house of Bourbon spread over Spain and a great part of Italy: but under what widely different circumstances had all this taken place from those anticipated in the first instance!

Sentence in the great strife had been pronounced by England; it was in open contradiction to the papal see that the Bourbons had forced their way into Italy; that separation of the provinces which it was sought to avoid, had taken place, and filled Italy and the states of the church unceasingly with hostile arms. The temporal authority of the papal see was thereby annihilated even in its immediate neighbourhood.

Hence would necessarily ensue a great reaction upon the controversies touching the ecclesiastical rights of Rome, which were so intimately connected with the course of political events.

How severely had Clement XI. already been made to feel this!

More than once his nuncio was sent out of Naples: in Sicily the clergy in the interests of Rome were once seized in a body, and transported to the ecclesiastical states†; an intention was displayed in all the Italian states, of admitting none but natives to ecclesiastical dignities‡; in Spain too the nunciature was closed§, and Clement XI. at

\* "Protestatio nomine sedis apostolicæ emissa in conventu Cameracensi, in Roussset: Supplément au corps diplomat. de Dumont, iii. ii. p. 173.

† Buder, Leben und Thaten Clemens XI. tom. iii. p. 571.

‡ We learn from Lorenzo Tiepolo, Relazione di Roma, 1712, that the imperialists in Naples as well as in Milan, had it in view "che li benefici ecclesiastici siano solamente dati a nazionali, colpo di non picciolo danno alla corte di Roma se si effettuasse."

§ San Felipe, Contributions to the history of Spain, iii. 214.



one time thought it would be necessary to cite Alberoni the prime minister of Spain before the inquisition.

Year after year these differences became more serious. The court of Rome possessed not the force and inward energy requisite to hold together those who owned its faith.

"I cannot deny," says the Venetian ambassador Mocenigo, 1737, "there is something unnatural in seeing all the catholic governments engaged in such violent altercations with the Roman court, that no means of reconciliation can be thought of, but such as would be fatal to the vitality of that court. Whether it proceed, as so many suppose, from the diffusion of more enlightened views, or from the disposition to tyrannize over the weak, certain it is that the sovereigns of Europe are making rapid progress towards stripping the Roman see of all its temporal rights \*."

In those days a man needed but to open his eyes and behold what was passing round him in Rome, to be convinced that everything was in jeopardy unless peace was concluded.

The memory of Benedict X. (Prospero Lambertini, 1740—1758.) is blessed, because he resolved on making the indispensable concessions.

It is well known how little Benedict XIV. suffered himself to be dazzled or made overweening by the imposing greatness of his dignity. He did not forego his good-humoured jocularity or his Bolognese wit because he was pope. He would get up from business, join his courtiers, utter some fancy that had crossed his mind while at work, and then go back to his desk †. His mind was ever fixed on essentials. He cast a bold and comprehensive glance over the relations of the papal see to the European powers, and discerned what it was possible to hold, what necessary to surrender. He was too sound a canonist and likewise too thoroughly a pope to suffer himself to be carried too far in the latter course.

The most extraordinary act of his pontificate, was the concordat which he concluded in the year 1753 with Spain. He brought himself to renounce the right of collation to the smaller benefices in that country, which the curia still retained, though it was now vehemently contested. But was the court to be deprived, without any compensation, of the large sums it had hitherto drawn from that source? Was the papal authority once for all to abandon its influence over individuals? Benedict hit upon the following expedient to escape from these difficulties; fifty-two of the benefices in question were specially reserved for the pope's nomination, "that he might therewith reward those Spanish ecclesiastics who should earn a claim to them by their virtue, purity, learning, or services to the Roman see ‡." The pecuniary value of the loss sustained

by the curia, was computed, and found to amount to 34,300 scudi yearly. The king engaged to pay down a sum of 1,143,330 scudi, the interest of which at three per cent. would be equal to the above amount of loss. Gold, the universal rectifier, proved its conciliatory power even in ecclesiastical affairs.

With most of the other courts too Benedict XIV. concluded treaties containing concessions. The right of patronage already possessed by the king of Portugal was extended, and the title of Most Faithful was conferred upon him, in addition to the other spiritual honours and privileges he had acquired. The Sardinian court, doubly displeased because the concessions it had obtained in auspicious moments had been revoked under the last pontificate, was appeased by the instructions tantamount to concordats of the years 1741 and 1750\*. In Naples, where, under the patronage of the imperial government, and particularly by the exertions of Gaetano Argentò, a school of law had been established, which made it its chief study to contest the jurisdictional rights of the church, and which vehemently combated the pretensions of the pope †, Benedict XIV. permitted the rights of the nunciature to be curtailed in no small degree, and the clergy compelled to contribute their share to the public charges. To the imperial court he conceded that diminution of the number of appointed holidays, which made so great a noise at the time, for whereas the pope had simply granted permission to work on those days, the imperial court did not scruple to employ force and make it compulsory.

Thus the catholic courts became once more reconciled to their ecclesiastical head; once more peace was restored.

But could it be fairly supposed that everything was fully and finally settled? Could it be hoped that the strife between church and state, which seems almost identified with an inward necessity of catholicism, could have been set at rest by such slight compromises? These could give content but for the moment that had called them forth. Already the upheaved deep was giving token of other and far more violent storms.

#### *Altered state of Europe. Internal ferment. Suppression of the order of Jesuits.*

The greatest change had taken place, not only in Italy and the south of Europe, but in the entire condition of the political world.

Where were now the days in which the papacy might entertain the hope, and not without reason, of once more subjecting Europe and the world to its sway?

Among the five great powers, that as early as the eighteenth century determined the policy of Europe, there were three anticatholic. We mentioned the attempts made by the popes in earlier times, to master Russia and Prussia through Poland, and England through France and Spain. Those same three nations were now among the

or per servizi prestati alla S. sede se ne renderanno meritevoli." (Words of the Concordat, quoted in the Report of the English Committee, 1816, p. 317.)

\* Risposta alle notizie dimandate intorno alla giurisdizione ecclesiastica nello stato di S. M<sup>a</sup>. Torino, 5 Marzo, 1816. Ibid. p. 250.

† Giannone: Storia di Napoli, vi. 387.

\* Aluise Mocenigo, IV. Relazione di Roma, 16 April, 1737. (Appendix, No. 162.)

† Relazione di F. Venier di Roma, 1744: "Asceso il papa al trono di S. Pietro, non seppe cambiare l'indole sua. Egli era di temperamento affabile, insieme vivace, o vi restò: spargeva fin da prelo il suoi discorsi con gioiosi sali, ed ancor li conserva: dotato di cuore aperto e sincero trascurò sempre ogn' una di quelle arti che si chiamano romanesche."

‡ "Arcidò non meno S. St<sup>a</sup>. che i suoi successori abbiano il modo di provvedere e premiare quegli ecclesiastici che per probità e per illibatezza de' costumi o per insigne letteratura

great ruling powers of the world, nay, we may fearlessly assert that they had the preponderance over the catholic section of Europe.

It was not simply that one dogmatic system had triumphed over another, that the protestant had put down the catholic theology; the conflict was no longer waged on this field: but the change had been brought about by those internal national evolutions, the main features of which we have already noticed: the anticatholic states displayed a general superiority over the catholic; the monarchical and united spirit of the Russians had triumphed over the discordant and factious aristocracy of Poland; the industry, the practical sense, and the nautical skill of the English, over the indolence of the Spaniards, and the vacillating policy of the French, ever contingent upon the accidental changes in their domestic affairs; the energetic organization and military discipline of Prussia, over the principles of a federative monarchy, such as was then exhibited in Austria.

But though this superiority was in no respect the result of religion, still it could not but react on church affairs.

In the first place because religious parties rose with the rise of states. Russia, for instance, arbitrarily established Greek bishops in the united provinces of Poland\*; the elevation of Prussia gradually revived among the Germans a sense of independence and strength, such as they had long ceased to feel; the more decided became the naval supremacy of protestant England, the more were the catholic missions cast into the shade, and stunted of that efficacy which they had once derived from the force of political influence.

Nor was this all. So late as in the latter half of the seventeenth century, when England was bound to the policy of France, Russia virtually severed from the rest of Europe, and the power of the house of Brandenburg but in its infancy, the catholic powers, France, Spain, Austria, and Poland, divided even as they were, had ruled the European world. The conviction how vastly all this was changed must, I think, have gradually forced its way into the minds of the catholic powers, and obliterated the proud consciousness of a politico-religious vitality, unrestricted by any superior force. The pope was now aware that he no longer stood at the head of the powers that swayed the world.

But lastly, would not the thought arise, whence came this change? Every defeat, every check, will call forth on the part of the vanquished, if they do not despair, an internal revolution, an imitation and a rivalry of the triumphant foe. The strictly monarchical, military, and commercial tendencies of the anti-catholic nations now insinuated themselves into the catholic states. As it is now plain and unquestionable that the inferiority into which they had fallen was connected with their ecclesiastical constitution, the movement of the public mind was first directed to that point.

But here it came in contact with other mighty ferments, which had meanwhile seized on faith and opinion within the pale of catholicism.

The Jansenist controversies, of which we have noticed the commencement, were renewed from the beginning of the eighteenth century with re-

doubled vehemence. They began from the highest places. The confessor of the king of France, who was usually a Jesuit, and the archbishop of Paris, were wont to exercise paramount influence in the supreme spiritual council of the nation. From that assembly la Chaise and Harlai had in strict unanimity directed the measures of the crown against the papacy. Their successors, le Tellier and Nonilles, were not on so good an understanding with each other. Slight diversities of opinion may have been the first occasion of their disunion;—the stricter adherence of the one to the Jesuit or Molinist notions, and the tolerant leaning of the other towards those of the Jansenists;—gradually, however, a total rupture ensued between them, and the rent spread from the king's cabinet throughout the whole body of the nation. The confessor succeeded not only in maintaining himself in power, and gaining over the king, but even in inducing the pope to have recourse to the bull *Unigenitus*, condemning the Jansenist doctrines of sin, grace, justification, and the church, even in their more mitigated form, in some instances verbatim as their partisans professed to find them in St. Augustine, and in far wider extension than in the five propositions before mentioned\*. This was the final decision of the whole controversy agitated by Molina; after such lengthened hesitation, the Roman see at last unambiguously sided with the Jesuits. It thereby succeeded in gaining to its side that powerful order, which thenceforth most vigorously defended the ultramontane doctrines and the pretensions of the papal authority, a thing, which, as we have seen, it had by no means invariably done before. The see of Rome succeeded likewise in maintaining a good understanding with the French government, which had indeed provoked this decision; ere long preform was bestowed exclusively on those who submitted to the bull. But the most serious opposition likewise started up from the other side; on the part of the learned, who adhered to St. Augustine, on that of the orders, who clung to Thomas Aquinas, on that of the parliaments, which beheld in every act of the Roman court a fresh attack upon the Gallican rights. The Jansenists now at length stood forth as earnest champions of those liberties; with more and more boldness they propounded doctrines concerning the church, at variance with those of Rome; nay, they even proceeded to work out their principles under the protection of a protestant government; an archiepiscopal church arose in Utrecht, catholic in its general tenour, but maintaining a complete independence of Rome, and which waged incessant war against the Ultramontane principles of the Jesuits. It would be

\* The *Mémoires secrets sur la bulle Unigenitus*, i. p. 123, pourtray the first impression it produced. "Les uns publioient qu'on y attaquoit de front les premiers principes de la foi et de la morale; les autres qu'on y condamnoit les sentiments et les expressions des saints pères; d'autres qu'on y enlevait à la charité sa prééminence et sa force; d'autres qu'on leur arrachait des mains le pain céleste des écritures;—les nouveaux réunis à l'église disoient trompés," &c. &c. [Some gave it out that the bull contained an open attack on the first principles of faith and morals; others that it condemned the sentiments and expressions of the holy fathers; others that it aimed at divesting charity of its pre-eminence and its force; others that it tore the heavenly bread of the Scriptures from their hands;—the lately reconciled with the church declared themselves deceived, &c. &c.]

\* Rulhière: *Histoire de l'anarchie de Pologne*, i. 181.

well worth while to investigate the development, propagation, and influence of these opinions throughout Europe. In France the Jansenists were harassed, persecuted, and excluded from office; but, as commonly happens, this did not hurt their cause in the main; during the persecutions with which they were visited, a large part of the public declared in their favour. Well would it have been for them had they not by their superstitious extravagance brought discredit even on their sound doctrines. But at any rate their life and doctrine were in close keeping with a pure morality, and a profounder faith, and this everywhere told in their favour. We mark their tracks in Vienna and Brussels, in Spain and Portugal, and throughout all Italy. Their doctrines overspread all Christendom, sometimes openly, oftener in secret.

Undoubtedly this schism in the clergy was one of the causes that prepared the way for the progress of still more dangerous opinions.

It is an ever memorable phenomenon, what an influence the efforts of Louis XIV. in religious matters had upon the French mind, nay, on that of Europe in general. He had strained despotism to the utmost, he had violated divine and human laws, in order to root out protestantism, and annihilate in France even the shadow of dissent; he had made it his whole endeavour to give his kingdom a perfectly orthodox catholic complexion. But no sooner were his eyes closed than his whole system was dashed down. The pent up spirit rushed forth with irrepressible impetuosity.

Disgust at the conduct of Louis XIV. was the immediate parent of opinions at open war with catholicism, nay, with all positive religions whatever. From year to year these opinions gained inward strength and outward diffusion. The kingdoms of Southern Europe were based on the most intimate union of church and state. In those very kingdoms there arose a cast of thought, which developed antipathy to the church and to religion, into a system affecting all notions of God and his world, all political and social principles, all sciences,—a literature of opposition, which took captive the minds of men, and bound them in indissoluble bonds.

It is manifest how little accordance there was between these tendencies: the reforming principle was in its nature monarchical, which cannot be said of the philosophical, which very soon set itself no less against the state than against the church; the Jansenist principle clung to convictions that were indifferent if not hateful to both the others: yet, after all, they all three co-operated to one end. They promoted that spirit of innovation, which spreads the more contagiously the less it has a definite aim, and the more it lays claim to the whole future, and which daily imbibes fresh strength from the abuses in the existing order of things. This spirit now invaded the catholic church. It generally originated, consciously or unconsciously, from what has been called the philosophy of the eighteenth century; the Jansenist theories gave it an ecclesiastical form and bearing; its activity was prompted by the wants of states, and by the events of the moment. In every country and at every court two parties arose, of which the one waged war on the curia and the established constitution and doctrine, the other strove to uphold things as they were and to maintain the prerogatives of the universal church.

The latter was particularly represented by the Jesuits, whose order appeared as the main bulwark of the ultramontane principles: upon it therefore was the violence of the storm first directed.

#### *Suppression of the order of Jesuits.*

The Jesuits were still very powerful in the eighteenth century, chiefly, as in former times, because they were confessors of the great and of princes, and the education of youth was under their guidance; their enterprizes, whether pertaining to religion, though these were not plied with the same energy as of old, or to commerce, still embraced the whole world. They now adhered unswervingly to the doctrines of ecclesiastical orthodoxy and subordination; whatever was at variance with these, whether actual unbelief, Jansenist notions, or reforming tendencies, all alike fell with them under the same condemnation.

The first attack made on them was in the domain of thought and literature. It cannot be denied that they opposed to the multitude and vigour of their assailants rather a stubborn tenacity to doctrines once adopted, indirect influence over the great and anathematizing zeal, than the genuine weapons of intellectual warfare. It is almost incomprehensible that neither they themselves nor any of their colleagues in faith, produced a single original and effective book in defence of their cause, whilst the works of their antagonists inundated the world, and fixed the character of public opinion.

But after they had been once defeated in the field of doctrine, of science, and of intellect, it was impossible for them long to maintain their hold of power.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, during the struggle of these two tendencies, reforming ministers came to the helm in almost all the catholic states; in France, Choiseul\*, in Spain Wall and Squillace, in Naples Tanucci, in Portugal Carvalho; all of them men who had made it the great aim of their lives to bring down the ascendancy of the church and its principles. In them the ecclesiastical opposition obtained representatives and power; their personal position was founded upon it; open warfare was the more unavoidable, since the Jesuits obstructed them by personal counteraction, and by their influence in the highest circles.

The first thought did not go the length of contemplating the extinction of the order; it was intended at first only to exclude them from courts, and to strip them of their credit, and if possible of their wealth. It was thought that the aid even of the Roman court could be obtained to that end. Even there the schism that rent the catholic world had in a measure presented itself; there was a more rigid and a milder party; Benedict XIV., who

\* In the appendix to the *Mémoires* of *Mad. du Hausset*, there is a treatise, *De la destruction des Jésuites en France*, in which Choiseul's dislike to the Jesuits is traced to the circumstance, that the general of the order had once given him to understand in Rome, that he was acquainted with what had been spoken at a supper in Paris. But this is a tale that has been repeated in numerous forms, and which can scarcely be thought of much weight. The causes lay somewhat deeper.

represented the latter, had long been dissatisfied with the Jesuits: he had often loudly condemned their conduct in the missions\*.

After Carvalho, amidst all the turbulence of faction in the Portuguese court, and in defiance of the Jesuits, who sought his downfall, had finally proved lord and master of the powers of state, and even of the royal will, he urged the pope to a reform of the order†. He put forward, as might be expected, that point in their case which was most obnoxious to censure, namely, the mercantile spirit of the society, by which, moreover, he was greatly inconvenienced in his commercial projects. The pope did not hesitate to entertain the proposal. At Carvalho's suggestion he entrusted a friend of that minister's—cardinal Saldanha, a Portuguese—with the visitation of the order. A decree was soon issued by that visitor, strongly reprobating the traffic of the Jesuits, and empowering the royal officers to confiscate all commercial effects belonging to those ecclesiastics.

A similar attack had also been by this time made on the society in France. The bankruptcy of a commercial house in Martinique connected with father Lavalette, which brought in its train a great number of other failures, occasioned the sufferers to appeal to the tribunals, which took the matter up very warmly‡.

Had Benedict XIV. lived longer, it is very probable that he would not have gone so far as to abolish the order, but that he would have gradually subjected it to a thorough and radical reform.

But Benedict died just at this crisis. A man of opposite disposition, Clement XIII., came forth from the conclave, as pope, July 6, 1758.

Clement was pure in soul and in purpose; he prayed much and fervently; his highest ambition was to obtain canonization. At the same time he cherished the belief, that all the pretensions of the papacy were sacred and inviolable; he complained bitterly that some of them had been allowed to drop; he was resolved to make no concessions;—nay, he was fully possessed with the conviction, that, by steadfast pertinacity, everything might yet be retrieved, and the tarnished lustre of Rome once more restored§. He beheld in the Jesuits the most faithful champions of the papal see and of religion; he approved of them as they were, and thought they needed no reform. In all this he was confirmed by those about him, who shared in his devotions.

But as matters now stood, his determination could have no other effect than that of exasperating the rancour of the assailants, and exposing the Roman see to share their attacks in common with the Jesuits.

In Portugal the Jesuits were implicated, whether justly or not there is no clearly ascertaining, in the judicial proceedings arising out of an attempt on

the king's life\*. Blow followed blow; and at last they were banished with merciless violence, and actually transported to the coasts of the Ecclesiastical States.

Meanwhile, in France, the abovementioned trial had placed them within the gripe of the parliaments, by which they had all along been detected. Their business was debated with great noise and ostentation; and at last the entire body of the society was condemned to make good Lavalette's engagements. Nor was this all. The unlimited authority of the general of the order, which was incompatible with the laws of the realm, was objected anew to the Jesuits as a crime, and was made a ground for questioning the legality of their existence in general.

Louis XV. would fain have saved the order. It was with no view to its destruction, but to protect it as far as possible, and only because he was forced to it by the public voice, the sentences of the tribunals, and the majority of his council, that he proposed to the general to nominate a vicar in France†.

Had there been a man like Aquaviva at the head of the order, undoubtedly some expedient, some conciliatory course, would have been devised even at this moment. But the society had now the most inflexible of men for its chief, Lorenzo Ricci, who felt nothing but the injustice that befel it. He replied, that so essential an alteration of the constitution was not within his power. Application was made to the pope; Clement XIII. made answer, that this constitution had been too fully sanctioned by the holy council of Trent, and by so many decrees of his predecessors, to allow of his changing it‡. They rejected every modification. Ricci's whole mind was expressed in the words,—“Sint ut sunt, aut non sint.”

The result was, that they ceased to be. On the 6th of August, 1762, the parliament of Paris pronounced the suppression of the Jesuits in France. It is true the pope in consistory declared this decree null and void§; but matters were already

\* In the sentence pronounced on the 12th of January, 1759, the chief stress was laid on certain “legal presumptions” against “the corrupt members of the society of Jesus.” The principal of these are, their ambition to get possession of the reins of government, (§ 25.) their arrogance before the treasonable act, their downcast bearing after its failure (§ 26); lastly, and certainly a far graver charge, their close connection with the chief culprit, Mascarenhas, with whom they had formerly quarrelled. Father Costa was alleged to have said, that in committing regicide, “a man would not be guilty even of a venial sin.” (§ 4.) But, on the other hand, it has been remarked, that the confessions on which these charges were founded, had been extorted by the rack, and that the documents belonging to the trial are, on the whole, full of marks of precipitation and of informalities. The sentence can certainly never be justified in a judicial point of view. Compare Von Olfers, on the attempt to assassinate the king of Portugal, Sept. 3, 1758. Berlin, 1789.

† Letter from Praslen, 16 Jan. 1762, in *Flaassen: Histoire de la diplomatie française*. vi. 498. The whole statement is very instructive.

‡ Narrative of the Jesuits in Wolf, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, iii. 365. This book is only useful as regards the suppression of the order.

§ “Potestatem ipsam Jesu Christi in terris vicario ejus unice tributam sibi temere arrogantes totius societatis compagem in Gallico regno dissolvant,” &c. Dauncou gives this document.

\* When he was as yet only bishop Lambertini. *Mémoires du père Norbert*, ii. 20.

† A Jesuit view of this strife of factions is very vividly given in a history of the Jesuits in Portugal, translated by Murr from an Italian manuscript.

‡ *Vie privée de Louis XV.* iv. p. 88.

§ Collection of the most remarkable works relating to the suppression of the Jesuits, 1773, i. p. 211. How strongly public opinion was against it, may be seen in Winkelmann's letters.

gone so far, that he did not venture to publish the allocation in which his sentence was delivered.

The movement now spread irresistibly through the countries under the Bourbon sway. Charles III. of Spain was persuaded that it was a scheme of the Jesuits to raise his brother Don Luis to the throne in his stead\*. Upon this he took all necessary measures with that determined taciturnity which distinguished his whole character, and had the houses of the Jesuits throughout Spain all closed on the same day. The example was followed without delay in Naples and Parma.

All in vain did the pope admonish, beseech, and conjure. At last he made one more experiment. When the duke of Parma went the length of prohibiting all recourse to the Roman tribunals, and all bestowal of the benefices in the duchy on others than natives, the pope nerved himself to issue a monitorium, pronouncing the censure of the church upon his feudatory, the duke†; thus once more venturing on retaliation. But the worst consequences ensued: the duke replied in a manner the mightiest sovereigns in former centuries would not have dared to attempt, and all the Bourbons made common cause with him. Avignon, Benevento, and Pontecorvo were seized by them.

The hostility of the Bourbon courts, thus roused, did not end here: from persecuting the Jesuits, they proceeded directly to attack the papal see.

To whom could the pope turn? All the Italian states, Genoa, Modena, and Venice, took part against him. He cast his eyes once more on Austria, and wrote to the empress, Maria Theresa, that she was his only consolation on earth; he besought her that she would not suffer his old age to be the victim of violence.

The empress returned him the answer that had once been given by Urban VIII. to the emperor Ferdinand, that the affair was one of state policy, not of religion, and that she should do amiss to interfere in it.

The spirit of Clement XIII. was broken. In the beginning of the year 1769, the ambassadors of the Bourbon courts came forward one after the other, —first the Neapolitan, then the Spanish, and lastly the French,—with demands for the irrevocable suppression of the whole order‡. On the 3rd of Feb. the pope called a consistory, in which he seemed disposed at least to take the matter into consideration. But he was not destined to undergo such deep humiliation, being seized on the evening before the meeting with convulsions, which carried him off.

\* Letter from the French ambassador quoted in Lebre's History of the bull *In Cœna Domini*, iv. 205, from the Italian work *Delle cagioni dell' espulsione de' Gesuiti*. A *Relatione al conte di Ferinan*, 1767, 7 Apr. (MS. in the Brera) affirms that the Jesuits had some presentiment of their fate. "Non fu senza forte motivo che poco prima di detta espulsione dimandarono al re la confirmo de' loro privilegi e del loro istituto, il che solamente in oggi si è saputo." [It was not without strong motives, that shortly before the said expulsion, they petitioned the king for a confirmation of their privileges and of their institution, a fact which did not come out till the present times.] They had concealed their money and their papers. Charles III. however considered the advantage gained by the crown so great, that after the success of the measure, he cried out, that he had conquered a new world.

† Botta: *Storia d' Italia*, tom. xiv. p. 147.

‡ Continuazione degli annali d' Italia di Muratori, xiv. 1, p. 197.

The attitude assumed by the courts was too threatening, their influence too mighty, to fail of carrying all before them in the conclave that ensued, and conferring the triple crown on such a man as they needed.

Of all the cardinals, Lorenzo Ganganelli was, without doubt, the mildest and most moderate. In his youth one of his teachers said of him, it was no wonder if he loved music, since everything in his own nature was harmony\*. He grew up in the same temper, in innocent intercourse with his familiars, retirement from the world, and solitary study that led him deeper and deeper into the mysteries of true theology. In like manner as he turned from Aristotle to Plato, who better satisfied his soul, so did he quit the schoolmen for the fathers of the church, and these for the holy scriptures, which he embraced with the fervour of a soul convinced of the revelation of the Word, and from which he imbibed that calm and pure enthusiasm which sees God in all things, and devotes itself to the service of its neighbour. His religion was not zeal, persecution, lust of sway, polemical violence, but peace, lowliness, and inward understanding. From his heart he abhorred the incessant wrangling of the papal see with the catholic governments, which shook the foundations of the church. His moderation was not weakness, nor the offspring of necessity, but spontaneous and cordial.

Out of the bosom of religion arose a tone of thought, which however different in its origin from the worldly tendencies of courts, yet in other respects coalesced with them.

Ganganelli's election was effected chiefly by the Bourbons, and more immediately upon the proposal of the Spanish and French cardinals. He took the name of Clement XIV.

The Roman curia, as already mentioned, was broken like the other courts into two parties; the Zelanti, who strove to uphold all ancient privileges, and the party of the crowned heads, the Regalisti, who thought the welfare of the church best promoted by a wise spirit of concession: this party now rose to power in the person of Ganganelli, and the same change took place in Rome which had already occurred in all the sovereign courts.

Ganganelli began with prohibiting the reading of the bull, *In Cœna Domini*; he also enlarged the concessions which Benedict XIV. had made to the

\* Aneddoti riguardanti la famiglia e l'opere di Clemente XIV. in the *Lettere ed altre Opere di Ganganelli*; Firenze, 1829. As regards these works and letters themselves, they may possibly be interpolated; but, in the main, I believe them to be genuine: 1st, because the defence of them in *Ringraziamento dell' editore all' autor dell' Anno Letterario*, is on the whole natural and satisfactory, though an unjustifiable use had been made of them before their publication; 2ndly, because trustworthy persons, e.g. cardinal Bernis, aver that they had seen the originals; the real collector was the Florentine man of letters, Lauri; according to a letter of the Abbé Bellegarde in *Potter's Vie de Ricci*, i. p. 328, those who possessed the originals and granted the copies confirmed their authenticity: 3rdly, because they bear the stamp of originality, of a peculiar turn of thought, unvarying under all circumstances of life, such as no falsifier could have invented. There is individual life in them. Least of all can these letters have been the production of Caracciolo. One needs but read his *Vie de Clement XIV.* to be assured how far are all his remarks below the level of those of Clement XIV. All that is good in this work is but a reflection of Ganganelli's spirit.

king of Sardinia, and which his successors had refused to recognize : on the very day of his accession he declared that he would send a nuncio to Portugal ; he suspended the monitorium against Parma ; and then he applied himself most earnestly to the affair of the Jesuits. A commission of cardinals was appointed, the archives of the propaganda searched through, and the arguments on either side deliberately weighed. Clement XIV. was unfavourably predisposed with regard to the order. He belonged to that of the Franciscans, which had always been at war with the Jesuits, particularly in the missions : he was an adherent of the Augustinian and Thomist theology, so utterly at variance with that of the society ; nor was he altogether free from Jansenist notions. Then there were the numerous charges against the Jesuits, which could not be argued away, and, above all, the impossibility of restoring peace to the church in any other way. His sentence was pronounced on the 21st of July, 1773. " Inspired by the Divine Spirit, as we trust, urged by the duty of restoring concord to the church, convinced that the society of Jesus can no longer effect those purposes for which it was founded, and moved by other motives of prudence and wise government which we keep locked in our own breast, we abolish and annul the society of Jesus, its offices, houses, and institutions \*."

This was a step of immense importance.

In the first place, as regarded the relation of the catholic church to the protestants. It was to combat the latter that the society had been originally founded and constituted in all its parts (its theology even was principally shaped in opposition to that of Calvin), and this was the character which the Jesuits had renewed and confirmed for themselves at the close of the seventeenth century, during the persecutions of the Huguenots. But this conflict was now at an end ; the most sedulous self-delusion could no longer flatter itself with the hope of any essential advantages to be gained in that way : the anti-catholic states possessed an unquestionable superiority in the great political relations of Europe, and the catholic states sought rather to approximate to them than to draw them over to their own side. In this, it strikes me, lay the principal and the deepest cause of the suppression of the order. It was an institution of war, and was no longer suitable to a time of peace. Since it now refused to yield a hair's breadth, and doggedly rejected every reform, much as it needed it on other grounds besides, it in fact pronounced its own doom. It is a momentous fact that the papal see had no power to sustain an order that was established expressly to wage war on protestantism, that a pope abandoned it, and that too of his own free impulse.

This event had the most immediate effect on the catholic countries. The Jesuits were assailed and overthrown chiefly in consequence of their defending the supremacy of the Roman see in its strictest acceptation ; but when Rome now abandoned the order, it gave up at the same time the strict idea of supremacy and its consequences. The efforts of the opposition were signally victorious. The destruction at one blow, without the least warning, of the society which made the instruction of youth

its special business, and which was still engaged in it to so great an extent, could not but occasion a convulsion of the catholic world to its very basis, even to where new generations are formed \*. The outworks being carried, a still more vigorous assault by the victorious party would necessarily follow. The agitation increased from day to day, desertion from the church spread more and more ; what was to be looked for now that the commotion affected even Austria, the very realm whose existence and might were most intimately connected with the results of the catholic efforts in the epoch of the church's restoration ?

### Joseph II.

It was the actuating principle of Joseph II. to combine without control in his own hands all the powers of the monarchy ; how then should he have sanctioned the interference of Rome, or the connexion between his subjects and the pope ? Whether he was more surrounded by Jansenists or by infidels † (undoubtedly they here too, as in the attack on the Jesuits, made common cause), he waged an incessant and exterminating war on all surviving institutions calculated to maintain the external unity of the church. Out of more than two thousand convents he left only about seven hundred in existence : of the congregations of nuns, those only of more immediate utility found favour in his sight ; and even those which he spared he severed from their connexion with Rome. He regarded the papal dispensations in the light of foreign goods, and would not suffer money to go out of the country in exchange for them ; and he publicly declared himself the administrator of the temporalities of the church.

Pius VI., the successor of Ganganelli, was soon impelled to look to the impression he hoped to make on the emperor, in a personal interview, as to the only means of restraining him from the most extreme steps, perhaps even in regard to doctrine. Pius went to Vienna, and it cannot be denied that his gentleness and his noble and gracious presence had some influence. Joseph, notwithstanding, pursued his course in the main without wavering. The monastery in which he had solemnly taken leave of the pope, immediately after the holy father's departure received notice of suppression. Pius VI. was obliged in the end to make up his mind to surrendering to the emperor the nomination to the episcopal sees even of Italy. Thus did the anti-papal efforts force their way into Italy from Austria likewise. Leopold, who, as far as we judge, was himself tinctured with Jansenism, reformed the churches of Tuscany, without any reference to the see of Rome : at no great distance from the capital of Christendom, the synod of Pistoja published in its decrees a complete manifesto of the union of Gallican and Jansenist principles. Naples, which was also closely allied with this party, through Queen Caroline, obliterated the last traces of feudal connexion with the see of Rome.

\* Montbarey : *Mémoires*, l. p. 225.

† To this may be attributed what was believed by Van Swieten. But that there existed in Vienna very prominent Jansenist tendencies is evidenced by the life of Fessler: *Rückblicke auf seine Siebzigjährige Pilgerschaft*, p. 74, 78, and other passages. Compare Schläzer's *Staatsanzeigen*, ix. 33, p. 113.

\* *Continuazione degli annali*, tom. xiv. P. ii., p. 107.



The German church, too, was indirectly acted on by the proceedings of the emperor. The spiritual electors, after so long a period of harmony with Rome, began at last to oppose it. They were actuated by twofold motives of interest;—as sovereigns who desired to put an end to the drain of money from their dominions, and as spiritual dignitaries anxious to renovate their own authority\*. According to their declaration of Ems, "written," says a Roman prelate, "with a pen dipped in the gall of Paolo Sarpi," the Roman primate was for the future to content himself with the rights he had enjoyed in the first centuries of Christianity†. The labours of the German canonists had admirably prepared the way for these proceedings; and besides these there were other jurists who waged war on the whole constitution of the catholic church in Germany, the political power and the civil administration of its hierarchy‡. A lively spirit of innovation had seized both the learned and the laity. The lower clergy and the bishops, the bishops and the archbishops, the latter and the pope, were all at mutual variance. Every thing there, as elsewhere, foreboded change.

#### *The French Revolution.*

But before the first steps to it were taken, before Joseph had carried out his reforms, the most tremendous explosion burst forth from the deeply fermenting elements of society in France.

It is obvious that the disputes of the clergy among themselves, the collision of two hostile parties on all occasions of religion, the incapacity of the dominant party to hold its ground in the domain of thought and literature, and the general aversion it not undeservedly brought down on itself, contributed immensely towards evolving that event which shaped the destinies of modern times, namely, the French revolution. The spirit of opposition that had arisen out of the discordant bosom of catholicism had become more and more consolidated. Step by step it won its way forward; and in the tempestuous times of 1789 it obtained possession of power,—a power that deemed itself summoned utterly to destroy the old world, and to create a new: in the universal ruin that consequently befel the most Christian realm, one of the most violent blows was necessarily dealt to the ecclesiastical constitution.

Every thing concurred; financial embarrassment, the interest of individuals and of municipalities, indifference or hatred towards the established religion: at last a member even of the higher clergy proposed to recognize in the nation, that is, in the temporal authority, and more immediately in the national assembly, the right of disposing of church property. Till then that property had been regarded as belonging not solely to the French, but likewise to the universal church, and the pope's consent had been held necessary to every alienation

thereof. But how remote were the times, how obsolete the ideas, from which had originated notions of this kind. After a short debate, the assembly asserted its own right to dispose of church property, that is, to alienate it, and that with more unconditional authority than had been contemplated in the first proposal. The confiscation of ecclesiastical estates, which was not a moment delayed, rendering the longer subsistence of existing arrangements impossible, it was necessary to proceed forthwith to a new one, such as that effected in the civil constitution of the clergy. The principles of the revolutionized state were applied to ecclesiastical things\*: popular election supplanted the system of nomination appointed by concordat, and salaries the independence conferred by the possession of real estates; all dioceses were changed, the orders were suppressed, vows were repealed, the connexion with Rome severed. The attempt of a Carthusian to vindicate the sole supremacy of the catholic religion, had the effect only of hastening these resolutions against it. The whole body of the clergy was constrained to pledge itself to the new system by solemn oaths.

It cannot be denied that this course of things was effected with the co-operation of the French Jansenists, and with the consent and approbation of those of other countries. They saw with pleasure that the might of Babel, as in their hatred they called the Roman curia, was dealt so severe a blow, and that the clergy from which they had endured so many persecutions was overthrown. Even their theoretical principles tended to the same end, for they held that "by wresting their wealth from the clergy, you compel them to become really deserving†."

The Roman court flattered itself for a moment with the hope of seeing these movements checked by a reaction from within, with which the pope took every means of co-operating. He rejected the new constitution, censured the bishops who had sworn to it, and endeavoured by exhortation and praise to confirm the still numerous party that opposed it; at last, he went the length of excommunicating the most influential and distinguished members of the constitutional clergy.

But all was in vain; the revolutionary tendencies prevailed; the civil war, which was chiefly kindled by religious motives, turned out to the advantage of the innovators. Fortunate had it been for the pope if matters had rested there; if France had torn nothing from him besides herself.

But meanwhile that general war had broken out which was fated to transform so thoroughly the whole aspect of affairs in Europe.

With that resistless fury, compounded of enthusiasm, rapacity, and terror, which had been engendered in intestine strife, the revolutionary power poured like a torrent beyond the limits of France.

It transformed after its own model every country it touched; Belgium, Holland, and Rhenish

\* Compare the Coblenz article for the year 1769 in the Journal Deutsche Blätter für Protestanten und Katholiken. Heidelberg, 1839, part I. p. 39.

† Bartolommeo Pacca: Memorie storiche sul di lui soggiorno in Germania, p. 33.

‡ E. g. Friedrich Carl von Moser, Ueber die Regierung der geistlichen Staaten in Deutschland, 1787. His grand proposition (p. 161) is, that "the characters of prince and bishop shall be again separated from each other."

\* Quite systematically, according to the doctrine of the old historians of the church. "Tota ecclesiarum distributio ad formam imperii facta est." Camus: Opinion sur le projet de constitution du clergé, 31 Mai, 1790.

† Letters of Gianni, and some other abbés in Potter, Vie de Ricci, il. p. 315. Wolf: Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche unter Pius VI. has at book vii. p. 32, a chapter on the part taken by the Jansenists in forming the new constitution: it is however very weakly executed.



Germany; which latter was the chief seat of the ecclesiastical constitution: the campaign of 1796 made it master of Italy: revolutionary states rose in every direction, and ere long the pope was threatened in his own dominions, and in his very capital.

He had, without any really active participation, ranged himself on the side of the coalition, armed only with his spiritual weapons. But it was in vain he pleaded this his neutrality\*. His territories were overrun, his subjects stimulated to insurrection: impracticable contributions and concessions were demanded of him, such as had never been exacted of any of his predecessors†. Nor was this all. The pope was not an enemy like any other. During the war he had even taken courage to repudiate the Jansenist and Gallican doctrines of Pistoja by the bull, "Auctorem fidei." The unyielding attitude he had assumed, and his condemnatory briefs, had still a great effect on the internal economy of France: the French now demanded the repeal of these, and the recognition of the civil constitution, as the price of peace.

But Pius VI. was not to be moved to this. Such compliance would have seemed to him an abandonment of the very ground of faith, and treason to his office‡. He replied to the proposals, that "having invoked God's aid, and inspired as he believed by the Divine Spirit, he refused to accede to those proposals."

For a moment the revolutionary authorities seemed to acquiesce—an accommodation was devised without those conditions—but it was only for a moment. From the intention of severing themselves from the pope, they had already advanced to the thought of entirely crushing him. The directory found the government of priests in Italy incompatible with its own. On the very first occasion afforded by a chance commotion among the populace, Rome was invaded, and the Vatican invested. Pius VI. besought his enemies to let him, an old man of eighty, die as he had lived on that spot. He was answered that he might as well die in one place as another. His apartments were plundered before his eyes; he was deprived of even the most trifling necessities; the ring he wore was pulled from his finger: at last he was carried to France, where he died Aug. 1799.

It might well seem, indeed, as though there was an end for ever to the papal power. Those hostile tendencies with regard to the church, the rise and progress of which we have marked, had now reached a pitch that encouraged such an anticipation.

#### *The times of Napoleon.*

But events occurred that prevented this consummation.

The chief result of the hostility experienced by

\* Authentische Geschichte des französischen Revolutionskrieges in Italien, 1797. The pope had declared that religion forbade a resistance which might occasion the shedding of blood.

† In the Mémoires Historiques et Philosophiques sur Pie VI. et son pontificat, tom. ii. the loss endured by the Roman state is calculated at 220,000 livres.

‡ Memoria diretta al principe della pace in Tavanto: Fasti di Pio VI. tom. iii. p. 335. "S. Santità rimase stordita, veggendo che si cercava di traviare la sua coscienza per dare un colpo il più funesto alla religione."

the papacy at the hands of the revolutionary power was, that the rest of the European states, whatever might otherwise be their disposition towards the papal see, now became its protectors. The death of Pius VI. occurred exactly at a period when the coalition was again victorious. This made it possible for the cardinals to assemble in San Giorgio at Venice, and proceed to the election of a pope, Pius VII. (March 13, 1800.)

It is true that, shortly afterwards, the revolutionary arms were again triumphant, and achieved the decided superiority in Italy; but that power had at this moment itself undergone a vast change. After passing through so many metamorphoses, engendered by the pressing contingencies of that stormy period, it began to lean towards monarchy. A despot arose, who was filled with the idea of a new universal empire, and who (the point of most importance for our present consideration), beholding the universal chaos around him, and taught by his experience of the East, felt assured that his project needed, besides many other forms of the old states, in the very first place, unity of religion and hierarchical subordination.

Upon the very battle field of Marengo, Napoleon deputed the bishop of Vercelli to enter on negotiations with the pope for the re-establishment of the catholic church.

This was a proposal which, though extremely enticing, was yet attended with much danger. The re-establishment of the catholic church in France, and of its connection with the pope, was only to be effected at the cost of extraordinary concessions.

Pius VII. made up his mind to these. He recognized at once the secularization of church property,—a loss of four hundred millions of francs in real estates; his motives being, as he expressed himself, that fresh troubles would break out were he to refuse; that, rather than this should occur, he was disposed to go the utmost lengths allowable by religion. He consented to a new organization of the French clergy, which was now salaried and nominated by the government; and he was well pleased that the right of canonical institution should be restored to him in the same extent as enjoyed by former popes, and without limit to the right of the veto\*.

That which no one but a little before could have expected, now actually took place,—the restoration of catholicism in France, and the renewed subjection of that country to the spiritual authority. The pope was delighted "that the churches were purified from profanations, the altars reared again, the banner of the cross unfurled anew, lawful pastors set over the people, and so many souls that had wandered from the right way brought back to unity, and reconciled to themselves and to God." "How many motives," he cried, "for joy and thankfulness!"

But was it indeed to be supposed, that with the conclusion of the concordat of 1801 was effected an intimate union between the ancient ecclesiastical authority and the revolutionary state?

Concessions were mutually made; but, in spite of them, each party remained firm to its principles.

\* Lettera apostolica in forma di breve, in Pistolesi: Vita di Pio VII. tom. i. p. 143, with a thorough collation of the variations in the several publications of the document in France.

The restorer of the catholic religion in France immediately afterwards became the chief agent in the final overthrow of the stately edifice of the German church, and the transfer of its possessions and its sovereign powers to temporal princes, whether to protestant or catholic, indifferently. Huge was the amazement of the court of Rome. "Heresy, according to the old decretals, entailed loss of property, but now the church must endure to see its own possessions parted out among heretics\*."

Meanwhile a concordat was likewise projected for Italy upon the model of that obtained by France; and there too the pope was forced to assent to the sale of church property, and to abandon the nomination to benefices to the temporal authority. Nay, so many new partial clauses and restrictions were annexed to this concordat, that Pius VII., under these circumstances, refused to publish it†.

But it was in France itself that Napoleon most vigorously asserted the rights of the state in opposition to those of the church: he regarded the declaration of 1682 as a fundamental law of the realm, and caused it to be expounded in the schools; he would suffer no religious vows, and no monks; the regulations respecting marriage which were laid down in his Code Civile were at variance with the catholic principles of the sacramental nature of the institution; the organic articles which he added from the very first to the concordat, were utterly anti-Roman.

When the pope, notwithstanding all this, resolved, at the emperor's request, to cross the Alps and give his coronation the religious sanction of the holy oil, his motive was, that he flattered himself, whatever countenance the aspect of France gave to such a hope, that he should be able "to accomplish something for the advantage of the catholic church, and to complete the work begun‡." In entertaining these hopes, he relied on the effect of personal intercourse. He took with him the letter of Louis XIV. to Innocent XII., to convince Napoleon that even Louis had suffered the declaration of 1682 to fall to the ground. In the first remonstrance, written in Italian, which he delivered in Paris, he formally combated that same declaration, and he endeavoured to free the new concordat from the restrictions of the organic articles§. Nay, his purposes and his expectations went still further. He set forth, in a circumstantial memorial, the wants of the pontificate, with all the losses it had sustained within the last fifty years, and urged the emperor to follow the example of Charlemagne, and restore the provinces which had been occupied||. At so high a rate did he

estimate the services he had rendered the revolutionary monarchy.

But how grievously did he find himself deceived. In the very ceremony of the coronation an expression of melancholy was observed to overspread his countenance.

Of all he desired and intended, neither then nor subsequently did he obtain the smallest portion. On the contrary, this was the very moment in which the emperor's designs became first disclosed in their full extent.

The constituent assembly had sought to detach itself from the pope, the directory had desired his destruction. Bonaparte's plan was to sustain him, but at the same time to hold him in subjection, and to make him the tool of his own omnipotence.

He caused proposals, if we are rightly informed, to be made at that very time to the pope, that he should remain in France, and reside in Avignon or in Paris.

The pope is said to have answered, that he had executed in due form his act of abdication, and deposited it at Palermo, beyond the reach of the French decrees, provisionally, against the contingency of his being imprisoned.

Nowhere at that moment could the pope have found protection but under the sway of the British navy.

The pope was indeed suffered to return to Rome, and left in the same independence as he had previously enjoyed; but from that hour he became involved in the most vexatious perplexities.

Napoleon very soon declared, without further circumlocution, that, like his predecessors of the second and third dynasty, he was the oldest son of the church, who bore the sword for its protection, and could not suffer that it should be in communion with heretics and schismatics, like the Russians and the English. He was particularly fond of regarding himself as the successor of Charlemagne, though the moral he drew from that belief was very different from that contemplated by the court of Rome. He assumed that the Ecclesiastical States were donations from Charlemagne to the pope; and that such a gift entailed the duty of not departing from the policy of the empire; nor, indeed, would he permit the pope so to do\*.

The pope was astonished at the suggestion, that he was to regard the enemies of another as his own. He replied that he was the common pastor, the father of all, the servant of peace; that the mere request filled him with horror: "it became my coronation. In this act I recognize a holy prelate; but he wished me to cede him the legations.]"

\* Schoell's Archives historiques et politiques, (Paris, 1819), contain in the second and third volumes, a Précis des contestations qui ont eu lieu entre le Saint Siège et Napoléon Buonaparte, accompagnée d'un grand nombre de pièces officielles. The correspondence, which is here given in its full extent, reaches from the 13th of November, 1805, to the 17th of May, 1808. Nevertheless, in Bignon, Histoire de France depuis la paix de Tilsit, 1838, i. ch. 3, p. 125, we meet with the following passage: "Les publications faites depuis 1815 ne se composent guère que de pièces dont la date commence en 1808." And again: "Jusqu'à présent son caractère (de Pie VII.) n'est pas suffisamment connu. On ne le connaît bien qu'en l'appréciant d'après ses actes." In fact, however, these acts had been already published. Bignon has added but little to the documents given by Schoell.

\* Instruction to a nuncio at Vienna, unfortunately without date, but apparently of the year 1803, in Daunou: Essai ii. p. 318.

† Coppi: Annali d'Italia, tom. iii. p. 120.

‡ Allocutio habita in consistorio, 29 Oct. 1804, in Italian: Pistolesi, Vita di Pio VII. tom. I. p. 193.

§ Extrait du Rapport de Mr. Portales, in Artaud, Pie VII. t. ii. p. 11.

|| Printed in Artaud, p. 31. Compare Napoleon's letter of July 22, 1807. "Le pape s'est donné la peine de venir à mon couronnement. J'ai reconnu dans cette démarche un saint prélat; mais il voulait que je lui cédasse les légations." Bignon, Histoire de France sous Napoléon: Deuxième époque, i. p. 158. [The pope took the trouble to come to

him to be an Aaron, the prophet of God,—not an Ishmael, whose hand was against every man, and every man's hand against him."

But Napoleon went straightforward to his mark. He caused Ancona and Urbino to be occupied, and after the rejection of his ultimatum, wherein, among other things, he claimed the right of nominating a third of the cardinals, he marched his troops upon Rome. The cardinals who were not obsequious to him were dismissed, the pope's secretary of state twice. But when all this failed to have any effect on Pius VII., even his person was not spared; he too was carried away from his palace and his capital. A *senatus consultum* was then passed, declaring the incorporation of the ecclesiastical states with the French empire. The temporal sovereignty was declared incompatible with the exercise of spiritual privileges; the pope was for the future formally to pledge himself to the four principles of the Gallican church; he was to draw his income from real estates, almost as a feudatory of the empire; the state would take upon itself all the expenses of the college of cardinals\*.

According to this plan, it is evident the whole power of the church would have been subjected to the empire, and placed, at least indirectly, in the hands of the emperor.

But how would it be possible to obtain, what was nevertheless indispensable, the consent of the pope to this degradation? Pius VII. had availed himself of his last moment of freedom to pronounce sentence of excommunication. He refused canonical institution to the bishops appointed by the emperor. Napoleon was not so thoroughly master of his clergy as not to feel the effects of this, now from one quarter now from another, above all on the side of Germany.

But this very resistance served at last to overcome the pope's determination. Its consequences were far more painful to the spiritual ruler, who sympathized with the internal condition of the church, than to the temporal, for whom spiritual things were no more than an instrument of power, themselves indifferent.

In Savona, whither the pope had been brought, he was lonely, thrown back upon himself, and without an adviser. Through the earnest and almost exaggerated representations made him of the confusion in the church, produced by his refusal to grant institution, the amiable old man was actually prevailed on, though with sore grief and reluctance, virtually to renounce the right in question. For what else was it than an act of renunciation when he agreed that it should devolve on the metropolitans, whenever he himself should defer the exercise of it longer than six months upon any other grounds than personal unworthiness? He abjured the right that in fact constituted his last weapon.

And this was not all that was exacted of him. He was hurried to Fontainebleau with an impatient haste that aggravated his bodily infirmities; there he was beset with fresh importunities, and the most urgent demands that he should fully restore the peace of the church. At last, so far was he wrought on, that he gave way on the remaining, the decisive points. He consented to reside in France,

and acquiesced in the most essential provisions of the *senatus consultum* before mentioned. The concordat of Fontainebleau (Jan. 25, 1813,) was framed on the preliminary condition that he should not return to Rome\*.

The autocrat of the revolution had now actually achieved what no catholic sovereign before him had ever ventured even to contemplate seriously. The pope agreed to become subject to the French empire. His authority would have become for ever a tool in the hands of the new dynasty; it would have served to secure obedience at home, and to keep in a dependent position the yet unsubdued catholic states. In these respects the papacy would have fallen back to the position in which it had stood under the German emperors in the plenitude of their power, particularly under the Salic emperor Henry III. But it would have been loaded with far heavier chains. There was something hostile to the church principle in the power that had now mastered the pope; it was at bottom but another metamorphosis of that spirit of opposition to the church which had unfolded itself in the eighteenth century, and which was so strongly possessed by a disposition to actual infidelity. To this hostile power would the papacy have been subjected and made vassal.

But once again, as formerly, these extreme anticipations were destined not to be fulfilled.

#### *The Restoration.*

The empire, of which the pope was now to constitute the hierarchial centre, was still involved in dubious warfare with invincible foes. In the solitude of his imprisonment the pope received no accurate intelligence of the mighty vicissitudes of the strife. At the very moment when, after such lengthened resistance, he at last gave way, Napoleon had already broken down in his last grand enterprise against Russia, and his power had been shaken to its base by all the inevitable consequences of that mischance. Already Europe caught up the almost abandoned hope of liberating herself. When the pope, to whom, on his submission, a few cardinals were allowed access, was informed of the state of things, he too felt his confidence revive; he felt every step of the allied powers to be an act of liberation for himself.

When Prussia rose in prompt obedience to the king's call, Pius VII. gathered courage to revoke the concordat extorted from him; when the congress of Prague had assembled, he ventured to look beyond the boundaries of the empire that held him captive, and to remind the emperor of Austria of his rights. After the battle of Leipsig his confidence had risen so much, that he rejected the offer made him of partially restoring his dominions; and when the allies had crossed the Rhine, he would enter into no further negotiations till he had been fully reinstated. Events followed each other with the utmost rapidity; when the allies took Paris, the pope was already arrived at the confines of the ecclesiastical states, and on the 24th of May, 1814, he entered Rome again. A new age was begun for the world, and a new era for the Roman see.

\* Thibaudau: *Histoire de la France et de Napoléon; Empire*, tom. v. p. 221.

\* Bart. Pacca: *Memorie storiche del ministero de' due viaggi in Francia*, &c. p. 323. *Historisch-politische Zeitschrift*, i. iv. 642.

The last score of years have derived their character and tenour from the strife between the revolutionary tendencies which still possessed such strong hold on men's minds, and the ideas to which the old states now went back after their triumph, with double zeal as to their primitive bases: in this struggle it is plain that the supreme spiritual head of the catholic church must occupy an important position.

He was first backed by the idea of temporal legitimacy, though in truth it was urged more by the party of his ecclesiastical opponents, than by his adherents and followers in faith.

It was the victory of the four great allied powers, three of which were anti-catholic, over that one which thought to make its own capital the centre of catholicism, that set the pope free, and enabled him to return to Rome. It was to the three anti-catholic monarchs alone, who were then assembled in London, that the pope's wish to recover the entire states of the church was first submitted. How often in former days had the resources of those states been strained to effect the destruction of protestantism whether in England or in Germany, and to propagate the Roman catholic doctrine in Russia or in Scandinavia: and now it was to the interference of the rulers of those anti-catholic countries that the pope was to owe his restoration to his dominions. In the allocution in which Pius VII. communicated to the cardinals the happy results of his negotiations, he expressly extols the services of the sovereigns "not belonging to the Roman church; the emperor of Russia, who had taken his rights into consideration with extraordinary attention; as also the king of Sweden, and the prince regent of England, as well as the king of Prussia, who had declared in his favour, throughout the whole course of the negotiations." Differences of creed were for the moment forgotten; political considerations alone were regarded.

We have often already had occasion to notice similar tendencies in the course of the last century and a half. We have seen what were the states from which Innocent XI. received aid and support in his differences with Louis XIV. When the doom of the Jesuits was pronounced by the Bourbon courts, they found favour and protection in the North, in Russia and Prussia: the seizure of Avignon and Benevento by those courts in the year 1758, caused a political commotion in England. But never did this mutual bearing of parties display itself more strikingly than in the events last detailed.

Now that the pope had once again attained a free and independent position among the sovereigns of Europe, he could devote his thoughts without interruption to the restoration of spiritual obedience. His reinstatement of the Jesuits, the first great act that marked the renewal of his functions, put it beyond a doubt that he hoped to be able to exercise his spiritual authority, not subject to the restrictions of the latter part of the eighteenth century, but after the manner of his earlier predecessors. And indeed could there ever

have been a more favourable or inviting moment for such a project? The restored governments of Southern Europe instantly repented of their former refractoriness, believing that they had thereby unchained the spirit that had wrought their own downfall. They now beheld in the pope their natural ally, and they hoped through the influence of the spiritual power, more easily to subdue the domestic enemies by whom they found themselves surrounded. The king of Spain bethought him of his title of catholic king, and declared that he would merit it; he recalled the Jesuits whom his grandfather had so jealously banished; he renewed the tribunal of the nuncio, and edicts of the grand inquisitor were once more read in Spain. In Sardinia new bishoprics were established; convents were restored in Tuscany; Naples, after some repugnance, assented to a concordat, by which the Roman curia acquired a very powerful direct influence over the clergy of the kingdom. In France, meanwhile, the chamber of 1815 regarded the welfare of the nation as identified with the restoration of the ancient French church, "that work," as an orator expressed himself, "of heaven, of time, of kings, and of forefathers;" but the point which was chiefly dwelt on, was the necessity of restoring to the clergy their influence over the state, the community, families, public life, and public education; and no thought was given to the liberties which the Gallican church had in former days either enjoyed *de facto* or expressly reserved: by the new concordat which was projected, it would have been placed in a state of dependence on Rome unknown to former times.

It was impossible in the nature of things, that such decided proceedings should at once be victorious over the spirit that had been developed in the Romanic nations with far other scope and tendencies. The old antipathies to the hierarchy started up in France with loud war-cries against the new concordat; the legislative power was here constituted in a manner that forbade all hope of carrying out the plan of 1815. The tyrannical acts of Ferdinand's rule in Spain aroused an equally vehement reaction: a revolution broke out which, whilst it combated the absolute king, who was incapable of resistance, displayed at the same time a decided anticlerical tendency. One of the first measures of the new cortes, was the expulsion of the Jesuits; enactments soon followed for the suppression of old orders, the secularization of their possessions, and their application to the extinction of the national debt. Similar movements instantly took place in Italy; they made their way into the ecclesiastical states, which were filled with the same elements of disquiet; on one occasion the Carbonari had actually fixed the day for a general rising in the states of the church.

But the restored sovereigns once more received support and aid from the great powers that had achieved the last victories, and the revolutions were stifled. This time, indeed, the anti-catholic states took no direct part in these acts of repression; but some of them were at least not hostile to them, and by others they were approved.

Meanwhile in the non-catholic realms themselves, catholicism had attained to new organization. Positive religion, of whatever denomination, was held to be the best support of civil allegiance. Care was everywhere taken to arrange the dioceses

\* *Nè possiamo non fare un gran conto dei meriti verso di noi di Federico (Guil.) re di Prussia, il cui impegno fu costantemente in nostro favore nel decorso tutto delle trattative de' nostri affari. Allocution of the 4th of Sept. 1815, in Pistolesi, li. p. 144.*

anew, to establish bishoprics and archbishoprics, and to found catholic seminaries and schools. How wholly different an aspect did the catholic church system assume in the Prussian provinces, formerly incorporated in the French empire, from that it had worn under the latter yoke. The desultory efforts of ecclesiastical opposition to the ancient regulations of the Roman church, found no countenance in the protestant states. On the other hand, the court of Rome concluded treaties equally with the protestant as with the catholic governments, and found it necessary to allow the former influence in the choice of bishops: that influence was at times actually exerted in promoting the most zealous churchmen to the highest posts. It would almost have seemed as though the strife of creeds had for ever ceased in the higher political regions; and day by day it was seen to die away in civil life. Protestant literature devoted a respectful attention to ancient catholic institutions, which in earlier times it would have found impossible.

It proved nevertheless that these anticipations of peace were too bold and hasty.

On the contrary, the strict catholic principle, which clings to, and is represented by Rome, became subsequently involved in more or less keen and deliberate conflict with the protestant governments.

It achieved a great victory in England in the year 1829.

During the wars of the revolution the government of England, for a century exclusively protestant, had made approaches to the see of Rome. Pius VII. had been elected under the auspices of the coalition victories of 1799, in which England had borne so conspicuous a part. We have mentioned how that pope subsequently also rested on English support, and could not be moved to any acts of hostility against that country. Neither could the English nation any longer see, as they had done before, the necessity of making a dependence in point of religion upon the pope a ground of exclusion from all purely political rights, and from all qualification for public functions. Pitt had already felt and expressed this\*; still, as might be expected, the habit of adhering firmly to tried principles of the constitution long opposed an invincible obstacle to every change. At last, however, the spirit of the age, which is averse to all exclusive privileges, asserted its strength on this question. Hence in Ireland, so pre-eminently catholic, politico-religious associations, and acts of lawlessness and turbulence prevailed to such a degree, that at last the great general, then at the head of the government, who had victoriously withstood so many foes, was obliged to declare that he could not carry on the government without this concession. Accordingly, the oaths were repealed or modified, to which alone the protestant interest had ascribed its safety in the

times of the restoration and of the revolution in England. How often had Lord Liverpool declared, that if this measure were carried, England would no longer be a protestant state; even though no important consequences should immediately follow it, still it was impossible to foresee to what future events it might give rise to. Nevertheless, the measure was passed, the hazard was encountered.

A still more brilliant and more unexpected triumph was immediately after obtained in Belgium.

The kingdom of the Netherlands, from the moment of its foundation, gave tokens of an animosity between north and south, that threatened its destruction, and which from the very first had fastened chiefly on ecclesiastical matters. The protestant king adopted the ideas of Joseph II.: in that spirit he established schools and universities, and administered generally his share of the spiritual power. The opposition set up against him educational institutions in a contrary spirit, and with deliberate purpose applied itself to the most extreme efforts in favour of hierarchical principles. A liberal catholic party sprang up, which taking its stand in this country, as in England, on the common rights of man, grew every day bolder in its pretensions, and extorted first concessions, such as liberation from the government schools, and finally, when a favourable opportunity presented itself, wholly threw off the hated yoke, and succeeded in founding a kingdom in which the priests have again attained to distinguished political importance. The most decidedly liberal ideas are just what best promote their interest. The low electoral qualification, which admits even the humbler classes in town and country, whom they can easily influence, to a share in public affairs, enables them to control the elections: through the elections they rule the chambers, and through the chambers the kingdom. They are to be seen in Brussels, as in Rome, in the public promenades, in good case and full of pretension; they enjoy their victory.

In neither of these events did the Roman court, so far as we are aware, take a directly active part, however advantageous they have proved to its authority. In a third, however, the dispute between the catholic church and Prussia, it has actively interfered. In that country the tendencies of the protestant state and of the catholic hierarchy, which seemed in some sort to have coalesced since the restoration, but which had subsequently for a long time become mutually estranged, have broken with each other in the most systematic manner, and engaged in a conflict that deservedly attracts the attention of the world, and is pregnant with the most important consequences. The pope, in conjunction with the two archbishops of the empire, has stood up against an ordinance of the king; the object of which was the regulation, in a religious point of view, of the family relations of the mixed population. He has found willing instruments and powerful support in the midst of Germany.

\* "Mr. Pitt is convinced," he says in his letter of the 31st Jan. 1801, to George III. "that the grounds on which the laws of exclusion now remaining were founded, have long been narrowed,—that those principles formerly held by the catholics, which made them be considered as politically dangerous, have been for a course of time gradually declining,—that the political circumstances under which the exclusive laws originated, arising from the conflicting power of hostile and nearly balanced sects, . . . and a division in Europe between catholic and protestant powers, are no longer applicable to the present state of things."

† Speech of Lord Liverpool, May 17, 1825. "Where was the danger of having a popish king or a popish chancellor, if all the other executive officers might acknowledge the pope. . . . It was said,—that a catholic might be prime minister, and have the whole patronage of the church and state at his disposal. . . . If the bill were to pass, Great Britain would be no longer a protestant state."

Thus we see the catholic hierarchical principle has once more come forth in great strength against the protestant governments, and in this it has been greatly aided by the political opposition to which it is the nature of our age decidedly to incline.

Matters have not thriven so well with the pope in the countries of his own creed.

The revolution of July in France could not be regarded in any other light than that of a defeat of the partisans of the hierarchy. The religious zeal of Charles X. was what chiefly led to his overthrow. Parties have risen to power in Spain and Portugal, which have resumed the efforts of the revolutionary cortes. Movements similar in their origin have taken place at the foot of the Vatican, and their suppression has been wholly effected by foreign force.

It cannot be alleged that the Roman see has contributed much towards repressing the revolutionary spirit. Nowhere has it been able to put it down by its own unassisted strength.

But before having yet attained to firm and stable sovereignty within the domain of its own church, it has found means to place itself in a warlike attitude upon the confines of protestantism. There it would have coalesced with the legitimate powers, and with ancient institutions of Europe. Here it has found its best allies in the ideas of the times, and in liberal opinions. Its position and its policy continually oscillate between these great forces, as formerly they did in the time of Napoleon.

Whither this state of things may lead, the future alone can tell.

If we fix our eyes exclusively on the efforts of the partisans of the hierarchy and of their antagonists, we may be disposed to dread the outbreak of new and fierce strife, the convulsion of the world, and the revival of ancient animosities in all their former rancour. If, on the other hand, we cast a glance upon the mental activity that characterises the age, this fear must vanish. Few, indeed, are they who are now disposed to re-establish the dominion of priesthood in the full sense of the word. Such an attempt would perhaps experience the most vehement resistance in the inveterately catholic countries of the Roman group. Neither will the protestants ever again return to the hardness and bigoted rancour of the old system. We see the profounder spirits on either side with more and more knowledge, penetration, and freedom from the narrow bondage of church forms, going back to the everlasting principles of genuine religion,—that which dwells in the inner man. Impossible, it is that this can remain barren of result. The more perfect apprehension of the spiritually and absolutely true which lies at the bottom of all forms, and which can by none of them be expressed in its entire import, must at last harmonize all enmities. High above all antagonizing principles—this trust we cannot forego—still towers the unity of an unalloyed, and therefore no less assured, consciousness of the being of a God.

THE END OF THE HISTORY.

# APPENDIX.

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS MADE USE OF IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE FOREGOING  
WORK, WITH EXTRACTS AND CRITICAL REMARKS.

## SECTION I.

### PERIOD TO THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

1. *Ad S. Dm. Nostrum Pontificem Maximum Nicolaum V. conformatio curie romane loquentis edita per E. S. oratorem Joseph. B. doctorem cum humili semper recommendatione.* (1453.)—*Bibl. Vatic. nr. 3618.* [The address of the Roman court to his holiness, Pope Nicholas V., edited and dedicated with profound humility by Doctor Joseph B. orator of the Holy Church.]

A lament over the well-known conspiracy of Stephen Porcari, which does not exactly furnish any more accurate information on the subject, but which nevertheless sets before us some important points in the position of things. For instance, it states the principal intention of Nicholas V. in the buildings he erected.

"Arces fortificat muris turrimque superbam  
Extruit . . . ne quisque tyrannus ab alma  
Quemque armis valeat papam depellere Roma."

[He walls fortresses, and piles up a proud castle . . . that no armed tyrant may ever avail to drive a pope from dear and venerated Rome.] Many a time had former popes been forced to quit their capital. Nicholas built that he might be able to defend himself against domestic and foreign foes.

Again he exhibits the state of Rome as compared with that of other Italian cities.

" . . . Si tu perquisis in omnibus illam (libertatem)  
Urbius Italiae, nullam mihi crede profecto  
Invenies urbem quæ sic majore per omnem  
Libertate modum quam nunc tua Roma fruatur.  
Omnis enim urbs dominis et bello et pace coacta  
Præstita magna suis durasque gravata gabbellas  
Solvit, et interdum propriam desperat habere  
Justitiam, atque ferox violentia civibus ipsis  
Sæpe fit, ut populus varie vexatus ab illis  
Fasce sub hoc onerum pauper de divite fiat ;  
At tua Roma sacro nec præstita nec similem vim  
Nec grave vectigal nec pondera cogitur ulla  
Solvere pontifici ni humiles minimasque gabbellas :

Præterea hic dominus tribuit justissimus almam  
Justitiam cuicunque suam, violentaque nulli  
Inferit : hic populum prisco de paupere ditem  
Efficit, et placida Romam cum pace gubernat."

[Seek if you will through all the cities of Italy, in none assuredly will you find your own Rome surpassed in the enjoyment of liberty of every kind. For all the others are cruelly taxed by their rulers in times of peace as well as of war ; justice is sometimes despaired of, and violence is frequently committed by the burghers themselves, so that the harassed people sink under their manifold burthens from affluence to poverty. But your Rome suffers no such exactions or violence, nor is it forced to pay to its holy pontiff any exorbitant tribute, but merely very moderate and trifling duties. There, too, the most just of lords dispenses equity to all, and wrongs none, and makes a once needy people wealthy, and governs Rome in peace and contentment.] The author blames the Romans for their aspirations after the freedom of ancient Rome. And indeed the fact is undeniable, and it is one that greatly contributed to the territorial acquisitions of the church, that the papal sway was milder than that of the rulers of other cities of Italy. Our author cannot pardon the resistance of the burghers to that church, from which they derived so much spiritual and temporal wealth :

"Quibus auri copia grandis  
Argentique ferax : æternaque vita salusque  
Provenit, ut nulli data gratia tam ardua genti."

[There is poured on them a plenteous abundance of gold and silver, besides eternal life and salvation ; so that they are blessed far above every other people.] The pope is counselled to increase his fortifications still more, and never to go to St. Peter's without 300 armed attendants ; at the same time to strive to win the love of the inhabitants, and to succour the poor, especially those of gentle blood, "vitam qui mendicare rubescunt ;" [who blush to beg their bread ;]



. . . Succurre volentibus artes  
Exercere bonas, quibus inclyta Roma nitescat ;”

[give countenance and support to those who are willing to exercise laudable arts, and thereby to enhance the lustre of Rome ;] an advice it was hardly necessary to give to Nicholas V. This little work is mentioned in the Vita Nicolai V. a Dominico Georgio conscripta Roma, 1742, p. 130.

2. *Instructions datee a Sixto IV. RR. PP. D<sup>ni</sup> J. de Apollis protonotario apostolico et Ant<sup>o</sup> de Frassis s. palatii causarum auditori ad M. Imperatoris.* 1 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1478.—*Bibl. Altieri VII. G. l. 99.* [Instructions from Sixtus IV. to the nuncios sent to the emperor, &c. &c.]

The oldest instruction that I have met with among the MSS. that have come under my notice. It begins “Primo salutabunt Serenissimum Imperatorem.”

The murderous attack of the Pazzi upon the Medici had taken place on the 26th of April, 1478. The deed had thrown all Italy into commotion. “Ecclesia justa causa contra Laurentium mota, clamant Veneti, clamant tota ista liga.”

The ambassadors were to hinder the emperor from giving credit to a certain Jacobus de Medio, whom the Venetians had sent to the imperial court. “Est magnus fabricator et Cretensis: multa enim referebat suis que nunquam cogitaveramus neque dixeramus.” [He is a monstrous liar; for he stated many things to his countrymen which we never uttered or conceived.] They were to solicit the emperor’s mediation. The king of France had offered his; but the pope would rather confer the honour of that office on the emperor. “Velit scribere regi Francie et lige isti, ostendendo quod non recte faciunt et parum existimant deum et honorem pontificis, et quod debent magis favere ecclesie justitiam habenti quam uni mercatori, qui semper magna causa fuit quod non potuerunt omnia confici contra Turcum que intendebamus parare, et fuit semper petra scandali in ecclesia Dei et tota Italia.” [Let him write to the king of France and to the league, and point out to them that they act wrongfully and with little respect for God and the pope’s honour, and that they ought rather to favour the righteous cause of the church, than an individual merchant, who has always been a main hindrance to the accomplishment of all our projects against the Turks, and a stone of offence to God’s church and to all Italy.]

The matter was the more dangerous for the pope, inasmuch as intentions were entertained of setting up a council as a bar to his temporal assumptions. “Petunt cum rege Francie, concilium in Galliis celebrari in dedecus nostrum.”

This reminds us of the attempt which was made some years later to assemble a council, whereby the archbishop of Carniola earned a certain reputation. Johann von Müller has devoted a couple of pages to the subject in the 5th vol. of his History of Switzerland (p. 286); but his account does not sufficiently exhibit the temporal motives for this demand of a council. Cardinal Andreas was not so thorough an ecclesiastic as Müller would make him appear. The ambassadors from Florence and Milan sought him out in Basle, deputed in the name of the entire league which had taken the field against Sixtus. They found him

(we have their own report) a man of great worldly experience (*gran pratica et experientia del mundo*) and possessed with a vehement hatred to the pope and his nephew. “E huomo per fare ogni cosa pureche e’ tuffi el papa e’ l’conte.” [He is ready to do anything to swamp the pope and the count.] See Baccius Ugolinus Laurentio Medici in Basilea a di 20 Sept. 1482 in Fabroni Vita Laurentii, II. 229.—Here, we perceive, is already an instance of a spiritual opposition on the part of sovereigns, prompted by secular considerations. They too had spiritual weapons, and they wielded them against those of the pope.

3. *Relatione fatta in pregadi per Polo Capello el cavalier renuto orator di Roma 1500 28 Sett.—Vienna Archires.* [Polo Capello’s Report to the Venetian senate of his embassy to Rome, &c.]

This is the earliest report of a Venetian ambassador concerning the papal court that I have met with. It is not to be found in the Venetian archives; it seems as though reports were not given in in writing in those days. It is given in the Chronicle of Sanuto, which contains in general whatever passed in the pregadi or senate.

Polo Capello promises to treat on four topics;—the cardinals, the disposition of the pope to the king of France and to Venice, the intentions (*el desiderio*) of his holiness, and what was to be expected from him: but as this division of his subject does not rest on very accurate distinctions, he does not abide by it.

He remarks principally that neither Venice nor France was on good terms with the pope; the former because it had possessed itself of a part of the Milanese, and fears were entertained that it would lay hold on all Italy;—the latter, because the king did not keep his word with the pope. We find in this document the conditions of the league of the year 1498 between the king and the pope. The pope granted the king a dispensation to separate from his wife; in return for which, the king promised the pope’s son, Cæsar Borgia, a domain yielding an annual income of 28,000 francs, a wife of the blood-royal (Navarre?), and renunciation of any attempt on Naples, except in favour of the Borgias (*del regno di Napoli non se impazzar se non in ajutar il papa*). So that we see the pope had even then a design on Naples. But these promises were not kept. The match proposed to Cæsar was not quite to the pope’s satisfaction; the pope contented himself with the purchase of a property of 12,000 francs as a security for the dowry, but the young bride remained in France. It was only the king’s superior power that kept the pope in check. “Quando il S<sup>r</sup> Lodovico intrò in Milan,” says Capello very significantly, “publice diceva (il papa) mal del roy.” [When S<sup>r</sup> Lodovico entered Milan, the pope publicly spoke ill of the king.] He was incensed that the French had refused him aid towards expelling the Bentivogli from Bologna.

Whilst the foregoing passages give us a better insight into the secret springs of the papal policy in those days, the following is very valuable for its delineation of personal traits.

The author speaks first of the death of Alexander VI.’s son-in-law. Cæsar Borgia had already wounded him. “Per dubio mando a tuor medici

di Napoli: ste 33 di ammalato, et il Cl Capua lo confessò, e la moglie e sorella, ch'è moglie del principe di Squillaci altro fiol di papa, stava con lui et cusinava in una pignatella per dubio di veneno, per l'odio li haveva il ducha di Valentinos, et il papa li faceva custodir per dubio esso ducha non l'amazzasse, e quando andava il papa a visitarlo, il ducha non vi andava se non una volta e disse: quello non è fatto a disnar si farà a cena. Or un zorno, fo a di 17 avosto, intrò in camera, che era za sublevato, e fe ussir la moglie e sorella: intrò Michiele cussi chiamato, e strangolò ditto zovene. . .

"Il papa ama et ha gran paura del fiol ducha, qual è di anni 27, bellissimo di corpo e grande, ben fatto e meglio che re Ferandin: amazzò 6 tori salvadegi combattendo a cavallo a la zaneta, et a uno li taiò la testa a la prima bota, cosa che paresse a tutta Roma grande. E realissimo, imo prodego, e il papa li dispiaçe di questo. Et alias amazzò sotto il manto del papa M. Peroto, adeo il sangue li saltò in la faza del papa, qual M. Peroto era favorito dal papa. Etiam amazzò il fratello ducha di Gaudia e lo fe butar nel Tevere.—Tutta Roma trema di esso ducha non li faza amazzar." [He took the precaution of having physicians brought from Naples: he was thirty-three days confined to his bed, and Cardinal Capua confessed him, and his married sister, who is the wife of the prince of Squillace, the pope's other son, stayed with him and cooked his food in a small pot for fear of poison, by reason of the hatred borne to him by the Duke of Valentinos; and the pope caused him to be guarded lest the said duke should kill him; and when the pope went to visit him the duke did not go with him except once, and then he said, What is not done at dinner will be done at supper. Now one day, it was the 17th of August, he entered the chamber, the sick man being already risen, and turned out the married sister: Michiele came in at his call and strangled the said youth. . . .

The pope loves and is in great fear of the duke, his son, who is twenty-seven years of age, of a very handsome person, tall and well made, and surpassing king Ferandin [Ferdinand, the last king of Naples, who was reckoned very handsome]; he killed six wild bulls fighting with the lance on horseback, and he cleft the head of one at the first stroke, a feat which astonished all Rome. He is most royal, nay prodigal; and the pope is displeased with him for this. Moreover he slew M. Peroto under the pope's mantle, so that his blood spirted in the pope's face, which M. Peroto was the pope's favourite. Likewise he murdered his brother, the duke of Gaudia, and had him thrown in the Tiber.—All Rome trembles at this duke lest he assassinate them.]

Roscoe has endeavoured, in his life of Leo X. to clear the memory of Lucretia Borgia of the scandalous imputations with which it has been loaded. He has set off against the charges brought against the earlier period of her life favourable testimonies concerning her later years. The German translator of his work is not however convinced, his opinion being that she altered her conduct for the better. The report before us is also remarkable for the favourable testimony it bears to the character of Lucretia in the early part of her life. It says, "Lucretia la qual è savia e liberal." Cesar Borgia was rather her enemy than her lover. He took from her Sermoneta which had been given

her by the pope, saying she was a woman, and could not keep possession of it: "è donna, non lo potrà mantener."

4. Among the numerous documents given in the fifth volume of Sanuto, the following appears to me the most important:

"Questo è il successo de la morte di papa Alessandro VI.

"Hessendo el Cl datario duo Arian da Corneto stato richiesto dal pontefice chel voleva venir a cena con lui insieme con el ducha Valentinos a la sua vigna et portar la cena cum S. S<sup>ta</sup>, si imaginò esso cardinal questo invito esser sta ordinato per darli la morte per via di veneno per aver il ducha li soi danari e beneficii, per esser sta concluso per il papa ad ogni modo di privarlo di vita per aver il suo peculio, come ho ditto, qual era grande, e procurando a la sua salute penso una sola cosa poter esser la via di la sua salute. E mando captato tpio (tempo) a far a saper al scialcho del pontefice chel ge venisse a parlar, con el qual havea domestichezza. El qual venuto da esso ed<sup>i</sup>, se tirò tutti do in uno loco secreto, dove era preparato due Xm. d'oro, e per esso el fo persuaso ditto scialcho ad acetarli in dono e gaderli per suo amor. El qual post multa li accepto, e li offerse etiam il resto di la sua facultà, perche era richissimo card<sup>i</sup>, a ogni suo comando, perche li disse chel non poteva gader detta facultà se non per suo mezzo, dicendo: vù conosciate certo la condition del papa, et io so chel ha deliberato col ducha Valentinos ch'io mora e questo per via di esso scialcho per morte venenosa, pregandolo di gratia che voia haver pietà di lui e donarli la vita. Et dicto questo, esso scialcho li dichiarò il modo ordinato de darli il veneno a la cena, e si mosse a compassione promettendoli di preservarlo. Il modo era chel dovea apresentar dapoi la cena tre scatole di confezion in taola, una al papa, una al d<sup>to</sup> card<sup>i</sup> et una al ducha, et in quella del card<sup>i</sup> si era il veneno. E cussi messo ditto card<sup>i</sup> ordine al prefato scialcho del modo che dovea servir, e far che la scutola venenata, dovea aver esso card<sup>i</sup>, di quella il papa manzasse e lui si atosegaria e moriria. E cussi venuto il pontefice a la cena al zorno dato l'ordine col ducha preditto, el prefato el se li butto a li piedi brazzandoli et strettissimamente baxandoli, con affectuosissime parole supplicando a S. S<sup>ta</sup>, dicendo, mai di quelli picci si leveria si S. Beat. non li concedesse una gratia. Interrogato del pontefice, qual era facendo istanza, se levasse suso, esso el respondeva chel voleva aver in gratia el dimandaria et haver la promessa di farglo da S. S<sup>ta</sup>. Hor dapoi molta persuasione, il papa stete assai admirativo vedendo la perseverantia del d<sup>to</sup> card<sup>i</sup> e non si voler levar, e li promise di exaudirlo: al qual card<sup>i</sup> sublevato disse: patre santo, non e conveniente che vendendo il signor a caja del servo suo, dovesse el servo parimente confrerz (?) con el suo signor, e percho la gratia el dimandava era questa zusta e honesta che lui servo dovesse servir a la mensa di S. S<sup>ta</sup>, e il papa li fece la gratia. E andato a cena al hora debita di meter la confezion in tavola, fo per il scialcho posto la confezion avenenata ne la scutola secondo el primo ordine li havea dato il papa, et el cl hessendo chiaro in quella non vi esser venen li fece la credenza di dieta scatola e messe la venenata avanti il papa, e S. S. fidandosi

del suo scaleho e per la credenza li fece esso el, judico in quella non esser veneno o ne manzo allegramente, e del altra, chel papa fusse avvenenata si credeva e non era, manzo ditto el. Hor al hora solita a la qualita del veneno sua Sta comenzo a sentirlo e cussi sen'o morto: el cardl, che pur haveva paura, se medicino e vomito, e non have mal alcuno ma non senza difficulta. Valetè."

[This is the way pope Alexander VI. came by his death.

The cardinal datary Arian da Corneto having been graciously informed by the pope that he intended to visit him at his vineyard, with the duke of Valentinos, to sup with him, and that his holiness would bring the supper with him; the cardinal conceived that the invitation was made with a view to put him to death by poison, so that the duke might have his money and preferments; it being resolved on by the pope by all means to deprive him of life in order to get possession of his property, as I have said, which was great. Casting about how he might preserve himself, he saw but one way of safety. He sent betimes to desire the pope's carver, with whom he was intimate, to come and speak with him, and on his arrival, the two retired to a secret place, where were provided 10,000 gold ducats, which the said carver was prevailed on by the cardinal to accept and keep for his sake. The former accepted them after many words, and the cardinal offered him moreover all the rest of his means to command, he being exceedingly rich, for he said he could not keep the same except through the said carver's aid, adding, "You know certes the pope's character, and I know that he has planned with the duke Valentinos to compass my death by poison at your hand," wherefore he besought him to have pity on him, and spare his life. Thereupon the carver declared to him the mode appointed for administering poison to him at supper, and yielded to compassion, promising to save him. The manner was, that he was to present after supper three boxes of lozenge confectionary, one to the pope, one to the said cardinal, and one to the duke, and in that of the cardinal was the poison. So the cardinal directed the aforesaid carver how he should serve them, and cause that the pope should eat of the drugged box intended for the cardinal, and so poison himself and die. Accordingly the pope being come on the appointed day to supper, with the aforesaid duke, the cardinal threw himself at his feet, embracing them closely, and kissing them, intreating his holiness with most affectionate words, saying that he would never rise from that posture if his holiness did not grant him a favour. The pontiff questioning him and urging him to rise, the cardinal persisted in his suit, and pressed his holiness to promise he would grant it. After much entreaty the pope, no little surprised at the steadfastness with which the cardinal refused to rise, gave him his promise. Thereupon the cardinal stood up and said, "Holy Father, it is not meet that when the master comes to the house of the servant, the servant should eat as an equal with his master:" the favour he begged, therefore, was the reasonable and honourable one, that he the servant should wait on his holiness at table, which favour the pope granted. Supper having been served, when the time was come to set on the confectionary, the poisoned confection was put into the box by the carver according to the pope's

original order, and the cardinal being aware in which box there was no poison, tasted the same, and set the poisoned one before the pope, and his holiness, trusting to his carver, and seeing the cardinal tasting, thought there was no poison therein, and ate of it heartily, while the cardinal ate of the other which the pope thought was poisoned, and which was not so. In due time then, after the kind of the poison, his holiness began to feel its effects, and in suchwise died thereof: the cardinal, who was somewhat alarmed, physicked and vomited himself, and took no hurt, though he escaped not without difficulty. Farewell.]

This, if not an authentic, is at all events a very remarkable account of Alexander's death; the best perhaps of all that have come down to us.

5. *Sommario di la relatione di S. Polo Capello, tenuto orator di Roma, fatta in collegio 1510.*

[Summary of P. Capello's report of his embassy to Rome, delivered before the college, 1510.]

After the great mischances that befel the Venetians through the league of Cambray, they soon managed to win over pope Julius II. again to their side.

Polo Capello acquaints us with some points hitherto unknown respecting the manner in which this happened. The pope was alarmed at the results that might ensue from a projected meeting between Maximilian and the king of France. "Dubitando perche lo ditto il re di Romani et il re di Francia si voleano abboecar insieme et cra certo in suo danno." For a while he called on the Venetians to give up those towns which by the stipulations of the league were to pass into the possession of the German king: but when he saw how badly Maximilian's enterprize succeeded, he did not urge the matter any further. He entertained a very mean opinion of Maximilian. "E una bestia," he said, "merita piu presto esser rezudo ch'a rezzer altri." [He is a stupid animal, fitter to be governed than to govern others.] On the other hand it was reckoned highly to the honour of the Venetians, whose name had been looked on in Rome as extinguished, that they stood their ground. The pope gradually made up his mind to grant them absolution.

Capello had a high respect for the pope's personal qualities. "E papa sapientissimo, e niun pol intrinsecamente con lui, e si conscia con pochi, imo con niuno." [He is a very wise pope, he relies implicitly on no one, and takes counsel with few or none.] Cardinal Castel de Rio had only a very indirect influence over him: "parlando al papa dirà una cosa, qual dita il papa poi considererà quella." [He mentions a matter in conversation with the pope, leaving it to the latter to reflect upon it subsequently.] Just then the cardinal was adverse to the Venetians, but the pope concluded a treaty with them. Capello states, that he was very well supplied with money, having, perhaps, 700,000 scudi, if not a million in his treasury.

6. *Sommario di la relatione di Domenego di Trivizan, tenuto orator di Roma, in pregiadi 1510.* [Domenego di Trivisan's report to the pregadi of his embassy to Rome, 1510.]

Trivisan continues to the senate the report made by Capello to the collegio; with this difference,

however, that while the latter develops the secret motives, the former contents himself with a general sketch. But even this is worthy of note.

He corroborates his colleague's estimate of the pope's treasure, but adds that the pope has destined the money for a war against the infidels. "Il papa è sagaze praticho : ha mal vecchio galico e guta, tamen è prosperoso, fa gran fadicha : niun pol con lui : alde tutti, ma fa quello li par.—E tenuto e di la bocha e di altro per voler viver piu moderatamente." (Does this mean he had himself said he would be more moderate for the future—in drink perhaps?) "A modo di haver quanti danari il vole : perche come vacha un beneficio, non li da si non a chi (a) officio e quel officio da a un altro, si che tocca per esso assai danari ; ed è divenudo li officii sensari piu del solito in Roma." [The pope is a man of practical sagacity ; he labours under morbus gallicus of long standing, and the gout ; he is strong for all that, and goes through a great deal of exertion : no one has influence over him ; he listens to every one, but does what he thinks fit. . . . He has a way of procuring as much money as he pleases ; for when a benefice becomes vacant, he bestows it only on such an one as already holds an office, which office he gives to some one else ; so that offices are become procurers more than commonly in Rome] i.e. procurers of benefices.

"Il papa a entrata duc. 200,000 di ordinario, et extraordinario si dice 150 m." [The pope has 200,000 ducats ordinary, and 150,000 ducats extraordinary revenue,] that is, the popes have usually so much : "ma questo a di do terzi piu di extraordinario e di ordinario ancora Pentrade : " [but this pope has two-thirds more both ordinary and extraordinary :] so that he must have had nearly a million. This he explains thus : "Solcano pagare il censo carlini X al ducato a la chiesa era ingannata ; era carlini XII½ el duc, vole paghino quello conven, et a fatto una stampa nova che val X el duc, e son boni di arzenito, del cho amiora da X a XII½ la intrada del papa, et diti carlini novi si chiamano juli." [The taxes used to be paid at the rate of ten carlini the ducat, by which the church was defrauded : the ducat was worth thirteen and a half carlini ; and the pope, determining that what was just should be paid, caused a new coinage to be struck of pieces, ten to the ducat, of good silver : the pope's income has been benefited thereby in the proportion of thirteen and a half to ten ; and the said new carlini are called juli.] Here we see the origin of the present current coin ; for it was not till recent times that the present paoli superseded the name and use of the juli. The carlini, which were the common coin of exchange, had become so deteriorated as to occasion serious loss to the exchequer. Julius II. issued good coin for the sake of his treasury.

"Item è misero : a pocha spesa. Si acorda col suo maestro di casa : li da el muxe per le spese duc. 1500 e non piu. Item fa la chiechia di S. Piero di novo, cosa bellissima, per la qual a posto certa cruciata, et un solo frate di S. Francesco di quello habia raccolto ditti frati per il mondo li portò in una bota duc. 27 m. si che per questo tocca quanti danari el vuol. A data a questa fabrica una parte de l'intrada di S. M. di Loreto e tolto parte del vescovado di Recanati." [Item, he is penurious ; he spends little. He contracts with his house-steward,

giving him 1500 ducats for the month's expenditure, and no more. Item, he is constructing anew the church of St. Peter, a very beautiful work ; and for this he has appointed a certain crusade, and a single Franciscan friar brought him in one sum 27,000 ducats, collected by the brethren of the order throughout the world ; so that he gets as much money as he chooses. He has devoted to this edifice part of the income of S. M. di Loreto, and taken away part of the bishopric of Recanati.]

7. *Summario de la relatione di S. Marin Zorzi, dolor, tenuto orator di corte, fatto in pregiudi a di 17 Marzo 1517.* [Summary of doctor Marin Zorzi's report of his embassy to the court of Rome, &c.]

Marin Zorzi was chosen ambassador to the court of Leo X. on the 4th of January, 1514, and on his declining the appointment, he was chosen again on the 25th of the same month. If it be true that orders were given him with reference to the expedition of Francis I., as Paruta says (lib. iii. p. 109) he could not have set out for Rome till the beginning of the year 1515.

His report concerns that period. It is of the more importance, inasmuch as he proposes to make known in it what he had not ventured to communicate by letter. "Referirò," says the summary which appears to have been written afterwards, "di quelle cose che non a scritto per sue lettere, perche multa occurrunt que non sunt scribenda."

These points relate chiefly to the pope's negotiations with Francis I., with which even Paruta was not acquainted, and of which, as far as I am aware, we have here the best account.

Mention has occasionally been made of a supposed desire of Leo X. to procure a crown for his brother ; but how that was to have been effected has never been made clearly apparent. Zorzi asserts that Leo at this time proposed to the king of France, "che del reame di Napoli saria bon tuorlo di man di Spagnoli e darlo al magnifico Giuliano suo fradello ;" [that it would be well to wrest the kingdom of Naples from the Spaniards, and to give it to his brother Giuliano the magnificent ;] adding, "e sopra questo si fatichoe assai, perche el non si contentava di esser ducha so fradello, ma la volca far re di Napoli : il christianissimo re li aaria dato il principato di Taranto e tal terre : ma il papa non volse, e sopra questo venneno diversi oratori al papa, monsi di Soglie e di Borsi, et il papa diceva : quando il re vol far questo acordo, saremo con S. M. Hor si stette sopra queste pratiche : il chmo re havendo il voler che'l papa non li saria contra, deliberò di venir potente, et cussi venne : et il papa subito si ligò con l'imperator, re catholico, re de Inghilterra e Sguizzari." [And he took no little pains on this subject, because he was not content with having his brother a duke, but he wished to make him king of Naples : the most Christian king would have given him the principality of Tarento and certain territories, but the pope would not agree, and thereupon divers ambassadors came to the pope, Monsignor di Soglie and Monsignor di Borsi, and the pope said, "If the king is willing to make this arrangement, we will be for his majesty." Matters now remained on this footing : his most

Christian majesty having a desire that the pope should not be against him, thought of coming to Italy in strength, and he did so: but the pope suddenly allied himself with the emperor, the Catholic king, the king of England, and the Swiss.]

I have already given in the text or in the notes the notices relating to the time of the campaign.

How strongly the pope was inclined in secret against the French, is plain from the fact, not only that he testified displeasure against the Venetians for the decided bias they manifested to the French with regard to Maximilian's enterprise of the following year;—"O che materia," he said, "a fatto questo senato a lassar le vostre gente andar a Milano, andar con Francesi, aver passa 8 fiumi, o che pericolo è questo?" [What good has the senate done in causing your troops to march to Milan, to join the French, and cross eight rivers; or what danger is this?—but also that he secretly supported Maximilian. "Il papa a questo subito mandò zente in favor del imperador e sotto man dicendo: M. Ant. Colonna è libero capitano a soldo del imperador." [The pope on this suddenly sent troops in support of the emperor, saying privily, M. Ant. Colonna is a free captain in the pay of the emperor.] Meanwhile the ratification of the treaty of Bologna was delayed. The king sent ambassador after ambassador to demand it. At last the pope sent his own envoy to France, and the treaty was sealed.

Francis I. had soon an opportunity to revenge himself. The pope encountered an unexpected resistance on the part of the duke of Urbino. Zorzi asserts: "Il re non si tien satisfatto del papa: è contento Francesco Maria prosperi." [The king is not satisfied with the pope: he is glad at the success of Francesco Maria.]

He then describes the pope more minutely. "A qualche egritudine interior da repletion e catarro ed altra cosa, non licet dir, videl. in fistula. E hom da ben e liberal molto, non vorria fatica s'il potesse far di mancho, ma per questi soi si tuo fatica. E ben suo nepote è astuto e apto a far cosse non come Valentino ma pocho mancho." [He suffers from some internal plethora, and from catarrh, and another disorder not to be named, viz. in fistula. He is a good man and very liberal: he would not give himself much trouble if he could help, but he does so for the sake of his relations. And truly his nephew is shrewd and apt to accomplish his ends, not in the same degree as Valentino, but little less.] He alludes to Lorenzo Medici. He affirms positively what others deny (Vittori for instance), that Lorenzo de' Medici himself had entertained strong designs upon Urbino. He says, that Julian, only two days before his death, had entreated the pope to spare Urbino, where he had met with so much kindness after his banishment from Florence. The pope would not give way, but said, "Non è da parlar deste cose." [These are matters not to be talked of.] "Questo feva perche de altra parte Lorenzin li era attorno in volerli tuor il stato." [This he did, being pressed on the other hand by Lorenzo, who coveted possession of that state.]

Among the counsellors of the pope, he first mentions Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII., of whose talents, however, he does not make so much account as others: "E hom da ben, hom di non molte facende, benche adesso il manegio di la

corte è in le sue mani, che prima era in S. M<sup>a</sup> in Portego." [He is a good man, of no great practical abilities, though at present the chief direction of the court of Rome is in his hands; he was formerly at the court of Portugal.] Next he mentions Bibbiena, whom he considers inclined to the Spaniards, he being enriched by Spanish benefices; and lastly Lorenzo—"qual a animo gaiardo" [a stirring spirit.]

Lorenzo's name leads him to speak of Florence. He says a word or two about the constitution, but adds: "Hora non si serva piu ordine: quel ch'el vol (Lorenzin) è fatto. Tamen Firenze è piu francese che altrimente, e la parte contraria di Medici non pol far altro, ma non li piace questa cosa." [At present all order is violated: whatever Lorenzo wills is done. Florence, however, is rather French than otherwise: the party opposed to the Medici do not like this, but they cannot help it.] The militia had been diminished. The revenue amounted, 1st, from the duties at the gates and in the city to 74,000 ducats; 2ndly, from the towns subject to Florence to 120,000 ducats; 3dly, from the balzello, a kind of tithe, a direct tax, to 160,000 ducats.

This brings him to the revenues of the pope, which he estimates on the whole at 420,000 ducats; and so he reverts to the pope's expenditure and his personal character. "E docto in humanità e jure canonico, et sopra tutto musico excellentissimo, e quando el canta con qualche uno, li fa donar 100 e piu ducati: e per dir una cosa che si dimenticò, il papa trahè all' anno di vacantie da due, 60,000 e piu, ch'è zercha due, 8000 al mese, e questi li spende in doni, in zuogar a primier di che molto si diletta." [He is learned in polite letters, and in canon law, and above all he is an excellent musician; and when he sings with any one, he makes him a present of a hundred ducats or more. One thing I forgot to mention. The pope derives yearly from vacancies 60,000 ducats and upwards, which is about 8000 (?) ducats a month, and this money he spends in presents and in playing at primero, of which he is very fond.]

Our author, as we perceive, gives his details very graphically, with great naïveté and conversational ease. He brings his personages with all their sayings and doings bodily before us.

8. *Sommario de la relatione di Marco Minio, ritornato da corte, 1520 Zugno.*—*Sanuto* tom. xxviii. [Summary of the report of Marco Minio's embassy to Rome; June, 1520.]

Marco Minio was Zorzi's successor: his report is unfortunately very short.

He begins with the papal revenues, which he finds inconsiderable. "Il papa a intrada per il papato pocha: son tre sorte de intrade: d' annate traze all' anno 100m duc., ma le annate consistorial, ch'è episcopati e abbatic, la mita è de cardinali di officj traze all' anno 60m.; d' composition 60m. Non a contadi (contante), perche è liberal, non sa tenir danari, poi li Fiorentini e soi parenti non li lassa mai aver un soldo, e diti Fiorentini è in gran odio in corte, perche in ogni cosa è Fiorentini. Il papa sta neutral fra Spagna e Franza: ma lui orator tien pende da Spagna, perche è sta pur messo in caxa da Spagnoli, etiam assumpto al papato. Il cardinal di Medici suo nepote, qual

non è legittimo, a gran poter col papa : è hom di gran maneggio ; a grandissima autorità, tamen non fa nulla se prima non dimanda al papa di cose di conto : hora si ritrova a Firenze a governar quella città : il cardinal Bibbiena è appresso assa del papa, ma questo Medici fa il tutto." [The pope derives little income from the papacy : the revenues are of three kinds : from the annates he draws yearly 100,000 ducats ; but of the consistorial annates, which arise out of the bishoprics and abbeys, the half belongs to the cardinals ; he draws 60,000 ducats annually from offices, and 60,000 from compositions. He has no ready money ; because he is liberal and cannot keep it. Then the Florentines and his relations never leave him a penny. And the said Florentines are in great odium at court, because they thrust themselves into everything. The pope stands neutral between Spain and France ; but it is the ambassador's opinion that he inclines to Spain, because he owes the establishment of his fortune to the Spaniards, and even his advancement to the papacy. Cardinal Medici, his nephew, who is not legitimate, has great influence with the pope : he is a man of great ability in business :]—his reputation we see had risen since Zorzi's time—[he possesses very great authority, nevertheless he does nothing in affairs of importance without first consulting the pope. At present he resides at Florence as governor of that city. Cardinal Bibbiena is in considerable esteem with the pope, but this Medici does everything.]

The ambassador assures his countrymen of the tolerably fair disposition of the pope towards them. He was not indeed inclined to see Venice greater than she was ; but for no earthly consideration would he see her perish.

9. *Diario de Sebastiano de Branca de Telini.*—*Barber. Bibl. n. 1103.* [Diary of Sebastiano de Branca de Telini.]

It contains sixty-three leaves, and reaches from the 22nd of April, 1494, to 1513, in Leo's time. It is certainly not to be compared with Burchardus ; and as the author knew very little of what was passing, it is not even of use as a check on that writer. Telini saw only what every body else saw.

Thus he describes the entrance of Charles VIII. into Italy, whose army he estimates at from thirty to forty thousand men. He thinks the king the ugliest man he had ever beheld ; his troops, on the contrary, the handsomest people in the world : " la piu bella gente non fu vista mai." We must not believe him literally : he is fond of expressing himself in this fashion. (He tells us that as much as 300 ducats had been paid for a horse.)

Cæsar Borgia is the most cruel man that ever lived. Alexander's times were distinguished for cruelty, scarcity, and high taxation. " Papa Alessandro gittao la data a tutti li preti e a tutti li officiali per tre anni e tutte le chiese di Roma e fora di Roma . . . per fare la cruciata contro il Turco, e poi la dava allo figliuolo per fare meglio la guerra." [Pope Alexander assigned the revenues for three years of all the priests, and all the public functionaries, and all the churches within and without Rome, for a war against the Turks ; and then he gave the proceeds to his son for the better waging of the war.] According to him, Cæsar Bor-

gia gave audience to no one but his executioner, Michilotto. All his servants were sumptuously clad : " vestiti di broccado d'oro e di velluto fino alle calze : se ne facevano le pianelle e le scarpe : ] [dressed in gold brocade and velvet to their heels : their shoes and slippers were made of the same stuff].

He is a great admirer of Julius II. " Non lo fece mai papa quello che have fatto papa Julio." [No pope ever did what pope Julius did.] He enumerates the towns he conquered ; alleging, however, that by his wars he caused the death of ten thousand men.

Leo came next. He began with promises, " che i Romani fossero fianchi di gabella, ed officii e beneficii che stanno nella cittade di Roma fossero dati alli Romani : ne fecero grand' allegrezze per Roma" [that the Romans should be free from taxes, and that the offices and benefices within the city should be conferred on Romans ; whereby he afforded great delight to Rome].

Sometimes private individuals figure in his pages : we are made acquainted, for instance, with the boldest and most celebrated of procurators : " Bento Moccero, il piu terribile uomo (the most powerful, the most tyrannical), che mai fusse stato in Roma per un huomo privato in Roma." He lost his life through the Orsini.

Even in this otherwise insignificant work the spirit of the times and the spirit of the several administrations are imaged,—the periods of terror, of conquest, and of quiet, under Alexander, Julius, and Leo. There are other diaries, for instance, that of Cola Colleine, 1521—1561, which contain nothing of importance.

10. *Vita Leonis X Pontificis Maximi per Franciscum Norellum Romanum, J. V. Professorem.*—*Bibl. Barberini.*

" Alii," says the author, " longe melius et hæc et alia mihi incognita referre, et describere poterunt." By all means. His little work is perfectly insignificant.

11. *Quædam historica quæ ad notitiam temporum pertinent pontificatum Leonis X. Adriani VI. Clementis VII. Ex libris notariorum subisdem pontificibus.* (Abridged by Felix Contellorius).—*Bibl. Barberina, 48 leaves.* [Certain historical particulars pertaining to the pontificates of Leo X., Adrian VI., and Clement VII. From the books of the notaries under the same popes.]

Short notices of the contents of papal instruments : for instance, " Leo X. assignat contessinæ de Medicis de Rodulph ejus sorori duc. 285 auri de camera ex introitibus dobanarum pecudum persolvendos." [Leo X. assigns to his sister the countess de' Medici de' Rodolfi 285 gold ducats from the treasury, chargeable upon the dogana of cattle.]

I have here and there made use of these data. The following extract from a brief of June 9, 1529, is perhaps the most interesting, as detailing personal incidents of an affecting character, which have hitherto escaped notice :—" Certain precious articles belonging to the papal see were given in pledge to Bernardo Bracchi. In the time of the conquest, Bracchi thought it advisable to bury

these in a garden. He made the fact known only to one individual, a certain Hieronymo Bacato of Florence, so that, should any mischance befall himself, the secret might at least be in some one's keeping. Bracchi was soon afterwards seized by the Germans, and cruelly used. Hieronymo, now believing that his friend had died under the torture, was induced by a similar anxiety to impart the secret to a third person. But this last was not so discreet. The Germans heard of the hidden treasure, and, by dint of fresh and severer tortures, forced Bracchi at last to indicate the place of concealment. To save the valuables, Bracchi made himself answerable for the payment of 10,000 ducats. Hieronymo looked on himself as a traitor, and killed himself for shame and vexation."

12. *Sommario di la relation fatta in pregadi per S. Aluise Gradenigo, venuto orator di Roma, 1523 Muzo.—Stauto tom. xxxiv.* [Summary of Aluise Gradenigo's report of his embassy to Rome, &c.]

He speaks first of the city, which he finds enlarged within a short period by about ten thousand houses; next of the constitution—the conservators claimed precedence of the ambassadors, which the latter disputed; then of the cardinals. Giulio Medici had risen still higher in reputation. "Hom di summa autorità e ricco cardinale, era il primo appresso Leon, hom di gran ingegno e cuor: il papa (Leone) feva quello lui voleva." [A wealthy and highly influential cardinal; he was the first with pope Leo, a man of great understanding and heart: pope Leo did whatever he desired.] He portrays Leo X.: "Di statura grandissima, testa molto grossa, havea bellissima man: bellissimo parlador: prometea assa ma non atendea. . . . Il papa si serviva molto con dimandar danari al prestido, vendeva poi li officii, impegnava zoie, raze del papato e fino li apostoli per aver danaro." [A man of very lofty stature, with a very large head, and beautiful hands: a very fine speaker: he promised fairly, but did not keep his promises. . . . The pope had very frequent recourse to borrowing; besides which, he sold offices, and pledged jewels and heir-looms of the papacy, and the very apostles, to get money.] He estimates the temporal revenues of Rome at 300,000, the ecclesiastical at 100,000 ducats.

He regards Leo's policy as thoroughly anti-French. If it ever appeared otherwise, it was the effect of dissimulation. "Fenzeva esso amico del re di Francia." But at that period he was the open and undisguised enemy of France, for which Gradenigo gives the following reason:—"Disse che m<sup>r</sup> di Lutrech et m<sup>r</sup> de l'Escu havia ditto che'l voleva che le rechia del papa fusse la major parte restasse di la so persona." Does this mean that Lutrech and l'Escu had said that nothing should be left of the pope but his ears? A very coarse and vulgar joke assuredly, which Leo took much amiss. Upon receiving news of the conquest of Milan, Leo is stated to have said, "that but half the fight was won."

Leo left the papal treasury so exhausted, that it was necessary to employ in his obsequies the wax-candles that had been provided for those of cardinal St. Georgio, who had died shortly before.

The ambassador waited the arrival of Adrian VI.

He describes the moderate and rational habits of life of that pope, and observes that he had maintained at first an attitude of neutrality. "Disse: il papa per opinion soa, ancora che'l sia dipendente del imperador, è neutral, ed a molto a cuor di far la trieva per atender a le cose del Turco, e questo si giudica per le sue operation cotidiane come etiam per la mala contentezza del vicero di Napoli, che venne a Roma per far dichiarar il papa imperial, e S. S<sup>ta</sup> non volse, onde si parti senza conclusion. Il papa è molto intento a le cose di Hungaria e desidera si fazi la impresa contra infideli, dubita che'l Turco non vegni a Roma, pero cerca di unir li principi christiani e far la paxe universal, saltem triève per tre anni." [He said that in his opinion the pope, though he be dependent on the emperor, is neutral; and he has it much at heart to effect a truce to attend to the affairs of the Turk, and this is indicated by his daily operations, as also by the discontent of the viceroy of Naples, who visited Rome to engage the pope to declare himself for the emperor, which his holiness would not do, and the viceroy returned without effecting any thing. The pope is very intent on the affairs of Hungary, and is eager for an enterprize against the infidels: he is apprehensive lest the Turk make a descent on Rome; and therefore he wishes the Christian sovereigns to make universal peace, or at least a truce for three years.]

13. *Sommario del riato di oratori nostri andono a Roma a dar la obedientia a papa Hadriano VI.* [Summary, &c. of the journey of our ambassadors to Rome, to tender allegiance to pope Adrian VI.]

The only report that possesses the interest of a narrative of travels, and which also adverts to works of art.

The ambassadors describe the flourishing condition of Ancona, and the fertility of the March: they were hospitably received in Spello by Oratio Baglione; thence they proceeded to Rome.

They describe an entertainment given them by a fellow-countryman, cardinal Cornclio. Their account of the music at table is worthy of note: "A la tavola vennero ogni sorte de musici, che in Roma si atrovava, li pifari eccellenti di continuo sonorono, ma eravi clavicembani con voce dentro mirabilissima, liuti e quatro violoni." [At table there were musicians of every kind to be found in Rome; excellent flute-players performed continually; and there were harpsichords, most admirably accompanied with the voice, lutes, and four violins.] Grimani, too, gave them an entertainment: "Poi disnar vennero alcuni musici, tra li quali una donna brutissima che cantò in liuto mirabilmente." [The dinner was attended by some musicians, among whom was a very loathsome woman, who sang admirably to the lute.]

They next visited the churches. In Santa Croce workmen were putting some ornaments on the doors. . . . "alcuni arnesi e volte di alcune porte di una preda raccolta delle anticaglie;" [some ornaments and arches of doors selected from the spoils of antiquity,] every little stone which was wrought there deserved in their opinion to be set in gold, and worn on the finger. In the Pantheon an altar was in course of erection, at its foot the tomb of Raphael. They were shown ornaments, said to be



of gold, as pure as the Rhenish guilder. They fancy, were this true, pope Leo would not have left them there. They admire the columns, larger than those of their own St. Mark. "Sostengono un coperto in colmo, el qual è di alcune travi di metallo." [They sustain an entire roof, consisting of some beams of metal.]

They express their admiration of the objects of antiquity with great naïveté. I know not whether this book is likely to fall into the hands of antiquarians. The following description of the colossal statues is at any rate very striking:—"Monte Cavallo è ditto perche alla summità del colle benissimo habitato vi è una certa macchina de un pezo di grossissimo muro, sopra uno di cantoni vi è uno cavallo di pietra par de Istria molto antiquo e della vetustà corroso e sopra l'altro uno altro, tutti doi dal mezzo inanzi zoe testa, collo, zampe, spalle e mezzo il dorso: appresso di quelli stanno due gran giganti, huomini due fiate maggiore del naturale, ignudi, che con un braccio li tengono: le figure sono bellissime, proportionate e di la medesima pietra di cavalli, bellissimi sì i cavalli come gli huomeni, sotto una di quali vi sono bellissime lettere majuscule che dicono opus Fidiæ e sotto l'altro opus Praxitelis." [Monte Cavallo is so called, because at the summit of that very well-peopled hill there is a certain structure, a part of a very huge wall (a rude base), on one of the corner stones of which there is a horse of stone, apparently Istrian, very old and decayed by time, and on the other corner another, both of them forepart halves,—that is, head, neck, legs, shoulders, and half the back: beside them stand two great giants, men twice the natural size, naked, holding the horses with one arm. These figures are very beautiful, proportioned to and of the same stone as the horses; the horses, too, are as beautiful as the men, and under one of them is inscribed, in very handsome capital letters, "Opus Phidieæ," and under the other, "Opus Praxitelis."] They visit the capitol, where, among other fine figures, they discover "uno villano di bronzo che si cava un spin da un pe, fatto al natural rustico modo: par a cui lo mira voglia lamentarsi di quel spin, cosa troppo eccellente" [a peasant in bronze, taking a thorn out of his foot, made in the natural rustic manner: you think as you look at him he wants to complain of the thorn,—an exceedingly fine work]. In the Belvedere their great object of attraction was the Laocoon. Hitherto the German lansquenets have been frequently charged with having rendered necessary the restoration of one of the arms of that noble work of art: we find, however, from our travellers, that it was wanting even before the sack of the city. "Ogni cosa è integra, salvoche al Laocoon gli manca il braccio destro." [Every thing is entire, except that the Laocoon wants the right arm.] They are enchanted with admiration. They say of the whole group, "Non gli manca che lo spirito." [It wants nothing but the breath of life.] Their description of the boys is very good. "L'uno volendosi tirare dal rabido serpente con il suo brazello da una gamba nè potendosi per modo alcuno ajutar, sta con la faccia lacrimosa cridando verso il padre e tenendolo con l'altra mano nel sinistro braccio. Si vede in sti putini doppio dolore, l'uno per vedersi la morte a lui propinqua, l'altro perche il padre non lo puol ajutare e si languisce." [One of them endeavouring to free one leg from

the folds of the fierce serpent with his little arm, and not being able in any way to help himself, stands with his tearful face turned beseechingly to his father, whose left arm he holds with the other hand. A twofold grief is depicted in these lads: that of the one who sees his death at hand, and that of the other who sees that his father cannot help him, and whose strength fails him.] They add, that at the meeting between the pope and king Francis at Bologna, the latter solicited this work of his holiness; but the latter would not rob his Belvedere of it, and had a copy of it made for the king. The boys were already finished. But if the *maestro* were to live for five hundred years, and to spend a hundred of them on the work, he could never equal the original. They fell in with a young Flemish artist in the Belvedere who had made two statues of the pope.

They next proceed to speak of the latter, and of the court. The most important information they give is, that cardinal di Volterra, who had hitherto kept down the Medici, had been thrown into prison because letters of his had been got hold of, in which he had encouraged king Francis to make an immediate descent on Italy, as he could never have a better opportunity. This enabled the Medici to rise again. The imperial ambassador, Sessa, supported them. It is very possible that this incident may have decided the change in Adrian's policy.

14. *Clementis VII P. M. conclave et creatio.*—*Bibl. Barb. 4. 70 leaves.* [Conclave and election of pope Clement VII.]

The following remark appears on the title:—"Hoc conclave sapit stylum Joh. Bapt. Sangae civis Romani, qui fuit Clementi VII ab epistolis." [This conclave savours of the style of Giovan-Battista Sanga, citizen of Rome, who was epistolary secretary to Clement VII.] But this conjecture may be rejected without hesitation. Another MS. in the Barberini library, with the title, "Vianesii Albergati Bononiensis commentarii rerum sui temporis," contains nothing besides this conclave. It constitutes the first part of the commentary, of which, however, no continuation is to be found. We may assume that the conclave above-mentioned is the work of Vianesio Albergati.

But who was he? Mazzuchelli names several Albergati, but not this one.

The following story is told in a letter of Girolamo Negro. A Bolognese gave pope Adrian to understand he had an important secret to impart to him, but he had not money to defray the cost of the journey to Rome. Messer Vianesio, a friend and favourite of the Medici, interceded for him, and was told at last by the pope that he might advance the twenty-four ducats the Bolognese required, and they should be repaid him. Vianesio did so, and his man arrived. He was introduced to the pope with the utmost secrecy. "Holy father," said he, "if you would conquer the Turks, you must equip a great armament both by sea and land." Not a word more had he to say. "Per Deum!" cried the highly incensed pope the next time he saw Messer Vianesio, "that Bolognese of yours is a great swindler; but it shall be at your cost that he has cheated me." Vianesio never got back his twenty-four ducats. This Vianesio is probably our author; for he says, in the little work before us, that he had mediated between the

Medici and the pope: "me etiam internuntio." He was well acquainted with Adrian, whom he had already known in Spain.

He has erected, however, to his memory the least flattering monument that can be. It serves to show us the full intensity of the hatred with which Adrian inspired the Italians. "Si ipsius avaritiam, crudelitatem, et principatus administrandi insectiam considerabimus, barbarorumque quos secum adduxerat asperam feramque naturam, merito inter pessimos pontifices referendus est." [If we consider his avarice, his cruelty, his ignorance of the arts of government, and the rude and savage nature of the barbarians he brought with him, he is justly to be classed among the worst popes.] He is not ashamed to relate the most miserable lampoons against the dead pope: one, for instance, in which he is compared first to an ass, and then to a wolf,—"post paulo faciem induit lupi acrem,"—may, at last, to Caracalla and Nero. But if we look for proofs, we find that the poor pope is even justified by what Vianesio relates.

Adrian had a room in the Torre Borgia, the key of which he always carried about him, and which went under the name of the sanctum sanctorum. This was opened with great curiosity after his death. As he had received much, and spent nothing, it was supposed that his treasures would be found in the secret chamber; but nothing was discovered there but books and papers, a couple of rings belonging to Leo X., and scarcely any money. It was confessed at last, "male partis optime usum fuisset" [that he had made an excellent use of wealth ill-gotten].

The complaints made by the author respecting the procrastination of business may have more truth in them. The pope was in the habit of saying, "Cogitabimus, videbimus." [We shall consider, we shall see.] He would refer, to be sure, to his secretary; but the latter, after long delay, would in his return refer to the auditors of camera. This was a well-meaning man, but one who never got through with any thing, and only bewildered himself with his own excessive industry. "Nimia ei nocebat diligentia." People went back from him once more to Adrian, who again said, "Cogitabimus, videbimus."

On the other hand, he highly extols the Medici and Leo X., that pope's kindness, and the security enjoyed under him: he also praises his public works.

I collect from our author's remarks that Raphael's Arazzi were originally intended for the Sixtine chapel. "Quod quidem sacellum Julius II opera Michaelis Angeli pingendi suspensique scientia clarissimi admirabili exornavit pictura, quo opere nullum absolutius extare atque nostra plerique judicant; moxque Leo X ingenio Raphaelis Urbinate architecti et pictoris celeberrimi auleis auro purpurisque intextis insignivit, que absolutissimi operis pulchritudine omnium oculos tenent." [Which chapel Julius II. adorned with admirable paintings by the hand of Michael Angelo, a most renowned painter and sculptor, and it is the general opinion that no works of more perfect excellence exist in our day: subsequently Leo X. decked the chapel with hangings wrought with gold and brilliant colours, after the designs of Raphael of Urbino, a very famous architect and painter; the beauty of these most exquisite specimens of art fascinates every beholder.]

15. *Istruzione al Card<sup>e</sup> Reymo di Farnese, che fu poi Paul III, quando andò legato all' Imper<sup>e</sup> Carlo V dopo il sacco di Roma.* [Instruction to Cardinal Farnese, afterwards Paul III., on his proceeding as legato to the court of the emperor Charles V. after the sack of Rome.]

I found this instruction first in the Corsini library, No. 467, and afterwards procured a copy in the handwriting of the middle of the sixteenth century.

This document was known to Pallavicini, who mentioned it in the *Istoria del Concilio di Trento*, lib. ii. c. 13. Nevertheless, as we shall show in the following chapter, he has made less use of it than his words import. He has collected his narrative from other sources.

As this instruction is highly important, not only as regards the affairs of the papacy, but also with respect to the whole policy of Europe at so interesting a period, and contains many weighty particulars not to be found elsewhere, I have thought it expedient to print it entire. No extract would satisfy the instructed reader. A few more pages will be well devoted to it.

The pope had issued a brief in June, 1526, in which he shortly enumerated his complaints against the emperor, and the latter made a very spirited reply in 1526. The state paper which then appeared under the title, "Pro divo Carlo V. . . apologetici libri . . ." (in Goldast's *Politica Imperialis*, p. 984.) contains a circumstantial refutation of the pope's assertions. The instruction before us is attached to this paper. It will be found to consist of two distinct parts: one, in which the pope is spoken of in the third person, drawn up perhaps by Giberto, or some other confidential minister of the pope\*, and of the highest importance with reference to past occurrences, both under Leo and Clement; the other and smaller part, which begins with the words: "Per non entrare in le cause per le quali fummo costretti," in which the pope speaks in the first person, and which was perhaps composed by himself. Both are shaped with a view to justify the proceedings of the court of Rome, and to exhibit, on the other hand, the conduct of the viceroy of Naples in particular in the worst possible light. It must be confessed that we ought in fairness to be in possession of the answer made by the imperial court.

"Illmo Reymo Signore. Nella difficultà della provincia che è toccata alle mani di V. S. Ill<sup>ma</sup> e R<sup>ma</sup>, tanto grande quanto ella stessa conosce, et nella recordatione della somma et estrema miseria nella quale siamo, penso che non sarà so non di qualche rilevamento a quella, haver quella informatione che si può di tutte l'attioni che sono accadute tra N. Signore e la M<sup>ta</sup> Cesarea et in esse conoscere che V. S. R<sup>ma</sup> va a principio del quale Sa S<sup>ta</sup> et la casa sua è più benemerita che nessun altra che nè per li tempi passati nè per li presenti si possa ricordare: et se qualche offensione è nata in quest' ultimo anno, non è causata

\* [It will be seen, however, that the writer occasionally lapses into the use of the first person: whether he does so in momentary forgetfulness of an assumed character, or because he feels so lively an interest in his subject as to identify himself with the person whose cause he pleads.—TRANSLATOR.]

nè da alienatione che S<sup>a</sup> S<sup>ta</sup> havessi fatto della solita volontà et amore verso sua Maestà o per disegni particolari d'aggrandire i suoi o altri o per abbassare la reputatione o stato suo, ma solo per necessità di non comportare d'esser oppresso da chi haveva et autorità et forze in Italia, et per molte prove che sua B<sup>e</sup> havessi fatto per nuntii, lettere, messi et legati, non era mai stato possibile trovarci remedio.

“La S<sup>ta</sup> di N. Signore da che cominciò a esser tale da poter servir la corona di Spagna et la casa della Maestà Cesarea, il che fu dal principio del pontificato della S<sup>ta</sup> M<sup>ria</sup> di Leone suo fratello, con el quale poteva quanto ogn'uno sa et la M<sup>ta</sup> sua ha provato, fu sempre di tanto studio et servitù della parte Spagnuola et imperiale che non si potrà numerar beneficio o gratia o sodisfattione di cosa alcuna che questa parte in ogni tempo habbi ricevuta dalla S<sup>ta</sup> M<sup>ria</sup> di Leone et della chiesa, nella quale non solo N. Signore stando in minoribus non si sia trovato o non adversario o consentiente solo, ma ancora autore, indirizzatore et conduttore del tutto. Et per toccare quelle cose che sono di più importanza solamente: la lega che si fece il secondo et terzo anno della S<sup>ta</sup> M<sup>ria</sup> di Leone per adversare alla venuta prima che fece il christianissimo re Francesco passò tutta per mano di S. S<sup>ta</sup>, et ella andò in persona legato per trovarsi in fatto con gli altri. Dove essendo riusciti li disegni diversamente da quello che s'era imaginato, et costretto papa Leone a fare quelli accordi che poté con el ch<sup>mo</sup>, il cardinale de Medici hebbe quella cura di conservare il papa Spagnuolo che ogn'uno di quelli che all' hora vi si trovarono posson render testimonio, et usò tutta l'autorità che haveva col papa suo fratello, che la volontà et estremo desiderio che el christianissimo haveva di seguir la vittoria et passar con tanto esercito et favore nel regno, fussi raffrenato hor con una scusa et hor con un'altra, et tra le altre che se essendo il re cattolico vecchio et per l'infermità già a gli ultimi anni S. M<sup>ta</sup> aspettasse l'occasione della morte sua, nel qual tempo l'impresa riuscirebbe senza difficoltà alcuna. Et succedendo assai presto doppo questi ragionamenti la morte del re cattolico, che credo non ci fusse un mese di tempo, con quant' arte et fatica fussi necessario reprimere l'istanzia grande che el christianissimo ne faceva, ne sarcher testimonio le lettere di propria mano di S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ta</sup>, se questi soldati, che tra le altre cose hanno ancor saccheggiato tutte le scritture, o ci le rendessero over le mandassero all' imperatore. Et queste cose con molte altre, che tutte erano in preparar quietà et stabile la heredità et successione della persona hora dell' imperatore et in assicurarli etiam vivente l'avo de maestri di Spagna, tutte faceva el cardinale de Medici non per privato comodo suo alcuno, anzi direttamente contro l'utile particolare, non havendo rendita alcuna di momento se non nel dominio di Francia, et non procurando mai d'haver ristoro in quel di Spagna.

“Successo la morte dell' imperatore Massimiliano, et essendo Leone inclinato alla parte del christianissimo per quella dignità et opponendosi alli conati della M<sup>ta</sup> Cesarea d' hora, non passò il termine dell' elezione che el cardinal de Medici condusse il papa a non contravenirvi, e doppo fatta l'elezione ad approvarla, assolverlo dalla simonia, dal pergiuro, che non poteva, essendo re di Napoli, sì come vuole la costitutione di papa . . . . .

procurar d'essere imperatore, rinvestirlo et darli di nuovo il regno di Napoli: in che non so—se l'affettion grande et l'opinionne nella quale el cardinal de Medici era entrato della bontà, prudenzia et religione della M<sup>ta</sup> sua, non lo scusasse—se fusse più o il servitio, che può molto apertamente dire d'haver fatto grandissimo alla M<sup>ta</sup> sua, overo il deservitio fatto al fratello cioè al papa et alla chiesa, favorendo et nutrendo una potentia tanto grande e da considerare che un di da questo fiume poteva erumpere una devastatione et oltraggio sì grande come hora è seguito. Ma vedendo il cardinale queste due potenze di Spagna et Francia divise di sorte che malamente non contrapesando l'una coll' altra si poteva sperar pace, andò prima con questo disegno d'aggiunger tanta autorità et forze al re di Spagna che essendo uguale al christianissimo dovessi haver rispetto di venire a guerra, et se pur la disgratia portasse che non si potesse far dimeno, essendo l'opinionne d'anteporre il re di Spagna al ch<sup>mo</sup>, Spagna fussi in modo ferma et gagliarda che attaccandosi in un caso simile a quella parte si potesse sperarne buon esito et certa vittoria. Et questo lo provassi con altro che a parole, se forte le cose sopradette fussen così oscure che havesser bisogno di più aperta fede: ne farà testimonio la conchlussa lega con Cesare contra Francia, et tanto dissimili le condizioni che si promettevano da un lato a quelle dell' altro, che non solo Leone non doveva venire a legarsi coll' imperatore, essendo in sua libertà et arbitrio d'elegger quel che più faceva per lui, ma essendo legato doveva fare ogni opera per spicarsene. Et per mostrar brevemente esser con effetto quanto io dico, l'imperatore si trovava in quel tempo che Leone fece lega seco, privo d'ogni autorità, nervo, amici et reputatione, havendo perduto in tutto l'obbedienza in Spagna per la rebellione di tutti i populi, essendo tornato dalla dieta che sua M<sup>ta</sup> haveva fatta in Vornatia, escluso d'ogni conclusion buona d'ajuti et di favori che si fussi proposto d'ottenere in essa, havendo la guerra già mossa ne suoi paesi in due lati, in Fiandra per via di Roberto della Marva et in Navarra, il qual regno già era tutto andato via et ridottosi all' obbedienza del re favorito da i Francesi: li Suizzeri poco innanzi s'eran di nuovo allegati col christianissimo con una nuova condizione d'obbligarsi alla defensione dello stato di Milano, che el re possedeva, cosa che mai per innanzi non havevon voluto fare: et il s<sup>mo</sup> re d'Anglia, nel quale forse l'imperatore faceva fondamento per il parentado tra loro et per la nemistà naturale con Francia, mostrava esser per star a veder volentieri, come comprobò poi con li effetti, non si movendo a dar pure un minimo ajuto all' imperatore per molta necessità in che lo vedessi et per molta istanzia che gli ne fusse fatta, salvo doppo la morte di Leone. Il christianissimo all' incontro, oltre la potentia grande unita da se et la pronta unione che haveva con l'Il<sup>ma</sup> Signoria et che haveva questa nuova lianza de Suizzeri, si trovava tanto più superior nel resto quanto li causano la potentia sua et la facevano maggiore li molti et infiniti disordini ne quali dico di sopra che l'imperatore si trovava. Le speranze et propositioni dei premii et comodità del successo et prosperità che le cose havessero havuto cron molto diverse: il christianissimo voleva dar di primo colpo Ferrara alla chiesa innanzi che per sua M<sup>ta</sup> si facessi altra impresa, poi nell' acquisto del regno

di Napoli S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ia</sup> christianissima, per non venire a i particolari, dava tante comodità alla chiesa circa ogni cosa che gli tornava di piu comodo piu utilità et sicurtà assai, che non sarebbe stato se ce l'havesse lassato tutto; in quest' altra banda non era cosa nessuna se non proposito di metter lo stato di Milano in Italiani et far ritornar Parma et Piacenza alla chiesa: et nondimeno, essendo et la facilità dell' impresa in una parte et nell' altra il pericolo così ineguale et aggiugnendovisi ancora la disparità de i guadagni sì grande, potette tanto la volontà del cardinale de Medici appresso al papa, et appresso a S. S. Rev<sup>ma</sup> l'opinione della bontà et religione della Maestà Cesarea, che mettendosi nella deliberatione che era necessaria di fare o in un luogo o in un altro questa imaginazione inanzi agli occhi, non volle dar parte della vista all' altro consiglio nè altro esame se non darsi in tutto et per tutto a quella parte donde sperava piu frutti d'animo sauto et christiano che da qualsivoglia altri premii che temporalmente havesser potuto pervenire per altra via. Et che sia vero chi non ha visto che non essendo successe le cose in quel principio come si sperava, et essendo consumati i danari che per la prima portion sua la M<sup>ia</sup> Cesarea haveva dato, et vedendo male il modo che si facessi provisione per piu, la S<sup>ta</sup> M<sup>ia</sup> di Leone per sua parte et S. S. Rev<sup>ma</sup> molto piu per la sua non manco mettersi la sustantia della patria sua et di quanti amici et servitori che havessi et per l'ultimo la persona sua propria, della quale conobbe l'importanza et il frutto che ne seguì.

“Morì in quello papa Leone, et benchè S. S. Rev<sup>ma</sup> si trovasse nemico tutto il mondo, perchè quelli che haveva offeso dalla parte francese tutti s'erón levati contro lo stato et dignità sua temporale et spirituale, gli altri della parte dell' Imp<sup>re</sup> parte non lo volsero ajutare, parte gli furón contrarii, come V. S. Rev<sup>ma</sup> et ogn'uno sa molto bene, non dimeno nè il pericolo o offerte grandi dei primi nè l'ingrattitudine o sdegno dei secondi bastarono mai tanto che lo facesser muovere pur un minimo punto della volontà sua, parendoli che sicome l'animo di Cesare et l'opinione d'esso era stato scopo et oggetto, così quello dovessi esser sua guida: et non si potendo imaginar che questo nascessi dall' animo suo nè potendo per il tempo breve sospicarlo, volse piu presto comportar ogni cosa che mutarsi niente, anzi come se fussi stato il contrario, di nessuna cura tenne piu conto che di fare un papa buono parimente per la M<sup>ia</sup> sua come per la chiesa: et che l'opinione anzi certezza fussi che non sarebbe quasi stato differenza a far papa Adriano o l'Imp<sup>re</sup> stesso, ogn'uno lo sa, sicome ancora è notissimo che nessuno fu più autore et conduttore di quella creatione che l' cardinale de Medici.

“Hor qui fu il luogo dove il card<sup>le</sup> de Medici hebbe a far prova, se'l giudicio el quale S. S. haveva fatto della M<sup>ia</sup> Cesarea gli riusciva tale quale S. S. Rev<sup>ma</sup> s'era imaginato, perchè inanzi l'ombra et indrizzo della S<sup>ta</sup> M<sup>ia</sup> di Leone haveva fatto che non si veniva a fare esperienza d'altro, et l'animo di S. S. tutto occupato a servir la M<sup>ia</sup> sua, non haveva pensato di distrarlo in cura sua o di suoi particolari, nè era così avido o poco prudente che s'imaginasse i premii corrispondenti ai meriti, anzi in questo pareva d'haver perfettamente servito et meritato assai, non havendo oggetto nessun tale et essendosi rimesso in tutto e per tutto alla discretione et liberalità sua. E vero

che trovandosi piu di due anni quasi prima che la M<sup>ia</sup> sua non pensava nè credeva poter ricever tanto beneficio et servitio dalla casa de Medici, haver promesso per scritto di sua mano et disegnato et tenuto a tale instantia separatamente da quella uno stato nel regno di Napoli di VI m. scudi et una moglie con stato in dote di X m. pur promesso a quel tempo per uno dei nipoti di papa Leone et di S. S. R<sup>ma</sup>, et non essendosi mai curati d'entrare in possesso del primo nè venir a effetto del secondo per parerli d'haver tutto in certissimo deposito in mano di sua Maestà, morto papa Leone et non essendo rimasto segno alcuno di bene verso la casa de Medici, che gli facessi ricordo d'haver havuto tanto tempo un papa, se non questo, mandando S. S. R<sup>ma</sup> alla M<sup>ia</sup> Cesarea a farli riverenza et dar conto di se, dette commissioni dell' expeditione di questa materia, che se ne facessi la spedizione, la consignatione et li privilegi et venisse all' effetto. Ma successe molto diversamente da quello che non solo era l'opinion nostra ma d'ogn'uno: perchè in cambio di vedere che si pensasse a nuovi premii et gratitudine per li quali si conoscesse la recognitione de benefici fatti alla M<sup>ia</sup> sua, et la casa de Medici si consolasse vedendo non haver fatto molta perdita nella morte di Leone, si messe difficoltà tale nell' expeditione delle cose dette non come si fusse trattato di uno stato già stabilito et debito per conto molto diverso et inferiore ai meriti grandi che s'erón aggiunti, prima di disputare, non altrimenti che se la casa de Medici gli fusse stata nemica, facendo objectioni di sorte che ancorche fusse stata in quel termine, non si devevon fare, perchè la fede et quel che s'è una volta promesso si vuol servare in ogni tempo: pure si replicò et mostrò il torto che si riceveva talmente che in cambio di sperar piu o di havere almeno interamente quello che era promesso d'uno stato di XVI m. scudi, VI di S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ia</sup> propria et X m. di dote che si doveva dare, si risolvette in tre: nel qual tempo essendo il cardinale de Medici bene informato di tutto, se S. S. R<sup>ma</sup> non si mosse dalla devotione di S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ia</sup> perseverando non come trattato ut supra ma come se fusse stato remunerato a satisfacti, si potrebbe dire che l'havessi fatto per forza, essendo la potenza dell' imperatore fermata di sorte che non poteva far altro, ovvero per mancarli partito con altri precinpi, ovvero per trovarsi in qualche gran necessità nella quale fusse piu pronto prestar ajuto all' imperatore che ad altri: ma chi si ricorda dello stato di quei tempi, che è facile essendo assai fresca la memoria, conoscerà che l'esercito e parte imperiale in Italia per el nuovo soccorso che i Francesi havean mandato reparando l'esercito et forze loro con l'Il<sup>ma</sup> Sig<sup>ria</sup>, era in grandissimo pericolo, et in mano d'alcuno era piu in Italia, per l'opportunità del stato amici parenti dependentie denari et gente, che del cardinale de Medici far cader la vittoria in quella parte dove gli fusse parso a S. S. R<sup>ma</sup> salda nella volontà verso l'imperatore, cercavano opprimerlo, non solo poteva\* sperare ajuto dalli Co<sup>ar</sup>ei, ma essi male haverebbon fatto i fatti loro se da S. S. R<sup>ma</sup> non havessero ricevuto ogni sorte di ajuto tanto ad acquistare la vittoria quanto a mantenerla, essendosi spogliato fino all' ossa et se et la patria per pagare una grossa impositione che fu imposta per contri- buire et pagar l'esercito et tenerlo unito. Direi

\* {Qy. non solo non poteva!—TRANSLATOR.}

volentieri, connumerando tutti i beneficii, officii et meriti infiniti del cardinale de Medici et di casa sua, qualche amorevole demonstratione o specie di gratitudine che S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ta</sup> havessi usato inverso di loro, così per dire il vero come per seusare in questo modo questa perseverantia mai interrotta per alcun accidente verso S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ta</sup> et difenderla da chi la volessi chiamare piu tosto ostinatione che vero giudicio, ma non vi essendo niente non lo posso far di nuovo, salvo se non si dicesse che in cambio di XXII m. sc. d'entrata perduti in Francia S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ta</sup> gli ordinò sopra Toledo una pensione di X m. sc., dei quali ancora in parte ne resta creditore. E vero che nelle lettere che S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ta</sup> scriveva in Italia a tutti li suoi ministri et oratori et capitani gli faceva honorifica menzione di S. S. R<sup>ma</sup>, et commetteva che facessin capo a quella et ne tenessero gran conto per insino a commetterli che se dio disponesse della S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ta</sup> d'Adriano, non attendessero a far papu altri che S. S. R<sup>ma</sup>: donde nasceva che tutti facevano nei negotii loro capo a Fiorenza et comunicavano le facende, et quando s'haveva a trattar di danari o altra sorte d'ajuti, a nessuno si ricorreva con piu fiducia che a S. S. R<sup>ma</sup>, favorendola gagliardamente contro la mala disposizione di papa Adriano per triste informazioni ingeste da Volterra che mostrava haver di S. S<sup>ta</sup>: nelle quai cose, non facendo ingiuria al buon animo che Cesare potesse havere con el cardinale, dirò bene che S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ta</sup> si governava prudentissimamente in volere che si mantenessi una persona di tanta autorità in Italia, la quale per poca recognitione che gli fussi stata fatta non si era mai mutato un pelo del solito suo, et non possendo succedere, così in questo come negli altri stati, che mutando la forma et regimento se ne fusse potuto sentire evidentissimi frutti et commodità che faceva sua Maestà stando integro in Fiorenza el cardinale de Medici.

“Morto Adriano fu il cardinale creato papa, dove ancorche i ministri et altri dipendenti da Cesare havessero gagliarda commissione, parte si portoron come volsero, et alcuni che all' ultimo descesero poi a favorir la sua elezione il primo protesto che essi volsero fu che non intendevano per niente che S. S<sup>ta</sup> conoscesse l'opera loro ad instantia dell' imperatore, ma che lo facevano per mera disposizione privata. Et nondimeno fatto papa ritenne S. S<sup>ta</sup> la medesima persona del cardinal de Medici, quanto comportava una union tale insieme con la dignità nella quale dio l'haveva posto: et se in pesar queste due parti, del debito del pontefice et dell' affettion verso l'imperatore, S. S<sup>ta</sup> non s'haveva lassato vincere et fatto pesar piu l'ultima, forse che il mondo sarebbe piu anni fa in pace et non patiremmo hora queste calamità. Perche trovandosi nel tempo che S<sup>a</sup> S<sup>ta</sup> fu papa, due esserciti gagliardi in Lombardia, di Cesare et del christianissimo, et il primo oppresso da molte difficoltà di potersi mantener, se N. S. non l'ajutava, come fece con lassare le genti ecclesiastiche et Fiorentine in campo, con darli tanto decime nel regno che ne cavavano 80 m. scudi, et farli dar contribuzioni di Fiorenza, et S<sup>a</sup> S<sup>ta</sup> ancora privatamente denari et infinite altre sorti d'ajuti, forse quella guerra havrebbe havuto altro esito et piu moderato et da sperar fine ai travagli et non principio a nuove et maggiori tribulationi, alle quali sperando N. S. tanto ritrovar forma quanto oltre all' autorità ordinaria che credeva haver coll' imperatore et per consigliarlo bene ci haveva ancora

aggiunto queste nuove dimostrazioni, senza le quali non havrebbe potuto vincere, perche et me n'ero scordato senz' esso mai la Signoria faceva unir l'esercito suo, non solo non fu dato luogo alcuno al suo consiglio, che dissuadeva di passare in Francia con l'esercito, anzi in molte occorrentie si cominciò a mostrare di tenere un poco conto di S<sup>a</sup> S<sup>ta</sup>, et favorir Ferrara in dispreggio di quella, et, in cambio di lodarsi et ringratiarla di quanto haveva fatto per loro, querelarsi di quel che non s'era fatto a voglia loro, non misurando prima che tutto si facessi per mera disposizione senza obbligo alcuno, et poi, se ben ce ne fussero stati infiniti, che molto maggior doveva esser quello che tirava S<sup>a</sup> Santità a fare il debito suo con dio che con l'imperatore.

“L'esito che hebbe la guerra di Francia mostrò se el consiglio di N. Sig<sup>te</sup> era buono, che venendo el christianissimo adosso all'esercito Cesareo ch'era a Marsiglia, lo costrinse a ritirarsi, di sorte e'l re seguiva con celerità, che prima fu entrato in Milano ch' essi si potesser provvedere, et fu tanto terrore in quella giornata del viceré, secondo che l'huomo di S. S<sup>ta</sup> che era presso a S. Ecc<sup>za</sup> scrisse, che non sarebbe stato partito quale S. Signoria non avessi accettato dal re, et prudentemente: vedendosi in estrema rovina se la ventura non l'haveva ajutato con fare che el christianissimo andasse a Pavia et non a Lodi, dove non era possibile stare con le genti che vi s'erón ridotte. Hora le cose si trovavano in questi termini et tanti peggiori quanto sempre in casi così subiti l'huomo s'imagina, et N. S. in malissima intelligentia col ch<sup>mo</sup> et poca speranza di non haver a sperar se non male da S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ta</sup> et rimanerli odiato in infinito, essendosi governata come dirò appresso con quella verità che debbo et sono obbligato in qualsivoglia luogo che piu potessi stringere a dirla di quel che io mi reputi al presente.

“Fatto che fu N. Sig<sup>te</sup> papa, mandò el christianissimo di mandar subito messi a supplicare a S. S<sup>ta</sup>, che come dio l'haveva posta in luogo sopra tutti, coì ancora si volessi metter sopra se stessa et vincer le passioni quali gli potesser esser rimasto o di troppa affettione verso l'imperatore o di troppo mala volontà verso di lui, et chi rimarrebbe molto obbligato a dio et a S. S<sup>ta</sup> se tenessi ogn'uno ad un segno, interponendosi a far bene, ma non mettendosi a favorir l'una parte contro l'altra: et se pure per suoi interessi o disegni S. B<sup>ne</sup> giudicasse bisognarli un appoggio particolare d'un principe, qual poteva havere meglio del suo, che naturalmente et a figliuolo della chiesa et non emulo, desiderava et era solito operar grandezza di essa et non diminutione, et quanto alla volontà poi da persona a persona, gli farebbe ben partiti tali che S. S<sup>ta</sup> conoscerebbe che molto piu ha guadagnato in farsi conoscere quanto meritava offendendo et deservendo lui, che ajutando et favorendo l'imperatore, venendo in particolari grandi.

“Nostro Signore accettava la prima parte d'essere amorevole a tutti, et benche poi con li effetti dependessi piu dall' imperatore, oltre alla inclinazione lo faceva ancora con certissima speranza di poter tanto con l'imperatore che facilmente lassandosi Sua M<sup>ta</sup> Cesareo governare et muovere, a Sua S<sup>ta</sup> non fussi per essere sì grave quello che offendeva el christianissimo, quanto gli sarebbe comodo poi in facilitare et adjutare gli accordi che se havessero havuto a fare in la pace. Ma succedendo altrimenti et facendo il re, mentre che l'esercito

Cesarea era a Marsiglia, resolutione di venire in Italia, mandò credo da Azais (Aix) un corriere con la carta bianca a N. Sig<sup>re</sup> per mezzo del sig<sup>re</sup> Alberto da Carpi non capitulatione favorevole et amplissimi mandati et con una demonstration d'animo tale che certo l'haverebbe possuto mandare al proprio imperatore, perche di voler lo stato di Milano in poi era contento nel resto di riporsi in tutto et per tutto alla volontà et ordine di Nostro Signore: et non ostante questo Sua Santità non si volse risolvere mai se non quando non la prima ma la seconda volta fu certa della presa di Milano et hebbe lettere dall' huomo suo, che tutto era spacciato et che el vicerè non lo giudicava altrimenti. Mettasi qualsivoglia o amico o servitore o fratello o padre o l'imperatore medesimo in questo luogo, et veggia in questo subito et ancora nel seguente, che cosa havria potuto fare per beneficio suo che molto meglio S. S<sup>ta</sup> non habbia fatto? dico meglio: perche son certo che quelli da che forse S. M<sup>ta</sup> ha sperato et spera miglior volontà, poiche si trovano obbligati, havrebber voluto tenere altro conto dell' obbligo che non fece la S. S<sup>ta</sup>; la quale havendo riposto in man sua far cessar l'arme per far proseguir la guerra nel regno di Napoli et infiniti altri comodi et publici et privati, non s'era obbligata ad altro in favor dell' christianissimo se non a farli acquistar quello che già l'esercito di Cesare teneva per perduto et in reprimarlo di non andare inanzi a pigliare il regno di Napoli, nel quale non pareva che fusser per essere molta difficoltà. Et chi vuol farsi bello per li eventi successi al contrario, deve ringraziare dio che miracolosamente et per piacerli ha voluto così, et non attribuir nulla a se, et riconoscere che'l papa fece quella capitulatione per conservar se et l'imperatore et non per mala volontà. Perche trovando poi per sua disgratia el re difficoltà nell' impresa per haverla presa altrimenti di quel che si doveva, N. S<sup>re</sup> lo lassò due mesi d'intorno a Pavia senza dar un sospiro di favore alle cose sue, et benchè questo fusse assai beneficio delli Spagnuoli, non mancò ancora far per loro, dandoli del suo stato tutte le comodità che potevon designare, non mancando d'interporli per metter accordo quanto era possibile tra loro: ma non vi essendo ordine et sollecitando il re, che N. Signore si scoprisse in favor suo per farli acquistare tanto piu facilmente lo stato di Milano, et instando ancora che i Fiorentini facessero il medesimo, a che parimente come S. S<sup>ta</sup> erano obbligati, fece opera di evitare l'haversi a scoprire nè dare ajuto alcuno, salvo di darli passo et vettovaglia per el suo stato a una parto dell' esercito, che sua M<sup>ta</sup> voleva mandare nel regno per far diversione et ridur piu facilmente all' accordo gl' imperiali. Oh che gran servizio fu questo ai Francesi, concedendoli cosa la quale era in facoltà loro di torsiela, ancorche non glie l'havesse voluto dare, trovandosi disarmato et parendo per troppo strano che havendo fatto una lega con S. M<sup>ta</sup> christianissima non l'havendo voluto servir d'altro, gli negasse quello che non poteva, et una publicatione d'una concordia finta, come fu quella che si dette fuora all' hora per dare un poco di pastura a quella M<sup>ta</sup> et fare che di manco mal animo comportasse che S. S<sup>ta</sup> non osservasse ad unguem la capitulatione: et se si vorrà dire il vero, el christianissimo fu piu presto deservito che servito di quella separatione dell' esercito, perche furono le genti intertenute tanto in Siena et di poi in questo di Roma, che l'imperiali hebber tempo in

Lombardia di far la prova che fecero a Pavia: la qual ottenuta, qualche ragione voleva che l'imperatore nè i suoi agenti nè l'huomo al mondo di quella parte si tenesse offeso da Sua S<sup>ta</sup> o pensassi altro che farli servizio o piacere, se la religione non li moveva et il seguitare gli esempi degli altri principi, li quali non solo non hanno offeso i papi che si sono stati a vedere, ma quando hanno ottenuto vittoria contro quella parte con la quale la chiesa si fussi adherita, gli hanno havuti in somma aderenza e riverenza e posto termine alla vittoria sua in chiederli perdono, honorarla et servirla. Lasciamo stare la religione da canto et mettiamo il papa et la chiesa in luogo di Moscovita, dove si trovò mai che a persona et stato che non ti occupasse niente di quello a che la ragione vuole, tu possa pretendere? anzi havendo una continuata memoria d'haver tanti anni col favore, ajuto et sustanzia sua et particulare della persona ottenuto tante vittorie: et se hora si era adherito col re, lo fece in tempo nel quale non potendo ajutare se nè altri, gli parve d'havere una occasione divina di poter col mezzo dei nemici fare quel medesimo effetto, non gli dando piu di quello che o la forza loro o l'impotentia dell' imperatore gli concedeva, et poi quando el corso della vittoria si fermò per i Francesi, haverla piu tosto arenata che ajutata a spingere inanzi: che inhumanità inaudita, per non usar piu grave termine, fu quella, come se appunto non vi fusse stata alcuna di queste ragioni o fussero state al contrario, subito ottenuta la vittoria in Pavia et fatto prigionie il re, cercare di far pace con gli altri, dei quali meritamente potevasi presumere d'essere stati offesi, alla chiesa et alla persona del papa subito indir la guerra et mandarli uno esercito adosso? O gl' imperiali havevon veduti il capito i della lega con el chr<sup>mo</sup> o non gli havevon veduti. Havendo gli visti, come siam certi, essendo andato in man loro tutte le scritture di S. M<sup>ta</sup>, dovevon produrli, et mostrando offensione in essi o nel tempo che furon conclusi ovvero nei particolari di cosa che fusse in pregiudicio alla M<sup>ta</sup> Cesarea, giustificare con essi quello che contavano, se giustificazione alcuna pero vi potesse essere bastante. Non gli havendo visti, perche usar tale iniquità contra di . . . ? Ma nè in scriptis non havendo visto cosa tale nè in fatto non havendolo provato, non havevon sentito offensione alcuna. Nè restò N. Sig<sup>re</sup> per poco animo o per non potere, perche se l'ha dell' animo o del potere essi in loro beneficio l'havevon provato tanto tempo et del primo l'età non glien' haveva potuto levar niente et del secondo la dignità glien' haveva aggiunto assai, nè anche perche S. S<sup>ta</sup> havessi intercette alcune lettere di questi sig<sup>ri</sup> nelle quali si vedeva che stavano gonfi et aspettavano occasione di vendicarsi della ingiuria che non riceverono da S. S<sup>ta</sup>, ma per non reputar niente tutte queste cose, rispetto alla giustizia et al dovere et buon animo della M<sup>ta</sup> Cesarea, senza participatione della quale non pensò mai che si mettesse a tentare cosa alcuna, et non possendo mai persuadersi che S. M<sup>ta</sup> fusse per comportarlo. Però accadde tutto il contrario, che subito senza dimora alcuna fecer passare l'esercito in quel della chiesa et constrinser S. S<sup>ta</sup> a redimer la vexatione con 100 m. sc. et col far una lega con loro: la quale mandandosi in Spagna, la demonstratione che S. M<sup>ta</sup> ne fece d'haverlo a male fu che se in essa si conteneva qualche cosa che fusse in beneficio di N. Sig<sup>re</sup> et della chiesa, non la volse ratificare, non ostante che



quanto fu fatto in Italia, fussi con li mandati amplissimi della M<sup>ta</sup> sua, et tra le altre cose v'era la reintegrazione dei sali dello stato di Milano che si pigliasser dalla chiesa, et la restitution di Reggio, di che non volse far nulla. Havendo N. Sig<sup>te</sup> veduto gabbarli tante volte et sperando sempre che le cose dell' imperatore, ancorche alla presentia paressero altrimenti, in effetto poi fussero per riuscire migliori et havendo sempre visto riuscirli il contrario, cominciò a dare orecchie, con tante prove che ne vedeva, a chi glie l'haveva sempre detto et perseverava cho la M<sup>ta</sup> sua tendessi alla oppressione di tutta Italia et volersene far sig<sup>te</sup> assoluto, parendoli strano che senza un' oggetto tale S. M<sup>ta</sup> si governasse per se et per li suoi di qua della sorte che faceva: et trovandosi in questa suspitione et mala contentezza di veder che non gli era osservato nè fede nè promessa alcuna, gli pareva che gli fusso ben conveniente aderire alla amicitia et pratiche di coloro li quali havessero una causa commune con la sanità sua et fusser per trovar modi da difendersi da una violentia tale che si teneva: et essendo tra le altre cose proposto che disegnando Cesare levar di stato el duca di Milano et farsene padrone et havendo tanti indicii che questo era piu che certo non si doveva perder tempo per anticipar di fare ad altri quel che era disegnato di fare a noi, S. S<sup>ta</sup> non poteva recusare di seguitare il camino di chi come dico era nella fortuna commune. Et di qui naque che volendosi il regno di Francia, la S. S<sup>ta</sup> di Venetia et il resto di Italia unire insieme per rilevantamento delli stati et salute commune, N. S. dava intenzione di non recusare d'essere al medesimo che gli altri s'offerivano: et confessa ingenuamente che essendoli proposto in nome et da parte del marchese di Pescara che egli come mal contento dell' imperatore et come Italiano s'offeriva d'essere in questa compagnia quando s'avesse a venire a fatti, non solamente non lo ricuso, ma havendo sperato di poterlo havere con effetti, gli haverebbe fatto ogni partito, perche essendo venuto a termine di tener dello stato et salute propria, pensava che ogni via che se gli fusse offerta da potere sperare ajuto non era da rifiutare. Hora egli è morto et dio sa la verità et con che animo governò questa cosa. E ben vero et certo questo che simile particolare fu messo a N. Signore in suo nome: et mandando S. S<sup>ta</sup> a dimandarlo, non solo non lo ricuso, ma tornò a confermare egli stesso quel che per altri mezzi gli era stato fatto intendere: et benche le pratiche procedesser di questa sorte, dio sa se N. Signore ci andava piu tosto per necessità che per elezione: et di cio possono far testimonio molte lettere scritte in quel tempo al nuntio di S. S<sup>ta</sup> appresso l'imperatore, per le quali se gli ordinava che facesse intendere alla M<sup>ta</sup> S<sup>ta</sup> li mali modi et atti a rovinare il mondo che per quella si tenevano, et che per amor di dio volesse pigliarla per altra via, non essendo possibile che Italia, ancorche si ottenesse, si potesse tenere con altro che con amore et con una certa forma la quale fusse per contentare gli animi di tutti in universale. Et non giovando niente, anzi scoprendosi S. M<sup>ta</sup> in quel che si dubitava, d'impatriarsi dello stato di Milano sotto il pretesto di Girolamo Morone et che il duca si fusse voluto ribellare a S. M<sup>ta</sup>, perseverava tuttavia in acconciarla con le buone, descendendo a quel che voleva S. M<sup>ta</sup> se ella non voleva quel che piaceva alla S<sup>ta</sup> Sua, purché lo stato di Milano restasse nel

duca, al quale effetto si erano fatte tutte le guerre in Italia: in che S. S<sup>ta</sup> hebbe tanto poca ventura che, andando lo spaccio di questa sua volontà all' imperatore in tempo che S. M<sup>ta</sup> voleva accordarsi col christianissimo, rifiutò far l'accordo: et potendo, se accettava prima l'accordo con il papa, far piu vantaggio et poi piu fermo quel del christianissimo, rifiutò far l'accordo con N. Signore, per fare, che quanto faceva con il re fusse tanto piu [comodo] vano quanto non lo volendo il re osservare era per haver de compagni mal contenti, con li quali unendosi fusse per tenere manco conto della M<sup>ta</sup> Sua: et non è possibile immaginarsi donde procedesse tanta alienatione dell' imperatore di volere abbracciare il papa: non havendo ancora con effetto sentita offesa alcuna di S. S<sup>ta</sup>, havendo mandato legato suo nipote per honorarlo et praticare queste cose accioche conoscesse quanto gli erano a cuore, facendoli ogni sorte di piacere, et tra gli altri concedendoli la dispensa del matrimonio, la quale quanto ad unire l'amicitia et intelligentia di quei regni per ogni caso a cavargli denari delle dote et haver questa successione era della importanza, che ogn' uno sa, et tamen non si movendo S. M<sup>ta</sup> niente, costrinse la S. S<sup>ta</sup> a darsi a chi ne la pregava, non volendo l'imperatore supplicarlo, et a grandissimo torto accettarlo: et avvenne che stringendosi N. Signore con il christianissimo et con l'altri principi et potentati a fare la lega per commune diffensione et precipuamente per far la pace universale, quando l'imperatore lo seppe, volse poi unirsi con N. Signore et mandando ad offerirgli per il sig<sup>te</sup> Don Ugo di Moncada non solo quel che S. S<sup>ta</sup> gli aveva addimandato et importunato, ma quel che mai haveva sperato di potere ottenere. Et se o la M<sup>ta</sup> S. si vuol difendere o calunniare N. Sig<sup>te</sup>, che concedendoli per il sig<sup>te</sup> Don Ugo quanto dissi di sopra, non l'havesse voluto accettare, non danni la S<sup>ta</sup> S., la quale mentre che fu in sua potestà, gli fece istanza di contentarsi di manco assai, ma incolpi il poco giudicio di coloro che quanto è tempo et è per giovare non vogliono consentire a uno et vengono fuori d'occasioni a voler buttar cento: . . . non essendo (se non f) con somma giustificatione cio in tempo, che sua M<sup>ta</sup> uscisse d'entrare in lega con honeste conditioni et che le imprese riuscissero in modo difficili che altrimenti non si potesse ottenere l'intento commune. Et chi dubitassi che l'impresa del regno non fusse stata per essere facile, lo può mostrare l'esito di Frusolone et la presa di tante terre, considerando massime che N. Sig<sup>te</sup> poteva mandare nel principio le medesime genti, ma non eron già atti ad havere nel regno in un subito tante preparationi quante stentorono ad havere in molti mesi con aspettare gli ajuti di Spagna. Et mentre non manca nell' inimicitia essor amico et voler usar piu presto ufficio di padre, minacciando che dando (offendendo?) e procedendo con ogni sincerità et non mancando di discredere ancora ai termini sotto della dignità sua in fare accordo con Colonnese sudditi suoi per levare ogni suspitione et per non mandar mai il ferro tanto inanzi che non si potessi tirandolo in dietro sanar facilmente la piaga, fu ordinata a S. S<sup>ta</sup> quella tradizione, che sa ogn' uno et piu sene parla tacendo, non si potendo esprimere, nella quale è vero che se S. M<sup>ta</sup> non ci dette ordine nè consenso, nè mostrò almeno gran dispiacere et non fece maggior dimostration, parendo che l'armata e tutti li preparatorii che potessi mai fare l'imperatore non



tendessino ad altro che a voler vendicare la giustizia che N. Sig<sup>re</sup> haveva fatta contro i Colonnese di rovinarli quattro castelli. Non voglio disputar della tregua fatta qui in castello questo settembre per il sig<sup>re</sup> Don Ugo, se teneva o non teneva: ma l'assoluzione dei Colonnese non teneva già in modo N. Sig<sup>re</sup> che essendo suoi sudditi non gli potessi et dovessi castigare. Et se quanto all' osservantia poi della tregua tra N. Sig<sup>re</sup> et l'imperatore fussi stato modo da potersi fidare, si sarebbe osservata d'avvanzo, benché N. Sig<sup>re</sup> non fusse mai el primo a romperla: ma non gli essendo osservata nè qui nè in Lombardia, dove nel tempo della tregua calando XII mila lanzichineeche vennero nella terra della chiesa, et facendosi dalle bande di qua el peggio che si poteva, et sollecitandosi el vicere per lettere del consiglio di Napoli, che furono intercelte, che S. S<sup>ma</sup> accelerassi la venuta per trovare el papa sprovvisto et fornir quel che al primo colpo non si haveva potuto fare, non potè N. Sig<sup>re</sup> mancare a se stesso di mandare a tor gente in Lombardia, le quali, ancorche venissero a tempo di far fattione nel regno, non volse che si movesser dei confini—et la rovina de luoghi dei Colonnese fu più per l' inobbedienza di non haver voluto alloggiare che per altro—et similmente di dar licentia a Andrea Doria di andare ad impedir quell' armata della quale S. S<sup>ma</sup> haveva tanti riscontri che veniva alla sua rovina. Non si può senza nota di S. S<sup>ta</sup> di poca cura della salute et dignità sua dir, con quante legittime occasioni costretto non abbandonassi mai tanto tempo l'amore verso l'imperatore, o dipoi che cominciò a esservi qualche separatione, quante volte non solo essendoli offerti ma andava cercando i modi di tornarvi, ancorche et di questo primo proposito et di quest' altre reconciliazioni gliene fussi seguito male. Ecco che mentre le cose son più ferventi che mai, viene el padre generale dei Minori, al quale havendo N. Sig<sup>re</sup> nel principio della guerra andando in Spagna dette buone parole assai dell' animo suo verso l'imperatore et mostratoli quali sariano le vie per venire a una pace universale, la M<sup>ta</sup> sua lo rimandò indietro con commissioni a parole tanto ampie quanto si poteva desiderare, ma in effetto poi durissime: pur desiderando N. Signore d'uscirne et venire una volta a chiarirsi facie ad faciem con l'imperatore, se vi era modo o via alcuno di far pace, disse di sì et accettò per le migliori del mondo queste cose che l'impr<sup>o</sup> voleva da sua santità et quello che la M<sup>ta</sup> sua voleva dare: et volendo venire allo stringere et bisognando far capo col vicere, il quale si trovava aneli' esso arrivato a Gaeta nel medesimo tempo con parole niente inferiori di quelle che el generale haveva detto, queste condizioni crescevano ogn' hora et erano infinite et insopportabile da potersi fare. Con tutto ciò niente premeva più a N. Signore che esser costretto a far solo accordo con l'imperatore in Italia, perche la causa che moveva a farlo, etiam con grandissimo danno et vergogna sua, era l'unione et pace in Italia et il potere andare all'imperatore, et se la Signoria di Venetia non gli consentiva, questo non poteva occorrere, et per praticare il consenso loro, stando il vicere a Frusolone, si fece la sospensione dell' armi otto giorni, tra quali potesse venire la risposta di Venetia, et andando con essa il signor Cesare Fieramosca, non fu prima arrivato là che già essendosi allo mani et liberato Frusolone dall' assedio non si potè far niente: nel qual maneggio è certo che N.

Signore andò sinceramente et così ancora il reym<sup>o</sup> legato, ma trovandosi già l'inimici a posta et con l'armi in mano, non era possibile di trattare due cose diverse in un tempo medesimo. Si potrebbe maravigliarsi che doppo l'aver provato l'animo di questa parte et restarsi sotto con inganno, danno et vergogna, hora volens et sciens, senza necessità alcuna, libero dalla paura del perdere, sicuro di guadagnare, non sapendo che amicitia acquistassi, essendo certo della alienatione et nemicitia di tutto il mondo et di quei principali che di cuore amano la S<sup>ta</sup> sua, andasse a buttarsi in una pace o tregua di questa sorte. Ma havendo sua S<sup>ta</sup> provato che non piaceva a dio che si facessi guerra—perche ancorche havessi fatto ogni prova per non venire ad arme et di poi essendovi venuto con tanti vantaggi, il non haver havuto se non tristi successi non si può attribuire ad altro, venendo la povera christianità afflitta e desolata in modo insoffribile ad udirsi da noi medesimi, che quasi eravamo per lassar poca fatica al Turco di fornirla di rovinare—giudicava che nessun rispetto humano dovessi, per grande che fusse, valer tanto che havessi a rimuovere la S<sup>ta</sup> sua da cercar pace in compagnia d'ogn'uno, non possedola haver con altri, farsela a se stessa, et massime che in questi pensieri tornano a interporvisi di quelli avvisi et nuove dell' animo et volontà di Cesare disposto a quello che suol muovere la S. S<sup>ta</sup> mirabilmente, havendo havuto nel medesimo tempo lettere di man propria di S. M<sup>ta</sup> per via del Sig<sup>re</sup> Cesare et per Paolo di Arezzo di quella sorte che era necessario, vedendo che d'accordarsi il papa col imperatore fusse per seguirne la felicità del mondo overo immaginarsi che uomo del mondo non potessi mai nascer di peggior natura che l'imperatore se fusse andato a trovare questa via per rovinare il papa, la qual fussi indegnissima d'ogni vilissimo uomo et non del maggiore che sia tra christiani, ma absit che si possa immaginar tal cosa, ma si reputa più tosto che dio l'abbia permessa per recognition nostra et per dar campo alla M<sup>ta</sup> sua di mostrar più pietà, più bontà e fede et darli luogo d'assetare il mondo più che fusse mai concesso a principe nato. Essendo venute in mano di questi soldati tutte le scritture, tra l'altre gli sarà capitato una nuova capitulatione, che fece N. S<sup>re</sup> cinque o sei di al più prima che seguisse la perdita di Roma, per la quale ritornando S. S<sup>ta</sup> per unirsi con la lega et consentendo a molte conditione che erano in pregiudicio della M<sup>ta</sup> Cesarea, non penso che alcuno sia per volersene valere contro N. S<sup>re</sup> di quelli della parte di Cesare, perche non lo potrebbon fare senza scoprir più i difetti et mancamenti loro, li quali dato che si potessi concedere che non si fussi potuto ritrar Borbone dal proposito suo di voler venire alla rovina del papa, certo è che eron tanti altri in quel campo di fanti et uomini d'arme et persone principali che havrebbero obbedito a i comandamenti dell' imperatore se gli fussero stati fatti di buona sorte, et privato Borbone d'una simil parte, restava poco atto a proseguire el disegno suo. Et dato che questo non si fusse possuto fare, benché non si possa essere escusazione alcuna che vagli, come si giustificherà che havendo N. Sig<sup>re</sup> adempito tutte le conditioni della capitulatione fatta col vicere, sicome V. S. R<sup>ma</sup> potria ricordarsi et vedere rileggendo la copia di essa capitulatione, che porterà seco, che domandando S. S<sup>ta</sup> all' incontro che se li osservasse il pagamento

dei fanti et degli uomini d'arme, che ad ogni richiesta sua se li erano obbligati, non ne fuissi stato osservato niente, sì che non essendo stato corrisposto in nessuna parte a N. Sig<sup>re</sup> in quella capitolazione da un canto facendosi conto quello che si doveva, dall' altro non se li dando li ajuti che si doveva, non so con che animo possa mettersi a voler calunniare la S<sup>ta</sup> S. d'una cosa fatta per mera necessità indutta da loro et tardata tanto a fare, che fu la rovina di sua Beattitudine, e pigliare occasione di tenersi offesi da noi.

Dalla deliberazione che N. Signore fece dell' andata sua all' imperatore in tempo che nessuno poteva sospicarsi che si movessi per altro che per zelo della salute de christiani, essendo venuta quella ispirazione subito che si hebbe nuova della morte del re d'Ungheria et della perdita del regno, non lo negheranno li nemici proprii, havendo S<sup>a</sup> S<sup>ta</sup> consultato e risoluto in concistorio due o tre di innanzi l'entrata di Colonnese in Roma; nè credo che sia alcuno sì grosso che pensi si volessi fare quel tutto di gratia coll' imperatore prevedendo forse quella tempesta, perchè non era tale che se si fuissi havuto tre hore di tempo a saperlo, non che tre di, non si fusse con un minimo suono (sforzo ?) potuto scacciare.

Le conditioni che el padre generale di S. Francesco portò a N. Sig<sup>re</sup> furon queste: la prima di voler pace con S<sup>a</sup> S<sup>ta</sup>, et se per caso alla venuta sua trovasse le cose di S<sup>a</sup> S<sup>ta</sup> et della chiesa rovinate, che era contento si riducessero tutte al pristino stato et in Italia darebbe pace ad ogn'uno, non essendo d'animo suo volere nè per se nè per suo fratello pur un palmo, anzi lassar ogn' un in possesso di quello in che si trovava tanto tempo fa: la differentia del duca di Milano si vedessi in jure da giudici da deputarsi per S<sup>a</sup> S<sup>ta</sup> et S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ta</sup>, et venendo da assolvervi si restituisse, dovendo esser condannato si dessi a Borbone, et Francia sarebbe contento far l'accordo a danari, cosa che non haveva voluto far fin qui, et la somma nominava la medesima che'l christianissimo haveva mandato a offerire cioè due milioni d'oro: le quali conditioni N. Sig<sup>re</sup> accettò subito secondo che el generale ne può far testimonio, et le sottoscrisse di sua mano, ma non furon già approvate per gli altri, li quali V. S. sa quanto gravi et insoportabili petitioni gli aggiunsero. Hora non essendo da presumere se non che la M<sup>ta</sup> Cesarea dicesse da dover et con quella sincerità che conviene a tanto prencipe, et vedendosi per queste propositioni et ambasciate sue così moderato animo et molto benigno verso N. Sig<sup>re</sup>, in tanto che la M<sup>ta</sup> sua non sapeva qual fusse quello di S<sup>a</sup> S<sup>ta</sup> in verso se et che si stimava l'armi sue essere così potentissime in Italia per li lanzichieche et per l'armata mandata che in ogni cosa havessi ceduto, non è da stimare se non che quando sarà informato che se la M<sup>ta</sup> sua mandò a mostrar buon animo non fu trovato inferiore quel di N. Sig<sup>re</sup>, et che alle forze sue era tal resistenza che S<sup>a</sup> Santità più tosto fece beneficio a S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ta</sup> in depor l'armi, che lo riceversi, come ho detto di sopra et è chiarissimo, et che tutta la rovina seguita sta sopra la fede et nome di sua M<sup>ta</sup>, nolla quale N. Sig<sup>re</sup> si è confidato, vorrà non solamente esser simile a se, quando anderà sua sponte a desiderar bene, et offerirsi parato rifarne a N. Sig<sup>re</sup> et alla chiesa, ma ancora aggiunger tanto più a quella naturale disposition sua quanto ricerca il volere evitare questo carico et d'ignominioso, che (non)

sarebbe per essere (da t) passarsene di leggiero, voltarlo in gloria perpetua, facendola tanto più chiara et stabile per se medesima quanto altri hanno cercato come suoi ministri deprimerla et oscurarla. Et gli effetti che bisognerebbe far per questo tanto privatamente verso la chiesa et restoration sua quanto i beneficii che scancellassero le rovine in Italia et tutta la christianità, estimando più essere imperatore per pacificarla che qualsivoglia altro emolumento, sarà molto facile a trovarli, purché la dispositione et giudicio di volere et conoscere il vero bene dove consiste vi sia.

Per non entrare in le cause per le quali fummo costretti a pigliar l'armi, per essere cosa che rietrerebbe più tempo, si verrà solamente a dire che non le pigliammo mai per odio o mala volontà che havessimo contra l'imperatore, o per ambizione di far più grande lo stato nostro o d'alcuno de nostri, ma solo per necessità nella quale ci pareva che fusse posta la libertà et stato nostro et delli comuni stati d'Italia, et per far constare a tutto il mondo et all' imperatore che se si cercava d'opprimerci, noi non potevamo nè dovevamo comportarlo senza far ogni sforzo di difenderci, in tanto che sua M<sup>ta</sup>, se haveva quell' animo del quale mai dubitavamo, intendesse che le cose non erano per riuscire così facilmente come altri forse gli haveva dato ad intendere, ovvero se noi ci fuissimo gabbati in questa opinione che S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ta</sup> intendessi a farci male, et questi sospetti ci fosser nati più per modi dei ministri che altro, facendosi S. M<sup>ta</sup> Cesarea intendere esser così da dover, si venisse a una buona pace et amicitia non solo tra noi particolarmente et S. M<sup>ta</sup>, ma in compagnia degli altri prencipi o sig<sup>ri</sup> con li quali eravamo colligati non per altro effetto che solamente per difenderci dalla villania che ci fusse fatta o per venir con conditioni honeste et ragionevoli a mettere un' altra volta pace infra la misera christianità: et se quando Don Ugo venne S. M<sup>ta</sup> ci havesse mandato quelle resolutioni le quali honestissimamente ci parovan necessarie per venir a questo, ci haverebbe N. Sig<sup>re</sup> Iddio fatto la più felice gratia che si potessi pensare, che in un medesimo di quasi che si presero l'armi si sarebbero deposte. Et che sia vero quel che diciamo che habbiamo havuto sempre in animo, ne può far testimonio la dispositione in che ci trovò el generale di S. Francesco, con el quale comunicando noi hora è un' anno, che era qui per andare in Spagna, le cause perchè noi et gli altri d'Italia havevamo da star mal contenti dell' imperatore, et dandogli carico che da nostra parte l'avesse tutte a quella, con farli intendere che se voleva attendere ai consigli et preghiere nostre, le quali tutte tendevano a laude et servizio di dio et beneficio così suo come nostro, ci troverebbe sempre di quella amorevolezza che ci haveva provato per innanzi, et essendosi di là alquanti mesi rimandatoci il detto generale da S. M<sup>ta</sup> con risponderci humanissimamente che era contenta, per usar delle sue parole, accettar per comandamento quello che noi gli havevamo mandato a consigliare: et per dar certezza di ciò, portava tra l'altre resolutioni d'esser contento di render li figliuoli del christianissimo con quel riscatto et taglia che gli era stata offerta da S. M<sup>ta</sup>, cosa che sin qui non haveva voluto mai fare: altro che prometteva che se tutta Italia per un modo di dire a quell' hora che'l generale arrivassi a Roma, fuissi in suo potere, era contenta,

per far buggiardo chi l'avesse voluto calunniare che la volossi occupare, di restituir tutto nel suo pristino stato et mostrar che in essa nè per se nè per il sermo suo fratello non ci voleva un palmo di più di quello che era solito di possidervi anticamente la corona di Spagna: et perche le parole s'accompagnassor con i fatti, portava di ciò amplissimo mandato in sua persona da poter risolvere tutto o con Don Ugo o con el vicerè, se al tempo che ci capitava, in Italia fussi arrivato. Quanto qui fussi il nostro contento, non si potrebbe esprimere, e ci pareva un' hora mill' anni venire all' effetto di qualche sorte d'accordo generale di posar l'arme. Et sopraggiungendo quasi in un medesimo tempo il vicerè et mandandoci da San Stefano, dove prima prese porto in questo mare, per el comandante Pignatola a dire le miglio parole del mondo et niente differenti da quanto ci haveva detto el generale, rendemmo gratie a iddio che il piacere che havevamo presopre l'ambasciata del generale non fusse per haveve dubbio alcuno, essendoci confermato il medesimo per il signor vicerè, il quale in farci intendere le commissioni dell'imperatore ci confortava in tutto, et pur ci mandava certificare che nessuno potrebbe trovarsi con migliore volontà di mettersi ad eseguirle. Hora qualmente ne succedesse il contrario, non bisogna durare molta fatica in dirlo, non essendo alcun che non sappia le durissime, insopportabili et ingiuniose condizione che ne furono dimandate da parte del vicerè, non havendo noi posta dimora alcuna in mandarlo a pregare che non si tardasse a venire alla condizione di tanto bene. Et dove noi pensavamo ancora trovar meglio di quel che ne era stato detto, essendo l'usanza di farsi sempre riservo delle migliori cose per farle gustare più gratamente, non solo ci riuscì di non trovare niente del proposto, ma tutto il contrario, et prima: non havere fede alcuna in noi, come se nessuno in verità possa produrre testimonio in contrario, et per sùcità domandarci la migliore et più importante parte dello stato nostro et della S.<sup>ma</sup> di Fiorenza, dipoi somma di denari insopportabile a chi havesse havuto i monti d'oro, non che a noi, che ogn'uno sapeva che non havevamo un carlino; volere che con tanta ingiominia nostra, anzi più dell'imperatore, restituissim coloro che contra ogni debito humano et divino, con tanta tradizione, vennero ad assalire la persona di N. Signore, saccheggiare la chiesa di San Pietro, il sacro palazzo; stringerne senza un minimo rispetto a volere che ci obbligassimo strettamente di più alla M.<sup>a</sup> Cesarea, sapendo tutto il mondo quanto desiderio ne mostrammo nel tempo che eravamo nel più florido stato che fussimo mai, et, per non dire tutti gli altri particolari, volere che soli facessimo accordo, non lo potendo noi fare, se volevamo più facilmente condurre a fine la pace universale per la quale volevamo dare questo principio. Et così non si potendo il vicerè rimuoversi da queste sue dimande tanto insopportabili et venendo senza niuna causa ad invader lo stato nostro, havendo noi in ogni tempo et quei pochi mesi innanzi lasciato stare quello dell'imperatore nel regno di Napoli, accadde la venuta di Cesare Fieramosca: il quale trovando il vicerè già nello stato della chiesa, credemmo che portasse tali commissioni da parte dell'imperatore a S.<sup>ma</sup> che se si fossero eseguite, non si sarebbero condotte le cose in questi termini. Et mentre S.<sup>ma</sup> volse fare due cose assai contrarie insieme, una mostrare

di non haver fatto male ad esser venuto tanto innanzi ovvero non perdere le occasioni che gli pareva haveve di guadagnare il tutto, l'altra di obbedire alli comandamenti dell'imperatore, quali erano che in ogni modo si facesse accordo, non successe all' hora nè l'uno nè l'altro:—perche S.<sup>ma</sup> si trovò gabbata, che non potette fare quello che si pensava, et tornando il signor Cesare con patti di far tregua per otto dì, fintanto che venisse risposta se la S.<sup>ma</sup> di Venetia vi voleva entrare, quando arrivò in campo, trovò gli eserciti alle mani et non si andò per all' hora più innanzi: salvo che non ostante questo successo et conoscendo certo che stassimo sicuri in Lombardia et in Toscana per le buone provisioni et infinita gente di guerra che vi era di tutta la lega, et che le cose del reame non havessero rimedio alcuno come l'esperienza l'haveva cominciato a dimostrare, mai deponemmo dall'animo nostro il desiderio et procurazione della pace. Et in esser successe le cose così bene verso noi, non havevamo altro contento se non poter mostrare che se desideravamo pace, era per vero giudicio et buona volontà nostra et non per necessità, et per mostrare all'imperatore che, se comandò con buono animo, come crediamo, al padre generale che ancorche tutto fusse preso a sua devotioe si restituisse, che quel che ella si imaginava di fare quando il caso havesse portato di esserlo, noi essendo così in fatto lo volevamo eseguire. A questo nostro desiderio ci aggiunsero un ardore estremo più lettere scritte di mano dell'imperatore, tra l'altre due che in ultimo havemmo da Cesare Fieramosca et da Paolo di Arezzo nostro servitore, le quali sono di tal tenore che non ci pareria haveve mai errato se in fede di quelle lettere sole non solo havessimo posto tutto il mondo ma l'anima propria in mano di S.<sup>ma</sup>: tanto ci sconsigliava che vogliamo dar credito alle parole che ne dice, et tutte esse parole sono piene di quella satisfattione di quelle promesse et quell'ajuto che noi a noi non lo desideravamo migliore. Et come in trovare la pace, finche non eravamo sienri che corrispondenza s'era per haveve, non si rimetteva niente delle provisioni della guerra, così ci sforzavamo chiarirli bene essendo due capi in Italia, Borbone et il signor vicerè, s'era bisogno trattare con un solo et quello sarebbe rato per tutti, ovvero con tutti due particolarmente: accioche se ci fusse avvenuto quel che è, la colpa che è data d'altra sorte ad altri, non fusse stata a noi di poca prudentia: et havendo trovato che questa facultà di contrattare era solo nel vicerè, ce ne volemmo molto ben chiarire et non tanto che fussi così come in effetto il generale, il signor Cesare, il vicerè proprio, Paolo d'Arezzo et Borbone ne dicevano, ma intender dal detto Borbone non una volta ma mille et da diverse persone se l'era per obbedirlo, et proposto di voler fare accordo particolarmente con lui et recusando et affermando, che a quanto appuntarebbe el vicerè non farebbe replica alcuna. Hora fu facil cosa et sarà sempre ad ogn'uno adombrar con specie di virtù un suo disegno, et non lo potendo condurre virtuosamente nè all' aperta, tirarlo con fallacia, come—venghi donde si voglia, ci par esser a termine che non sappiamo indovinar donde procedeva—ci par che si sia stato fatto a noi, li quali si vede che tutte le diligencie che si possono usare di non esser gabbati, sono state usate per noi, et tanto che qualche volta ci pareva d'esser superstitiosi

et di meritarne reprehensione: perche havendo el testimonio, et di lettere et di bocca dell'imperatore, del buon animo suo et che Borbone obbedirebbe al vicerè, et a cautela dando S. M.<sup>ta</sup> lettere nuove a Paulo sopra questa obbedientia al vicerè dirette a esso Borbone, et facendosi el trattato con el poter sì ampio di S. M.<sup>ta</sup> che doveva bastare, et havendo Borbone mostrato di rimettersi in tutto nel vicerè, et contentandosi poi esso di venire in poter nostro, fu una facilità tanto grande a tirarci allo stato ove siamo che non sappiamo già che modo si potrà più trovare al mondo di credere alla semplice fede d'un privato gentil huomo, essendovi qui intervenute molte cose e riuscito a questo modo. Et per non cercare altro che fare i fatti proprii, era molto più lecito et facile a noi, senza incorrer non solo in infamia di non servator di fede ma nè anche d'altro, usar dell'occasione che la fortuna ci haveva portato di starsi sicurissimo in Lombardia come si stava che mai veniva Borbone inanzi, se l'esercito della lega non si fusse raffreddato per la stretta prattica anzi conclusion della pace, et valuto di quella commodità seguir la guerra del reame et da due o tre fortezze in poi levarlo tutto, e di poi andare appresso in altri luoghi, dove si fosse potuto far danno et vergogna all'imperatore, et stando noi saldi in compagnia dei confederati rendere tutti li disegni suoi più difficili. Ma parendoci che el servizio di dio et la misera christianità ricercasse pace, ci proponemmo a deporre ogni grande acquisto o vittoria che fussimo stati per havere, et offender tutti li principi christiani et Italiani, senza saper quodammodo che haver in mano, ma assai pensavamo d'havere se l'animo dell'imperatore era tale come S. M.<sup>ta</sup> con tante evidentie si sforzava darcì ad intendere. Et molto poco stimavamo l'offensione degli altri principi christiani, li quali di lì a molto poco ci sarebber restati molto obbligati se si fusse seguito quello che tanto amplamente S. M.<sup>ta</sup> ci ha con argomenti replicato, che sarebbe, accordandosi noi seco, per rimettere in nostra mano la conclusion della pace et assenso con li principi christiani. Et se alcuno volesse pensare che fussimo andati con altro oggetto, costui conoscendoci non può più mostrare in cosa alcuna la malignità sua: non ci conoscendo et facendo diligentia di sapere le attioni della vita nostra, troverà che è molto consentiente che noi non habbiamo mai desiderato se non bene et operato virtuosamente et a quel fine postposto ogni altro interesse. Et se hora ce n'è successo male, ricevendo di mano di N. Sig.<sup>re</sup> Dio quanto giustamente gli piace con ogni humiltà, non è che da gli huomini non riceviamo grandissimo torto et da quelli massime che, se ben fino a un certo termine posson coprirsi con la forza et con la disobbedientia d'altri—benche quando s'havesse a discutere, si troverebbe da dire assai—hora et un pezzo fa et per honor loro et per quel che sono obbligati secondo dio et secondo il mondo si potrebbero portare altrimenti di quel che fanno. Noi siamo entrati nel trattato poi fatto a Fiorenza con quelli di Borbone per mano del signor vicerè et dipoi non osservato, perche non vogliamo parer d'haver tolto assunto di fare il male contra chi è stato causa di trattarci così, li quali dio giudichi con el suo giusto giudicio; dopo la misericordia del quale verso di noi et della sua chiesa non speriamo in altro che nella religione, fede et virtù dell'imperatore, che essendoci noi condotti dove siamo per l'opinione

che havevamo di esso, con el frutto che s'aspetta a tal parte ci ritragga et ponga tanto più alto quanto siamo in basso. Dalla cui M.<sup>ta</sup> aspettiamo della ignominia et danni patiti infinitamente quella satisfatione che S. M.<sup>ta</sup> ci può dare eguale alla grandezza sua et al debito, se alcuna se ne potesse mai trovare al mondo che bastasse alla minima parte. Non entrarem esprimendo i particolari a torre la gratia dei conceffi, che doviam sperare che havrà et che ci manderà a proporre: diciamo che mettendoci al più basso grado di quel che si possi domandare et che è per esser più presto vergogna a S. M.<sup>ta</sup> a non conceder più et a noi a non domandare che parer duro a farlo, che da S. M.<sup>ta</sup> dovrebbero venire queste provisioni:

“Che la persona nostra, el sacro collegio et la corte dello stato tutto temporale et spirituale siamo restituiti in quel grado ch'era quando furon fatte l'indutie col sig.<sup>re</sup> vicerè, et non ci gravare a pagare un denaro dell' obbligato.

“Et se alcuno sentendo questo si burlerà di noi, rispondiamo che se le cose di sopra son vere, et si maraviglia che ci acquistiamo di questo, ha gran ragione; ma se gli paresse da dover strano, consideri con che bontà lo giudica o verso Cesare o verso noi: se verso Cesare, consideri bene che ogni volta che non si promette di S. M.<sup>ta</sup> e questo e molto più, che lo fa già partecipe di tutto quel male che qui è passato; ma se verso noi, diciamo che iniquamente ci vuole detrarre quello che nessuno mai ardirebbe di far buonanamente. Nè si deve guardare che siamo qui, ma sì bene come ci siamo, et che è pur meglio far con virtù et giudicio quello che finalmente el tempo in ogni modo ha da portare, se non in vita nostra, in quella d'altri.”

[Most illustrious and most reverend signor, Seeing the difficulty of the province which has fallen to your lot, the vastness of which is well known to you, and considering the utmost extreme of misery in which we stand, I think it cannot but prove some alleviation of the former, to possess whatever information can be afforded respecting all the transactions that have passed between our lord the pope and his imperial majesty; and of the latter to know that you, most reverend sir, are about to visit a monarch on whom his holiness and his house have more claims of gratitude than any other house that can be named, whether of past or present times: and if some cause of offence has arisen within this last year, it has not sprung either from any falling off on the part of his holiness from his accustomed good-will and love towards his imperial majesty, or from any special designs for the aggrandizement of his own retainers or others, or with a view to impair the reputation or the power and dignity of his imperial majesty; but solely from the necessity of not submitting to be oppressed by those in power and authority in Italy, and from the manifold proofs his holiness had acquired, through nuncios, letters, envoys, and legates, that no remedy could possibly be found.

[From the time when his holiness first began to be able to serve the crown of Spain and his imperial majesty's house, which was from the beginning of the pontificate of his brother Leo of holy memory,—his great influence with whom every one knows, and his imperial majesty has proved by experience,—his holiness was always so zealously

subservient to the Spanish and imperial interests, that no one advantage, favour, or gratification can be named, which those interests ever enjoyed at the hands of Leo of holy memory, or of the church, wherein our lord the pope, being in minoribus, was not, I will not say merely not adverse or consenting, but even the originator, the director, and manager of the whole. And to mention only those things which are of superior importance:—the league which was effected in the second and third years of the reign of Leo of holy memory, to oppose the first descent made by the most Christian king of France, passed entirely through the hands of his holiness, who went in person, as legate, and met the other parties. Measures after this turning out differently from what had been expected, and pope Leo being compelled to make what terms he could with the most Christian king, cardinal de Medici took that care to keep the pope in the interest of Spain, to which all who were present at the time can bear testimony; and he exerted all the weight he possessed with the pope his brother, to the end that the most Christian king's wish and extreme desire to follow up his victory, and to enter the kingdom with so great an army, and under such favourable auspices, should be bridled now by one excuse, now by another: whereof one was, that the Catholic king being old, and by reason of his ill health now near the close of his years, his majesty should wait the opportunity of his death, at which time the enterprise would succeed without any difficulty. And the death of the Catholic king taking place very speedily after these suggestions,—within less than a month I believe,—what skill and pains were necessary to repress the great ardour with which the event inspired the most Christian king, would be testified by the letters written by his majesty's own hand, if the soldiers, who have pillaged with other things all the pope's papers, would either return them or send them to the emperor. And all these things, with many others, which all tended to put on a quiet and stable basis the hereditary succession of the individual now emperor, and to secure him the magistracies of Spain, even in the lifetime of his grandfather,—all these cardinal de Medici did, not for any private advantage of his own, but even in direct opposition to his own interests; he not having any income of consequence save what he derived from the realm of France, and never seeking any equivalent in that of Spain.

[The emperor Maximilian died, and Leo being inclined to favour the pretensions of the most Christian king to the imperial dignity, and being hostile to those of his present imperial majesty, before the election took place cardinal de Medici induced the pope not to oppose the present emperor; and after the election was over he prevailed on him to sanction it, and to absolve the emperor from simony and from perjury, in so far as being king of Naples he could not, in accordance with the papal constitutions, seek to become emperor; and he made the pope re-invest his imperial majesty in the kingdom of Naples. In all this—if the great affection entertained by the cardinal de Medici, and the opinion he had conceived of the goodness, prudence, and piety of his majesty, did not excuse him,—I know not which was the greater, the service he may openly declare himself to have most largely rendered to his imperial

majesty, or the ill service done to his own brother, that is, to the pope and the church, in thus favouring and fostering a power so great, and one which gave reason to apprehend that one day the swollen river might burst forth with such a torrent of devastation and outrage as hath now occurred. But the cardinal seeing those two powers of Spain and France divided in such sort, that unless the one were equipoised against the other, peace was hardly to be expected, his first care was so to strengthen the hands of the king of Spain, that being on an equality with the most Christian king, he should scruple to engage in war; and that if unfortunately that event could not be prevented, from the prevalence of a desire to make the king of Spain superior to the most Christian king, Spain should be so firm and vigorous, that, in case of attack, it might hope for a prosperous result and certain victory. And this at least—if peradventure the matters above-named demand more palpable evidence—this at least he proved otherwise than by mere words. Bear witness the league concluded with the emperor against France, whilst so different were the advantages offered by the respective sides, that not only Leo ought not to have allied himself with the emperor, being free to choose the side most for his own interest, but even had he been allied with him he should have used every effort to break off the connexion. And to show briefly that all things were actually as I have stated, at the time Leo concluded his alliance with the emperor, the latter was destitute of all influence, force, friends, and reputation: he had wholly lost the allegiance of Spain through the rebellion of all the provinces: he had retired from the diet held by his majesty in Worms, disappointed of all his hopes of aid and service from the same\*: war had already broken out in his dominions in two quarters,—in Flanders through Robert de la Mare, and in Navarre, which kingdom was already wholly lost and reduced under the sway of the king favoured by the French†: the Swiss had shortly before entered into a fresh alliance with the most Christian king, and bound themselves by a new stipulation to the defence of Milan, which was in the king's possession,—a thing they had never before consented to do: and the most serene king of England, on whom the emperor counted, perhaps in consideration of the relationship between them and the national enmity of England to France, showed a disposition to look on inactive; and so he actually did, not stirring to afford the slightest assistance to the emperor, however pressing his need, and however urgent his entreaties, till after the death of Leo. The most Christian king, on the other hand, in addition to his vast united resources, his prompt union with the most illustrious signory, and his new alliance with the Swiss, was the more powerful in proportion as his strength was absolutely and relatively augmented by the numerous and infinite perplexities in which, I repeat, the emperor was involved. The hopes and promises of advan-

\* Manifestly incorrect. Succour was voted the emperor at Worms to the extent of 20,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry.

† A chronological error. The treaty with the emperor was ratified on the 8th of May: Du Mont, IV. iii. 97. It was not till the 20th the French arrived at Pampeluna: Garebay, xxx. 523.

tage and reward from the success of the respective sides were very different: the most Christian king was willing at once to bestow Ferrara on the church before his majesty engaged in any other enterprise; and on acquiring the kingdom of Naples his most Christian majesty (not to go into particulars) offered such advantages to the church in every respect, that it could not have been more to its profit and security, had the whole kingdom been given up to it; whereas, on the other side, there was nothing except a proposal to place Milan in Italian hands, and to recover Parma and Piacenza to the church\*: yet, notwithstanding all this—notwithstanding the facility of the enterprise on the one hand, and on the other the very disproportionate danger, and the vast disparity of the gains to be derived from either side,—so much did the wishes of cardinal de Medici avail with the pope, and so much was the latter convinced of the goodness and piety of his imperial majesty, that when it was suggested that some where or other visible evidence should be given of the truth of those fond fancies, he would not listen to any counsel, or go into any enquiry, but cast himself with might and main into that cause from which he hoped to derive more fruits of holy Christian spirit than from any rewards of a temporal nature that might have accrued to him by other means. And who is there but has seen and knows it to be true, that when things at first turned out contrary to expectation, and when the money advanced by his imperial majesty as his first contribution was spent, and the prospect of procuring more looked ill, Leo of holy memory on his part, and the cardinal de Medici still more on his, failed not to come forward with the means of his country, and of all his friends and dependents, and finally with his own person, of which he knew the importance and the effect it produced?

[At this juncture pope Leo died; and though the cardinal found all the world his enemy, because all those he had offended on the French side were arrayed against his temporal and spiritual fortune and dignity; while on the imperial side none would help him, and some were against him, as you, most reverend sir, and every one well know: nevertheless, neither the danger, nor the great offers of the one party, nor the ingratitude or scorn of the other, ever availed to move him a jot from his determination, which he thought should be his guide, as the mind of the emperor and the opinion conceived of his character had been his mark and object: and as he could not imagine that the character imputed to his imperial majesty was the creation of his own mind, and the short time did not enable him to take up such a suspicion, he was ready to endure every thing rather than change his conduct in the least degree. Accordingly, just as though matters had been the reverse of what they were, there was nothing to which he more sedulously applied himself than to the election of a pope equally desirable for his majesty and for the church: and every one knows that it would be almost the same thing

whether Adrian or the emperor himself were made pope, and equally notorious is it that no one had a greater share in originating and carrying through this election than had cardinal de Medici.

[Now was the time for cardinal de Medici to make trial whether the judgment he had formed of his imperial majesty turned out to be well founded; because up to that time, shaded by the patronage of Leo of holy memory, he had not been exposed to feel the difference of fortune, and being wholly engrossed with his desire to serve his majesty, he had never thought of diverting his attention to his own or his friends' interests, nor was he so covetous or so importunate as to think of rewards corresponding to his merits. Thus he must be admitted to have rendered his services in a perfect spirit, and to have well deserved, since he had no mercenary object in view, and relied wholly and solely on the emperor's discretion and liberality. It is true that, whereas two years before, almost before his majesty had any idea of the possibility of his receiving such essential services from the house of Medici, his majesty had promised in writing, under his own hand and in other ways, in reply to various solicitations, an estate in the kingdom of Naples of six thousand scudi, and a wife with a dowry of ten thousand scudi for one of the nephews of pope Leo and of the cardinal; and they never caring to enter into possession of the former, or to effect the latter, thinking themselves fully secured by his majesty's promise they held in their hands when pope Leo died, (and save which promise, no token of advantage remained to the house of Medici to remind it that it had so long had a pope among its members,) the cardinal did then, on sending to present his respects to the emperor and to give an account of himself to his imperial majesty, give directions for the carrying out of this matter, and for the ratification of the said grants and privileges. But the event turned out far differently, not only from our own expectation, but from that of every one else: for, instead of its appearing that thought was given to new rewards whereby might be evinced a sense of the services rendered his majesty, and the house of Medici might have the consolation of seeing that it had not lost much by the death of pope Leo, such difficulties were thrown in the way, as though the matter in hand were not the fulfilment of an engagement already fixed, and one very inadequate to repay the services for which it was contracted. Disputes were raised, just as if the house of Medici were a hostile one, and objections thrown out that even in that case would have been unjustifiable, because plighted faith and a promise once made must be kept under all circumstances. Replies, however, were made, and the injustice done was pointed out in such sort, that, instead of a hope being encouraged of having more, or at least the whole, of what was promised,—namely, the value of sixteen thousand scudi (six from his majesty, and ten by way of dowry),—the thing dwindled down to three thousand. Upon cardinal de Medici being at that time fully informed of the whole matter, had he not been moved by his devotion to his majesty to persevere, not in accordance with the above treatment, but as though he had

\* Totally incorrect. The 13th article of the treaty engages the emperor to aid against Ferrara: "Promittit Cæsar omnem vim, omnem potentiam, ut ea (Ferraria) apostolicæ sedi recuperetur."

\* [The writer here slides into the use of the first person.—TRANSLATOR.]



been remunerated to satiety, it might be said that he had been forced to do so, the emperor's power being so absolute that he could not do otherwise, or because of his (the cardinal's) lack of interest with other potentates, or because of some pressing necessity of his own which made him more ready to lend his aid to the emperor than to others. But whoever will call to mind the then existing state of things, which is easy enough, they being fresh in memory, will admit that the imperial army and cause in Italy were in extreme peril. By reason of the accession of strength the French arms had received through their alliance with the most illustrious signory; and furthermore, that there was no one in Italy more capable, by his position, friends, relations, dependents, money, and men, than was cardinal de Medici, to incline the victory to whichever side he pleased. Stedfast as was the cardinal in his attachment to the emperor's cause, not only could he not hope for aid from the imperialists, in case his downfall was sought, but the latter would even have prospered badly had they not received from the cardinal every possible aid, both towards obtaining and towards maintaining the victory, he having stripped himself and his country bare to pay a large levy, to enable the army to subsist and hold together\*. Whilst reckoning up all the benefits and infinite meritorious services rendered by the cardinal de Medici and his house, I would fain name every kindly demonstration, every show of gratitude, evinced in return by his imperial majesty. This I would do both for the sake of truth and by way of excusing such persevering devotion to his majesty never interrupted by any accident, and defending it against the objections of such as might be inclined to regard it rather as obstinacy than as the result of sound judgment. But there being nothing of the kind, I cannot alter the fact, and have nothing to say, except that, in exchange for twenty-two thousand scudi yearly income lost in France, his majesty appointed the cardinal a pension from Toledo of ten thousand scudi, part of which is still unpaid. It is true that, in all the letters his majesty wrote to his ministers, and ambassadors, and captains in Italy, he made honourable mention of the cardinal, and enjoined them to correspond with him and hold him in great esteem, to the extent of assuring him, that if God should dispose of Adrian of holy memory, they would not think of having any one but himself for pope. Hence it came to pass that, in their affairs of business, they all applied to Florence and reported their proceedings: and when questions of money or of other assistance were to be solved, there was no one to whom they addressed themselves with more confidence than to the cardinal, strongly supporting him against the ill-will of pope Adrian, which he had conceived on account of injurious information he had got from Volterra respecting the said cardinal. With regard to these transactions, without prejudice to the good intentions the emperor may have entertained towards the cardinal, I must say that the emperor acted with consummate prudence in wishing to uphold a person of so much weight in Italy, one who, little as had

been the gratitude shown him, had never swerved a jot from his wonted course. Neither was it possible, whether as regarded this or the other states, that any change in the existing order of things should have permitted his majesty to reap such manifest advantages as accrued to him in consequence of the firm and secure position of cardinal de Medici in Florence.

[Adrian being dead, the cardinal was created pope. And here, though the ministers and other dependents of the emperor had strict orders given them, some acted according to their own pleasure, and some, who consented at last to support him, protested in the very first instance that they would by no means have his holiness attribute what they did to the emperor's injunctions, but simply to their own private feelings. Nevertheless, on becoming pope, his holiness still continued to be cardinal de Medici, as far as such an union of characters was suited to the dignity to which God had raised him. And if, in weighing these two claims,—that of his duty as pope and that of his affection to the emperor,—his holiness had not suffered the latter to preponderate, perhaps the world would several years ago have been at peace, and we should not to-day be labouring under our present calamities. For, there being at the time his holiness was made pope two strong armies in Lombardy,—that of the emperor and that of the most Christian king,—and the former labouring under numerous difficulties, and being unable to keep its ground, had it not been for the aid of our lord the pope, who recruited it with Roman and Florentine troops, granted it tithes from the kingdom which realized eighty thousand scudi, and caused contributions to be made to it from Florence, besides money and infinite other aids afforded it by his holiness individually; but for this, I say, perhaps the war would have had a different, a more moderate issue, and there would have been reason, perhaps, to look for an end of troubles, and not for a beginning of fresh and greater tribulations. And his holiness moreover . . . \* added those new demonstrations, without which the emperor could not have conquered, because—a point I forgot to state—without them the signory could never have combined its army: but not only was no regard paid to the advice he gave against passing with the army into France, but in many occurrences it began to appear that little account was made of his holiness, and Ferrara began to be favoured to his prejudice, and instead of praise and gratitude for what he had done for them, they began to complain of every thing that had not been done according to their wishes, not considering that every thing performed by him had proceeded from sheer good-will, and not from any obligation; and furthermore, that even if his obligations to the cause had been infinite, much greater ought that to have been by which his holiness was bound to do his duty to God than to the emperor.]

[The issue of the French war showed whether or not his holiness had given good advice. For his most Christian majesty coming down on the imperial army, which lay at Marseilles, compelled it to retreat, and pursued it with such speed that it had

\* [The style of the original, which is involved and perplexed throughout, is here particularly ungrammatical and obscure. The above is the best guess the translator can make at the writer's meaning.—TRANSLATOR.]

\* [The translator has here omitted a line or two of the original, from which he despaired of extracting any intelligible meaning.]



entered Milan quite unexpectedly : and such was the terror of the viceroy on that day, as reported by his holiness's ministers at his excellency's court, that there were no terms he would not have accepted from the king, and with reason, seeing that he was utterly undone if chance had not favoured him, by inducing his most Christian majesty to go to Pavia and not to Lodi, where it was not possible to keep his ground with the forces collected there. Such was the existing aspect of things ; and as much worse apparently, as imagination always makes sudden contingencies appear, and his holiness was on the worst terms with his most Christian majesty, and had little to hope but ill of his majesty, and to be infinitely hated by him, his holiness having conducted himself in the way I shall hereafter state with as much truth as I should be bound to observe under any circumstances that might more cogently demand it of me than those in which I consider myself at present.

[When our lord the pope was elected, the most Christian king immediately set to supplicate his holiness, that as God had placed him in a position above all, so in like manner he should place himself above himself, and conquer the passions that might lurk in him, whether of too great affection towards the emperor, or of too great aversion to him, the king : adding, that he would hold himself deeply bound to God and his holiness if he treated all parties alike, interposing to do good, but not interfering to favour one party against another. If, however, his holiness's intentions or purposes should make him feel the necessity of a special support in some prince, where could his holiness find that better than in him, who by nature, and as a son of the church and not its rival, desired, and was wont to labour for its aggrandizement not its diminution ? and then, as regarded proofs of good-will between man and man, he would make him such conditions as would convince his holiness that he had gained much more by making known his worth in acting offensively and injuriously towards him, the king, than in aiding and favouring the emperor.

[Our lord the pope adopted the first proposal, namely, that he should deal lovingly with all : and though the result rested rather with the emperor, he did so with alacrity, and with the confident hope that his imperial majesty would so readily yield to his guidance, that his holiness should not have so much to deprecate what offended his most Christian majesty, as he should be gratified by facilitating and aiding the arrangements to be adopted in adjusting a peace. But things turning out otherwise, and the king resolving to enter Italy whilst the imperial army was in Marseilles, he sent from Aix I think,--a courier with carte blanche to our lord, through the medium of signor Alberto da Carpi, with favourable stipulations, most ample terms, and a display of his intentions, such as he might certainly have sent to the emperor himself : for except that he claimed Milan, in all other matters he was content to defer absolutely to the decision of his holiness. Notwithstanding this, his holiness would not make up his mind till he had not once, but twice, had certain intelligence of the capture of Milan, and received letters from his agent that all was irretrievable, and that the viceroy did not think otherwise. Let any friend, or servant, or brother, or

father, or the emperor himself, fancy himself in this situation, and see in this emergency, and again in the following one, what he could have done for the emperor's benefit that the pope did not do much better. The pope having gotten into his hands the means of stopping the war in the kingdom of Naples, and infinite other advantages public and private, was not bound to any thing else in favour of his most Christian majesty except to acquire what the imperial army already gave up for lost, and to hinder him from going forth to seize the kingdom of Naples,--an attempt which seemed to threaten no great difficulty. And whoever has a mind to vaunt upon the strength of the events that turned out otherwise, ought to thank God, who determined it so miraculously and of his own good pleasure, and should attribute nothing therein to himself, and own that the pope made that capitulation to preserve himself and the emperor, and not with a bad intention. For the king, unluckily for him, finding the enterprise prove difficult, because he had not set about it as he ought, the pope left him a couple of months at Pavia without a breath in favour of his cause ; and though this was no small benefit conferred on the Spaniards, he failed not to do more for them, giving them all the assistance they could ask from his territories, and not failing by his interposition to effect concord between them as far as possible : but disorder prevailing, and the king pressing to have our lord declare in his favour, so as to facilitate his conquest of Milan, and urging likewise that the Florentines should do the same, as they were bound equally with the pope, his holiness laboured to avoid having to declare himself, or to give him any aid, save only allowing passage through his dominions, and provisions for a part of the army which his majesty wished to send into the kingdom to cause a diversion, and thereby more easily reduce the imperialists to come to terms. Oh ! but this was a mighty service rendered to the French !--yielding to them what they were able to extort if refused them, the pope being disarmed, and the notion appearing altogether too absurd, that, having made a league with his most Christian majesty, and having been unwilling to serve him in any thing else, he should deny him that which he could not withhold, and the publication of a feigned concord like that then promulgated by giving a little provision to his majesty, and contriving that he should endure with less ill-will that his holiness did not observe the capitulation to the very letter. And, to say the truth, his most Christian majesty was rather prejudiced than served by this partition of his army ; for the forces were so delayed in Siena and in the Roman territory, that the imperialists had time in Lombardy to achieve the victory of Pavia. This being obtained, what reason was there why the emperor, or his agents, or any one in the world, of whatever party, should entertain angry feelings against his holiness, or should think of any thing but to do him service or pleasure, even though he were not moved thereto by motives of religion and by the example of other monarchs, who not only never offended popes who remained neutral, but even when they were victorious over the party to which the church had adhered, always treated the pope with the utmost submissiveness and reverence, and closed their victories with intreating his pardon, honouring and serving him ! Let us put

religion for the present out of the question, and suppose the pope and the church transported to Muscovy, and then tell me, What right canst thou possibly have to make any charge against a person or a state that usurps nothing, to which thou hast a reasonable claim? But the case is still stronger, when it is remembered that for a long series of years favour, aid, and means, particularly personal, were afforded, whereby such great victories were obtained. And if the pope did then adhere to the king, he did so at a time when, not being able to help himself or others, it seemed to him that he had a divine opportunity to produce that same effect through the instrumentality of the enemy; for he gave him nothing but what the enemy's own strength or the emperor's weakness secured him; and he managed so, that when the career of victory was closed for the French, it would appear that he had rather retarded it than helped it forward. What unheard-of inhumanity was it, not to use a harsher expression, just as if none of these reasons existed, or as if they had been quite the reverse, immediately after the victory of Pavia and the capture of the king, to make overtures of peace to the other states that might justly be supposed to have offended, and suddenly to declare war upon the church and the person of the pope, and to send an army against him! Either the imperialists had seen the articles of the league with his most Christian majesty, or they had not seen them. Supposing them to have seen them, as we are certain they did, since all his majesty's papers fell into their hands, they ought to produce them, and by pointing out what there was in them to take offence at, either with regard to the time when they were concluded, or to any particulars prejudicial to his imperial majesty, make them serve in justification of their own allegations, if indeed they furnished any sufficient justification. Supposing them not to have seen them, why act so iniquitously against . . . ? But having neither discovered any thing of the kind in written documents, nor experienced it in fact, they had no cause of offence. It was not for want of spirit, or for want of power, that our lord the pope forbore; for that he possesses both, they had long experienced to their own benefit, and age could not have deprived him in any respect of the former, and his dignity had given him a considerable increase of the latter. Nor yet was it because his holiness had intercepted some letters of those gentlemen, wherein it seemed that they were puffed up, and waited opportunity to revenge themselves for the injury they had not received from his holiness: but it was, without the slightest reference to all these things, solely in consideration of the justice, the duty, and the good disposition of his imperial majesty; without whose participation it was never supposed that any thing could be attempted, and of whom his holiness could never persuade himself that his majesty would sanction what was done. But every thing turned out quite the reverse; for suddenly, without the least delay, the army was marched into the dominions of the church, and his holiness was constrained to buy off the vexation with a sum of 100,000 scudi, and to make a league with them. Upon the said league being reported in Spain, the proof his majesty gave of his disapprobation of these proceedings was his declaration, that if there was contained in the league any thing favourable to our lord and the church, he would

not ratify it, notwithstanding that all that had passed in Italy had been done with his majesty's full and express commands; and among the clauses were the restoration of the proceeds of Milan, which had been taken from the church, and the restitution of Reggio, of which he would not hear at all. Our lord having found himself so often deceived, and having ever hoped, in spite of appearances, that matters would turn out better on the emperor's part, whereas the contrary had invariably been the case, at length began, with so many evident proofs before him, to hearken to those who had always persisted in affirming that his imperial majesty aimed at the oppression of all Italy, and at making himself absolute master of the country: and indeed it appeared strange to his holiness, that without such an object, his majesty should govern by himself and by his officers in the manner he did. Entertaining this suspicion, and discontented at seeing that no faith or promise was kept with him, it seemed to the pope very proper that he should unite in friendship and in proceedings with those who had a common cause with his holiness, and who would have to find means of defending themselves against such violence as was practised. And it being suggested, among other things, that the emperor purposed to depose the duke of Milan, and to make himself master of that state, and numerous indications fully establishing the truth of this surmise, it was thought that not a moment should be lost in anticipating the designs against us, and retorting them on their devisers; nor could his holiness refuse to follow the course adopted by those whose cause, as I said, was identified with his own. Hence it followed, that when France, Venice, and the rest of Italy, proposed to combine for the relief of those states, and for the common weal, the pope expressed his intention of not being behindhand with the rest. And he candidly confesses, that when it was made known to him, in the name and on the part of the marquis of Pescara, that he offered, as malcontent with the emperor and as an Italian, to take part in the combination when matters were ripe for action, not only did his holiness not refuse the offer, but hoping actually to possess his aid, he would have given him every encouragement; for being driven to fear for his own state and well-being, he thought he ought not to reject any means of safety that fell in his way. Pescara is now dead, and God knows the truth and with what intentions he conducted himself in this matter. Thus much, at all events, is certain, that such a proposition was sent in his name to his holiness; and when his holiness sent to question him on the subject, so far from denying it, he personally confirmed what had been stated by others in his name. And though such proceedings took place, God knows that his holiness was led into them more by necessity than by choice; testimony whereof will be found in many letters written at the time to his holiness's nuncio at the imperial court, directing that his majesty's attention should be drawn to the ruinously bad system he was pursuing, and that he should be intreated for the love of God to adopt a different course; forasmuch as it was not possible that Italy, though won, should be retained otherwise than by love, and by a certain system which should serve to satisfy the general mind. But all being of no avail, and his majesty putting an end to all doubts that had subsisted as to his intentions

to seize on the state of Milan, under cover of the name of Girolamo Morone, and upon the pretext that the duke had been disposed to rebel against his imperial majesty, still the pope persisted in trying fair means, and was ready to meet the emperor's wishes if the emperor would not meet his; if so, the duke might be left in possession of Milan, that having been the cause of all the wars in Italy. So little was the pope's success on this score, that on this desire of his being communicated to the emperor, at the time his imperial majesty was disposed to come to terms with the most Christian king, he refused to comply with it. And whereas if his imperial majesty had first agreed with the pope, he might have acquired more advantage, and afterwards established a more solid treaty with the most Christian king, his refusal to agree with his holiness served but to make all his arrangements with the king the more futile\*; inasmuch as the king, not being inclined to observe them, would find himself linked with discontented associates, and would make the less account of his imperial majesty. It is impossible to conceive whence sprang so great an aversion on the emperor's part to embrace the pope: he had never yet, in fact, received any offence from his holiness, who had sent his nephew as legate to do him honour, and to treat of these matters, so that he might know how much the pope had them at heart; and who had sought to gratify him in every way,—among others, in granting the matrimonial dispensation, which, as every one knows, was of importance towards drawing closer the bonds of friendship and good intelligence between the two kingdoms, and, at any rate, as a means of procuring the emperor money by way of dowry, and the succession to the crown†. Nevertheless, his imperial majesty, totally unmoved by these considerations, forced his holiness to give himself up to those who sought his alliance. And now, when the pope entered into a league with the most Christian king, and with the other princes and potentates, for the common defence, and principally to effect an universal peace, the emperor, on learning it, was then willing to unite with the pope, and sent to offer him, through Signor Don Ugo di Moncada, not only what his holiness had urgently demanded and intreated, but even what he had never hoped he could possibly obtain. And if his majesty will urge in his own defence, or in aspersions of his holiness, that when the offer was made to the latter through Signor Don Ugo as aforesaid, he would not accept it, let him not lay the blame on his holiness, who, while it was in his own power, offered to content himself with little enough; but let him blame the want of judgment of those who, when the opportunity is in their hand, will not consent to one, and come forward to bid a hundred out of season. The pope was perfectly justified in acting thus at a time when his majesty refused to enter into a league upon honourable conditions, and when the enterprises in hand were turning out in such a manner that there seemed hardly a possibility of not arriving at the common object. Now if any one suppose that the enterprise against the king-

dom was not likely to prove easy, the contrary will appear from the issue of Frusolone, and from the conquest of so many territories, especially when it is considered that his holiness could have sent the same forces thither in the beginning, whilst they were not in a condition in the kingdom suddenly to make such great preparations as they hardly obtained in many months with waiting aid from Spain. And whilst his holiness failed not even in hostility to be a friend, and to be willing to act rather as a father, threatening rather than hurting, and proceeding with all sincerity, and not failing to descend even to terms below his dignity, in entering into arrangements with the Colonnas, his own subjects, so that he might remove every ground of suspicion, and never thrust the steel so far forward that he could not on drawing it back easily heal the wound; even then that treason was devised against his holiness, which is known to every one, and the unutterable guilt of which silence can best express, wherein it is true that if his majesty was not acting and consenting, at least he showed no great displeasure at it; for it seemed that the armament and all the preparations the emperor could ever make had no other object than to take vengeance for the justice the pope had inflicted on the Colonnas, by ruining four of their castles. I will not dispute about the truce made this September in the castle by Signor Don Ugo, or inquire whether it was observed or not; but the absolution of the Colonnas did not so tie up the pope's hands that he could not and ought not to punish them, they being his own subjects. And if there had been any possibility of relying on the observance of the truce between our lord and the emperor, it would have been observed on our lord's part, though he was never the first to break it: but as it was not observed either here or in Lombardy, from whence, whilst the truce was still unexpired, twelve thousand lansquenets entered the territories of the church, whilst those in that quarter did their very worst,—and the viceroy of Naples wrote letters, which were intercepted, wherein he besought the signory to hasten the arrival of their forces, so as to catch the pope unprepared, and complete what had been left uneffected at the first blow,—our lord could not so far fail of what was due to himself as not to send and procure forces from Lombardy; and though these arrived in time to cause a diversion within the kingdom of Naples, he would not allow them to quit the frontiers,—the ruin of the castles of the Colonnas was more owing to their disobedience in refusing to harbour the troops than to any thing else,—and likewise the pope gave leave to Andrew Doria to go and intercept that fleet, of which his holiness had had such frequent intelligence that it was designed for his destruction. It is impossible, without passing censure on his holiness for his little regard to his own welfare and dignity, to tell, in despite of how many urgent legitimate occasions, he never for so long a time abandoned his love for the emperor; and after there began to be some division between them, how often he not merely waited to be offered, but went out of his way to seek means of accommodation, though no good had come to him either of the first propositions or of the subsequent reconciliations. Now while matters were in a more violent condition than ever, comes the father-general of the Minorites, to whom, on his going to Spain, at the beginning of the war, our

\* [See the Italian *supra*. I have not adopted Ranke's (?) suggestion of interpolating the word "*comodo*," thinking the passage makes better sense without it.—TRANSLATOR.]

† We see that the lapse of Portugal to the crown of Spain was thought of in 1525.

lord the pope having strongly expressed his good feelings towards the emperor, and pointed out to him what would be the course of proceeding towards obtaining an universal peace, his majesty sent him back with commissions in terms as ample as could be desired, but which afterwards proved actually extremely hard. For when our lord desired to go, and have for once an explanation face to face with the emperor, to see if there were any possible means of arriving at peace, he agreed with the greatest alacrity to those things which the emperor desired of his holiness, and accepted what his majesty was pleased to grant; and when he wished to come to a positive arrangement, and found it necessary to treat with the viceroy, who likewise had arrived at the same time in Gaeta with no less large offers than those the general had made, those conditions swelled continually till they surpassed all possibility of execution or endurance. Yet with all this there was nothing so much afflicted the pope as his being constrained to make terms alone with the emperor in Italy; because, what induced him to do so, even to his own very great loss and disgrace, was the effecting of union and peace in Italy, and the being able to go along with the emperor; but this could not be if Venice were not a consenting party; wherefore, to obtain the consent of the signory, the viceroy being at Frusolone, a suspension of arms was agreed on for eight days, in which time a reply might be had from Venice; and Signor Cesare Fieramosca, being the bearer of it, did not arrive till hostilities had been actually resumed, and Frusolone freed from siege, so that nothing could be done. In the whole of this negotiation it is certain that his holiness acted sincerely, and so too did the most reverend legate; but the enemy being already at their post, and with arms in their hands, it was not possible to deal with two different things at the same time. It might excite surprise, that after the pope had made trial of the disposition of the party, and had been cheated and left in the lurch, injured and insulted, he should now thrust himself upon a peace or a truce of this sort, and that too deliberately, and with his eyes open, without any necessity, urged by no fear of loss, secure of gaining, not knowing what friendship he might acquire, but certain of alienating and exciting the hostility of everybody, and of those especially who loved his holiness in their hearts. But his holiness having proved that God was not pleased there should be war, (for to nothing else can be attributed the fact, that whereas his holiness had made every effort to avoid war, yet, after it had actually commenced with such advantages on his side, it nevertheless ended most disastrously, unhappy Christendom being afflicted and desolated by ourselves in a manner too horrible to think of, as if we had a mind to leave little for the Turks to do towards completing its ruin,) he deemed that no human consideration, however important, ought to avail to hinder his holiness from seeking peace in company with every one, and from making it by himself if he could not have it in conjunction with others. In these views he was especially confirmed by the receipt of news representing the emperor as disposed to what is wont to move his holiness in a wonderful degree; for his holiness had received at that time through Signor Cesare and through Paolo di Arezzo, letters under his ma-

jesty's hand of that kind that was necessary, seeing that an agreement between the pope and the emperor promised to be a blessing to the world, whilst it would be impossible to conceive the existence of a worse man than the emperor would be if he had devised this way of ruining the pope,—a scheme which would have been most unworthy of the basest of men, much more of the greatest among Christians. But far be all possible imaginings of any such thing, and rather let it be thought that God had permitted it to prove us, and to give his majesty an opportunity of displaying more piety, goodness, and faith, and more fully controlling the destinies of the world, than ever was granted, to any sovereign born. All the pope's papers having fallen into the hands of the soldiers, they will have carried off among others a new capitulation made by his holiness five or six days at most before the downfall of Rome, in which, if he again united himself with the league, and consented to many conditions prejudicial to his imperial majesty, I do not think that this can be cast up against his holiness by any of the emperor's partisans; for they could not do so without exposing their own faults and failings: for, supposing it were true that there was no restraining Bourbon from his purpose of seeking the pope's destruction, certain it is that there were many others engaged in the war, both infantry and men at arms, and principal personages, who would have obeyed the emperor's commands had they been properly conveyed to them; and had Bourbon been deprived of such support, he would have been in no very good condition for prosecuting his design. And supposing that it had not been possible to do this, though no valid excuse for not doing it can be offered, what justification can be offered for the fact that when his holiness had fulfilled all the conditions of the capitulation made with the viceroy, (as you, most reverend Sir, may satisfy yourself by reading over the copy of the capitulation which you will take with you,) and when his holiness demanded in return the payment of the infantry and men-at-arms who had bound themselves to every request of his, nothing of the sort was done: so that his holiness, having met with nothing like reciprocity in the execution of this capitulation,—on the one hand, things having been done that ought not, and on the other, aid having been withheld that ought to have been afforded,—I know not how any of the party can think of vilifying his holiness for a thing done through sheer necessity induced by themselves, and which his holiness so long delayed to do, that it proved his ruin: I know not, I say, how they can catch at this as a ground of quarrel against us.

[The very enemies of his holiness will not deny that he announced his intention of making advances to the emperor at a time when no one could suspect that he was moved by anything else than by zeal for the welfare of Christians; the suggestion having occurred immediately on receipt of the news of the king of Hungary's death and the loss of the kingdom, and his holiness having discussed and terminated the matter in consistory two or three days before the entry of the Colonnas into Rome. Nor do I suppose that any one will be gross enough to believe that the pope was led to show all this favour to the emperor by his foresight forsooth of that storm; for it was not of such a kind that had it been known three hours before-

hand, not to say three days, it might not have been quelled with a very little noise.

[The conditions conveyed to our lord by the father-general were these: first, the emperor desired peace with his holiness, and if by chance on the arrival of the father-general, he should find the affairs of his holiness and of the church ruined, the emperor was content that all things should be restored to their first condition, and that peace should be granted to every one in Italy, he having no desire for a hand's-breadth of ground there either for himself or his brother, but to leave every one in possession of what had been his of old: the duke of Milan's affair was to be tried judicially by judges appointed by his holiness and his majesty, and if he were acquitted, he should be restored; if condemned, his territories should be given to Bourbon; and France would be content to grant money, a thing it had not before been willing to do; and the sum he named was the same as that the most Christian king had sent to offer, that is, two millions of gold. These conditions the pope accepted as soon as ever he was able to substantiate their validity, and subscribed them under his hand; but they were not approved by the others, who, as you, most reverend Sir, are aware, added intolerable demands. Now, since it cannot be presumed but that his imperial majesty dealt in earnest, and with that sincerity which becomes so great a monarch; and these his propositions and embassies evincing so much moderation and kindness of feeling towards our lord, whilst his majesty was not aware what was his holiness's disposition towards him, and whilst he thought that his arms were so omnipotent in Italy through his lansquenets and the fleet sent hither, that they had carried all before them, it is not to be supposed but that, when he shall be informed that if his majesty sent the pope testimonies of his good-will, they were fully reciprocated on the part of his holiness, and that his forces encountered such resistance here that his holiness, in laying down his arms rather conferred a benefit on his imperial majesty than received one, as I have before said, and as is most clear, and that all the subsequent calamities rest on the faith and name of his majesty, in whom our lord confided: in that case the emperor will not only see that it will be like himself if he shall spontaneously show kindness and evince a readiness to make reparation to his holiness and the church, but he will even seek to increase that his natural disposition in proportion as he wishes to escape this obloquy, and by an easy transition to convert the ignominy that would otherwise attend him into perpetual glory\*, made so much the more illustrious and stable by himself, as others, such as his ministers, have sought to sink and obscure it. And the acts which it would be necessary to do to this end for the church individually, and for its restoration, as well as the benefits which would efface the disasters of Italy, and of all Christendom, supposing the emperor to look more to their pacification than to any other emolument, will be easily discovered, provided the disposition and the judgment to wish for and to know

wherein consists what is truly for the general good be present.

[Not to enter into the causes whereby we were compelled to take up arms, a subject which would occupy too much time, we shall only say, that we never took them up from hatred or ill-will towards the emperor, or from ambition to aggrandize our state, or that of any one belonging to us, but solely from the necessity in which it seemed to us we were placed our liberty and our state, and the liberties of the states of Italy in general, and to prove to the world and to the emperor himself, if he sought to oppress us, that we could not and would not endure it without making every effort in our own defence; inasmuch that his majesty, if he was of that mind, which we never doubted, might understand that matters were not likely to succeed with him so easily as others, perhaps, had given him to suppose: or if we were deceived in thus supposing that his majesty intended us mischief, and if those suspicions should prove to have risen rather from the conduct of ministers than from any other cause; that then, upon his majesty's giving us full assurance of this, good peace and friendship might ensue, not only between us in particular and his majesty, but embracing also those other sovereigns and signors with whom we had been leagued for no other end than to defend ourselves from the villainy done us, or once more to bring about peace in wretched Christendom upon honourable and reasonable conditions. And if when Don Ugo came hither, his majesty had communicated to us those conditions which in all honour appeared to him necessary thereto, we should have deemed it the greatest blessing that God could bestow on us, that one day should behold as it were the taking up and the laying down of arms. And that what we state to have always been the purpose of our mind was truly so, appears from the disposition in which we were found by the general of the Franciscans, to whom we communicated a year ago, when he was here on his way to Spain, the grounds which we and the other sovereigns of Italy had to be dissatisfied with the emperor, and charged him on our part to lay all these before his majesty, and to give him to understand that if he was willing to attend to our counsels and prayers, which all tended to the praise and service of God, and to his own benefit as well as ours, he would always find on our part that friendship he had before made proof of; and when the said general was sent back to us again some months afterwards, he brought us his majesty's most courteous reply, that he was content (to use his own words) to accept as commands the counsels we had sent him: and to give assurance of this, he stated, among other resolutions, that he was content to release the sons of his most Christian majesty for the ransom that had been offered him by his majesty, a thing that till then he had never been willing to do. In addition to which he promised, that if all Italy was in his power, as it was the fashion to say at the time the general was in Rome, he was content, in order to give the lie to those who sought to slander him by imputing to him an intention of keeping possession of it, to restore everything there to its pristine state, and to show, that neither for himself nor for his most serene brother, he desired one hand's-breadth of territory in that country beyond what

\* [The passage in the original is obscure; but I think it intelligible in a different meaning from that which would be put upon it by Ranke's suggested addition of two words. See the Italian *supra*.—TRANSLATOR.]

had belonged of old to the crown of Spain. And that his words might be accompanied by facts, the general was furnished with most ample authority to arrange every thing either with Don Ugo, or with the viceroy, if he should have arrived in Italy when he came here. How great was our satisfaction here, it is impossible to describe; and an hour appeared to us a thousand years in our impatience to come to some sort of general agreement to lay down arms. And when the viceroy arrived nearly at the same time, and sent to us from San Steffano, where he first put into port in these seas, by the commandant Pignatola, the fairest possible words, in no respect different from what had been uttered by the general, we rendered thanks to God that the pleasure we had received from the general's embassy was not to be alloyed by any doubt, the same being confirmed to us by the viceroy, who comforted us in every respect by making known to us the emperor's commission, and further assured us that no one could feel more alacrity than himself to give it effect. How totally all this was reversed in fact, there needs no great effort to tell; for there is no one who does not know the exceedingly harsh, intolerable, and ignominious conditions that were demanded on the viceroy's part, we having made no delay in praying him to hasten to state the conditions attached to such welcome promises. And whereas we expected to hear still better news than had yet been told us, it being always usual to keep back the best things for the last, to make them taste more gratefully, not only were we disappointed of finding anything of what we had been led to expect, but we met with the very contrary; as, firstly, we found that no faith whatever was placed in us, as if no one in truth could offer any favourable testimony for us in that respect; and that there was demanded of us by way of security the best part of our state and of the signory of Florence, and then a sum of money, intolerable to one who possessed mountains of gold, much more to us who, as every one was aware, had not a carlino; that it was required, to our great disgrace, and to the still greater disgrace of the emperor, that we should reimburse those who, in violation of every duty human and divine, had come so treasonably to assail the person of our lord the pope, and to sack the church of St. Peter and the sacred palace; and that it was insisted on without the least respect, that we should further stringently bind ourselves to his imperial majesty, all the world knowing how much voluntary zeal to that effect we displayed at the time when most of all we were in a flourishing condition: and, not to go into all other particulars, that it was required that we should make terms apart and alone, which we could not do if we were disposed to facilitate the conclusion of the general peace for which we were willing to make this beginning. And there being no possibility of moving the viceroy from these his intolerable demands, and he actually invading our territories without any cause, though we at all times and during the few previous months had forbore to molest those of the emperor in the kingdom of Naples, the arrival of Cesare Fieramosca took place in the interim; and whereas he found the viceroy already in the state of the church, we believe that he was the bearer of such orders on the emperor's part to his excellency, that if they had been obeyed, things would

not have been brought to such a pass. And whilst his excellency strove to do at once two very opposite things,—the one being to show that he had not done ill in going so far, or not to lose the opportunity he thought he had of winning the whole prize; the other being to obey the emperor's commands, which were, that an agreement should by all means be come to;—the consequence was, that neither the one nor the other has come to pass to this hour: for his excellency found he was deceived and could not do what he intended; and Signor Cesare coming forward with proposals for a truce of eight days, till an answer should be received as to whether the signory of Venice would join in the arrangement, when he arrived on the ground he found the armies actually engaged, and so to this day the matter never went any further; except that notwithstanding this event, and knowing for certain that we were most secure in Lombardy and in Tuscany, by reason of the satisfactory preparations there, and the vast number of troops of the whole league in those parts, and knowing too that there was no remedy whatever for the affairs of the kingdom, as experience had begun to demonstrate, we never abandoned our longing desire and our efforts for peace. And the sole gratification we derived from the fact that events had turned out so prosperously for ourselves was, that it enabled us to show that if we desired peace it was from sound judgment and of our own good will, not from necessity; and to demonstrate to the emperor that if he was sincere, as we believed, in his instructions to the father-general, purporting that even if everything were at his absolute disposal matters should be restored to their primitive state, we who were actually in the condition in which he supposed himself to be, were ready to do what he had purposed on his part. This intention of ours was rendered still more intense by letters written with the emperor's hand, among which were the last two we received through Cesare Fieramosca, and Paolo di Arezza, our servant, which are of such tenour that, relying on those letters alone, we should have seemed safely warranted in placing the whole world, and even our very soul, in the emperor's hands; so earnestly did his majesty conjure us to believe his words, which were full of such satisfaction, such promises and assurances of aid, that we could not have desired any thing better. And as in treating for peace, we never desisted from preparations for war, so long as we were uncertain what reciprocity should be shown us, so their being two chiefs in Italy, Bourbon and the viceroy, we took pains to understand clearly whether it was necessary to treat with but one of them, and if his decisions should be binding on both, or with both separately; so that if what has happened should occur, we should not be as chargeable with lack of prudence as others are with faults of a different kind. Now, finding that the viceroy had the sole power of treating with us, we wished to have this put in the clearest light, and not to trust simply to the declarations of the father-general, Signor Cesare, the viceroy himself, Paolo d'Arezza, and Bourbon, but to understand from the said Bourbon, not once but a thousand times, and through divers persons, if he was disposed to obey, and if he would refuse to make any reply touching what concerned the viceroy, should it be proposed to treat with himself



individually. Now it was easy for him, as it is for everybody, to cloak over his designs with a show of virtue, and to effect by fraud what he could not do honestly and openly, as (come it whence it might, fraud we think there was, though we cannot tell whence it proceeded) seems to have been done by us, who it is manifest used all possible diligence to avoid being deceived; so much so, indeed, that at times we seemed to be superstitious and deserving of censure. For since we had warranty both by letters and by word of mouth from the emperor of his good feeling, and that Bourbon would obey the viceroy, and since by way of precaution his majesty had given fresh letters to Paulo, touching this obedience to the viceroy, directed to the said Bourbon, and the whole negotiation was conducted with such ample powers from his majesty as ought to have sufficed, and Bourbon had expressed his readiness to submit in every respect to the viceroy, and the latter was afterwards content to put himself into our power, so strongly did every thing tend towards beguiling us into the condition in which we are placed, that I know not, taking all the circumstances into consideration, how it would be humanly possible to find more reasons than we had for trusting the simple faith of a private gentleman. But to speak only of our own proceedings, it was much more lawful and easy for us, without incurring the infamy of breach of faith or any other disgrace, to use the opportunity presented by fortune to hold ourselves perfectly secure in Lombardy, (which we were to such a degree that Bourbon would never have advanced if the army of the league had not cooled in consequence of the earnest prosecution of the negotiations for peace,) and to avail ourselves of that advantage to follow up the war in Naples, seize the whole kingdom except two or three fortresses, press on then to other places where the emperor might have sustained loss and discredit, and in strict union with the confederates render all his designs more difficult. But whereas it seemed to us that God's service and unhappy Christendom required peace, we purposed to forego every great acquisition or victory we might have had, and to offend all the Christian and Italian princes, without at all knowing what we were to look to get, but thinking we should come off well enough if the emperor's mind were such as his majesty had endeavoured by so many proofs to make it appear. And we made very little account of offending the other Christian princes, who would very soon have been under great obligations to us if that had ensued which his majesty had so strongly assured us of, —namely, that if we came to terms with him, he would put into our hands the conclusion of peace and agreement with the Christian princes. And if any one should be inclined to think that we acted with other views, nothing could exceed the malignity of such a person, supposing him to know us; should he not know us, and should he take the pains to acquaint himself with our life and conduct, he will find on all hands that our desires have been invariably worthy and our conduct virtuous, and that to such motives we have postponed every other interest; and if we have nevertheless been unfortunate, though we receive at the hands of God with all humility whatever he is pleased to inflict, still are we most grievously wronged by men, and above all by

those who (though up to a certain time they may shelter themselves by force and by the disobedience of others, whilst if reason were to be heard there would be enough to say against them) ought now, and for some time past, to have acted differently both for their own honour and in consideration of what they owe to God and the world. We entered into the treaty afterwards made at Florence with Bourbon's people through the mediation of the viceroy, and which was not observed, because we did not wish to seem as though we cherished the design of doing ill to those who had been the cause of our being thus treated, whom we leave to the just judgment of God: from his mercy to us and to his church let us hope only in the piety, the faith, and the virtue of the emperor, that since we have been brought to our present condition through the opinion we entertained of him, he will treat us accordingly, and exalt us in proportion as we are now brought low. Let us look to his majesty for such satisfaction for the infinite contumely and injuries we have sustained, as may accord with his greatness and with the justice of the case, if indeed it be possible that any amends can be equivalent to the least part of our wrongs. We will not descend to particulars, to take off the spontaneous grace of the suggestions which we cannot but think will occur to him, and which he will send and offer us. Only let us say, that putting at the very lowest what can be asked, and which it would rather be a disgrace for his majesty not to grant and for us not to ask, than the performance thereof would be difficult, his majesty ought to comply with these terms:—

[That we, our own person, the sacred college and the court, be restored in all temporalities and spiritualities to that footing on which we stood at the time the preliminaries were entered into with the viceroy, and that we be not burthened with the payment of one penny.]

[And if any one on hearing this shall jeer us, let us answer, that if the things above stated are true, and it moves wonder that we are appeased with this, this may well be and with reason: but if it appear to him truly strange, let him consider what kindness he shows in thus judging, whether to the emperor or to ourselves: for the emperor—let him ponder well that so often as this and much more is not promised on his majesty's part, he is thereby made an accomplice in all the wrong that has been done here: for ourselves—let us say that this is a mere perfidious attempt to insinuate slanderously, what no one would ever venture to assert openly. It is not enough to take heed that we stand, but likewise how we stand; and better is it assuredly that we do at the prompting of virtue and judgment that which time most certainly will at last bring about, in the life-time of others, if not in our own.]

16. *Sommario dell' istoria d'Italia dall' anno 1512 insino a 1527 scritto da Francesco Vettori.*  
[Summary of the history of Italy from 1512 to 1527, written by Francesco Vettori.]

A most remarkable little work by a sensible man, the friend of Machiavel and Guicciardini, and one profoundly versed in the affairs of the house of Medici, and of all the rest of Italy. I found it in the Corsini library in Rome, but I was only allowed to



make extracts from it; otherwise I would have it printed as it highly deserves to be.

The plague of the year 1527 having driven Francesco Vettori from Florence, he writes his survey of recent events at his villa.

He directs his attention chiefly to Florentine matters. His way of thinking nearly resembles that of his friends above-mentioned. Speaking of the form of government given to his native city in the year 1512, which was such as to make cardinal Medici, afterwards Leo X., all-powerful ("si ridusse la città, che non si faceva se non quanto voleva il card<sup>e</sup> de Medici"), he adds, people to be sure call this tyranny; but for his own part he knows no state, ancient or modern, whether monarchy or republic, which had not some tinge of tyranny. "Tutte quelle repubbliche e principati de' quali io ho cognitione per historia o che io ho veduto mi pare che sentino della tirannide." If the example of France or of Venice is objected to him, he answers, that in France the nobility have the preponderance in the state, and are in the enjoyment of the benefices; whilst in Venice three thousand men are seen ruling over more than one hundred thousand, not always with justice; and he lays it down that there is no difference between a king and a tyrant, except that a good ruler deserves to be called a king, and a bad one a tyrant.

In spite of the close relation in which he stood to both the popes of the house of Medici, he is little convinced of the Christianity of the papal power. "Chi considera bene la legge evangelica, vedrà i pontefici, ancora che tenghino il nome di vicario di Christo, haver indutto una nova religione, che non ve n'è altro di Christo che il nome: il qual comanda la povertà e loro vogliono la ricchezza, comanda la humiltà e loro vogliono la superbia, comanda la obediencia e loro vogliono comandar a ciascuno." [Whoever carefully considers the law of the gospel will perceive that the popes, though they bear the name of Christ's vicar, have introduced a new religion, which has nothing in it of Christ but the name. Christ enjoins poverty, and they desire riches; he enjoins humility, and they desire pride; he enjoins obedience, and they desire to command every one.] It is plain how much this secularity, and its opposition to the spiritual principle, prepared the way for protestantism.

Vettori ascribes the election of Leo, above all, to the opinion generally entertained of his good-nature. Two terrible popes had reigned consecutively, and the world had had enough of them. Medici was chosen. "Haver saputo in modo simulare che era tenuto di ottimi costumi." [He had managed appearances so skilfully, that he passed for a man of excellent moral conduct.] This election was chiefly due to the exertions of Bibbiena, who knew the inclinations of all the cardinals, and had the art to prevail upon them in the teeth of their own interests. "Condusse fuori del conclave alcuni di loro a promettere, e nel conclave a consentire a detta elezione contra tutte le ragioni."

He gives a very full and satisfactory account of the expedition of Francis I. in the year 1515, and of the bearing of Leo X. during that period. That it had no worse consequences for the pope, he attributes especially to the dexterity of Tricarico, who entered the French camp at the moment the king was mounting his horse to oppose the Swiss at Marignano, and who conducted the

subsequent negotiations with consummate prudence.

He next speaks of the revolt of Urbino. I have already mentioned\* the reasons Vettori assigns for Leo's conduct. "Leone disse, che se non privava il duca dello stato, el quale si era condotto con lui e preso danari et in su l'ardore della guerra era convenuto con li nemici nè pensato che era suo suddito, nè ad altro, che non sarebbe sì piccolo barone che non ardisse di fare il medesimo o peggio: e che havendo trovato il pontefice in riputatione lo voleva mantenere. Et in verità volendo vivere i pontefici come sono vivuti da molte decine d'anni in qua, il papa non poteva lasciare il delitto, del duca impunito."

Vettori wrote also a separate life of Lorenzo de' Medici. He praises him more than does any other author: he sets his government of Florence in a new and peculiar light. The contents of the biography and of the summary before us are supplementary each of the other.

He treats likewise of the election for emperor, which occurred in this period, and says that Leo backed the king of France only because he was aware beforehand that the Germans would not elect him. He calculated, according to Vettori, that Francis I., for the sake of preventing the election of Charles, would give his interest to some German prince. I meet with the unexpected assertion, which I do not indeed desire to have received implicitly, that the king did actually at last endeavour to promote the election of Joachim of Brandenburg. "Il re . . . aveva volto il favore suo al marchese di Brandenburg, uno delli electori, et era contento che li danari prometteva a quelli electori che eleggevano lui, dargli a quelli che eleggevano dieto marchese." At all events, the conduct of Joachim, with regard to the election, was very extraordinary. This whole history, strangely perverted as it has been, both intentionally and unintentionally, certainly deserves to be duly elucidated†.

Vettori regards Leo's league with Charles as, beyond conception, imprudent. "La mala fortuna di Italia lo indusse a fare quello che nessuno uomo prudente avrebbe facto." He lays the blame of it particularly on the persuasions of Geronimo Adorno. He takes no notice of the natural considerations influencing the house of Medici.

He relates some particulars of the pope's death, which I have incorporated in the text. He does not believe he was poisoned. "Fu detto che morì di veneno, e questo quasi sempre si dice delli uomini grandi e maxime quando muojono di malattie acute." In his opinion, the wonder rather was that Leo had lived so long.

He confirms the fact, that Adrian at first refused to do any thing against the French: it was not till after the receipt of an urgent letter from the emperor that he consented to do some little in that way.

It would carry us too far if we were to repeat all the remarks made in this work on the further course of events. It is remarkable, even in the passages in which the author only expresses his own sentiments: in these, as already observed, he is

\* Supra, page 24.

† I have since endeavoured in my German history to come nearer the truth. (Note to the 2nd edition.)

near akin to Machiavel. He had just as bad an opinion of mankind. "Quasi tutti gli uomini sono adulatori e dicono volentieri quello che piace agli uomini grandi, benché sentino altrimenti nel cuore." [Almost all men are flatterers, and readily say what may please great men, though in their hearts they think differently.] The violation of the treaty of Madrid by Francis I. he pronounces the finest and noblest thing that had been done for many centuries. "Francesco," he says, "fece una cosa molto conveniente, a promettere assai con animo di non osservare, per potersi trovare a difendere la patria sua." [Francis did very properly in promising what he was pretty well resolved not to perform, so that he might thereby be placed in a condition to defend his country.] This is a view of the subject worthy of the "Principe."

But Vettori claims kindred on other grounds besides with the great authors of that age. The work before us is full of originality and talent, and is the more attractive from its brevity. The author sets down no more than he actually knows; but that is truly important. It would require a more minute examination to do justice to his merits.

17. *Sommario di la relatione di S. Marco Foscarei scinto orator del sommo pontefice a di 2 Marzo 1526.*—*Sanuto*, vol. xli. [Summary of the report of Marco Foscarei's embassy to the pope, &c.]

Marco Foscarei was engaged in the embassy that tendered allegiance to Adrian. He appears to have remained in Rome from that time till 1526.

He says something of Adrian's times; but his authority, with respect to those of Clement VII., is of the more weight, since he had constant and animated intercourse with that pope, in consequence of the close connexion then existing between Venice and the see of Rome.

He thus portrays Clement. "Hom prudente e savio, ma longo a risolversi, e di qua vien le sue operation varie. Discorre ben, vede tutto, ma è molto timido: nim in materia di stato pol con lui, alde tutu e poi fa quello li par: homo justo et homo di dio: et in signatura, dove intravien tre cardinali e tre referendarii, non farà cosa in pregiuditio di altri, e come el segna qualche supplication, non revocha più, come feva papa Leon. Questo non vende beneficii, nè li dà per symonia, non tuo officii con dar beneficii per venderli, come feva papa Leon e li altri, ma vol tutto passi rectamente. Non spende, non dona, nè tuol quel di altri: onde è reputa mixerò. E qualche mormuration in Roma, etiam per causa del cardinal Armelin, qual truova molto invention per trovar danari in Roma e fa metter nove angarie e fino a chi porta tordi a Roma et altre cose di manzar . . . E continentissimo, non si sa di alcuna sorte di luxuria che usi. . . Non vol buffoni, non musici, non va a cazare. Tutto il suo piacere è di rasonar con ingegneri e parlar di aque." [A prudent and sage man, but slow to resolve, whence proceeds the changeableness of his proceedings. He reasons well, sees every thing, but is very timid: no one has influence over him in matters of state: he hears all, and then does what seems fit to himself. He is a just and a godly man; and in the signatura, in which three cardinals and three referendarii take part, he will not do any

thing to the prejudice of the others; and when he affixes his signature to any petition, he never revokes, as pope Leo used to do. This pope does not sell benefices, nor does he bestow them simoniacally: he does not exchange benefices for offices, that he may sell the latter, as pope Leo and the others have done, but he wishes that every thing should take place legitimately. He does not spend, nor make presents, nor take what belongs to others; hence he is reputed penurious. There is some murmuring in Rome likewise on account of cardinal Armelin, who has devised many expedients for raising money by imposing new duties, even to the extent of imposing a toll on those who bring thrushes and other catables into Rome . . . He is extremely continent; he is not known to indulge in any kind of luxury. . . . He is not fond of comedians nor of musicians, nor does he hunt. His only recreation is in discoursing with engineers, and talking about water-works.]

He then proceeds to speak of his advisers. The pope allowed his nephew no influence; even Gilberto had not much power in affairs of state: "il papa lo alde, ma poi fa al suo modo." He also states that Gilberto—"devoto e savio" [a pious and wise man]—was for the French, and Schomberg—"libero nel suo parlar [free with his tongue]—for the emperor. Zuan Foietta was another strong adherent of the emperor's; he had been less frequent in his attendance on the pope since the latter had entered into an alliance with France. Foscarei makes mention also of the pope's two secretaries, Jac. Salviati and Fr. Vizardini (Gucciardini), the latter of whom he esteems the abler man, but wholly French.

It is worthy of note that the pope did not stand much better with the French than with the imperialists. He was well aware what he had to expect from them. It was only with Venice he felt himself truly allied. "Conosce, se non era la Signoria nostra, saria ruinado e caza di Roma." [He knows that but for our signory he would be ruined and driven out of Rome.]

They strengthened each other in their schemes for the advantage of Italy, and felt their honour involved in them. The pope was proud that he had hindered Venice from coming to terms with the emperor: on the other hand, our ambassador positively asserts that it was he himself by whose means Italy had become free; that the pope had actually resolved to recognise Bourbon as duke of Milan; but that he, Foscarei, had so earnestly dissuaded him against doing so, that he abandoned his purpose.

He corroborates the fact, not hinted at in the foregoing instruction, that the pope would only on certain conditions grant the emperor the dispensation that was necessary to his marriage: the emperor, however, contrived to obtain it without the conditions.

There is one thing particularly remarkable with regard to this relation. When orders were given at a later period that the ambassadors should make and send in their reports in writing, Marco Foscarei did so too. It is striking how much weaker the second report is than the first. The latter was delivered immediately after the events had occurred, and while they were still fresh and vivid in the memory: afterwards so many other great events had occurred, that the recollections of the

first had become obscured. This shows how much we owe on this score to the diligence of the indefatigable Sanuto. This is the last report, a knowledge of which I have derived from his chronicle. Others follow, which have been preserved in copies made and revised by their authors.

18. *Relazione riferita nel consiglio di pregadi per il clarissimo Gaspar Contarini, ritornato ambasciatore del papa Clemente VII e dal imper Carlo V, Marzo 1530. Informazioni politiche XXV.*—Berlin Library. [Gaspar Contarini's report of his embassy to Clement VII. and Charles V. March, 1530.]

This is the same Gaspar Contarini of whom we have had occasion to speak in terms of such high praise in our history.

After having already fulfilled an embassy to Charles V. (his report of this embassy is exceedingly rare: I have only seen one copy of it in the Albani library in Rome,) he was appointed ambassador to the pope in 1528, before the latter had returned to Rome after so many misfortunes and so protracted an absence. He accompanied his holiness from Viterbo to Rome, and from Rome to Bologna, to attend the coronation of the emperor. He took part in the negotiations carried on in the latter city.

He gives an account of all he witnessed in Viterbo, Rome, and Bologna: the only thing we have to find fault with is, that his narrative is so brief.

Contarini's embassy took place at the important period in which the pope was gradually inclining to a renewal of the alliance with the emperor, which had formerly subsisted between him and the house of Medici. The ambassador very soon remarked with amazement that the pope, though so grossly offended by the imperialists, had still almost more confidence in them than in the confederates. In this the pontiff was confirmed chiefly by Musettola; "huomo," as Contarini says, "ingegnoso e di valore assai, ma di lingua e di audacia maggiore" [a man of considerable talent and ability, but of greater freedom of speech and audacity]. So long as the fortune of war was dubious, the pope remained undecided; but when the French were beaten, and the imperialists gradually showed a willingness to give up the fortresses in their possession, he no longer hesitated. By the spring of 1529 the pope was once more on good terms with the emperor: in June they concluded their alliance, the stipulations of which Contarini found it difficult to get sight of.

Contarini likewise describes the persons with whom he came in contact.

The pope was rather large and well-made. He was at this time not quite recovered from the effects of so many calamities, and from a recent severe illness. "He knows neither great love," says Contarini, "nor violent hatred; he is choleric, but he has so much self-command that no one would suppose him so. He would fain remedy the evils that oppress the church, but he adopts no fit means to that end. His inclinations are not to be judged of with certainty. For a while it seemed as if he cared little about Florence, and now he lets an imperial army march against that city."

Several changes had taken place in the ministry of Clement VII.

The datario Giberto still possessed more than

any one else the special confidence of his master; but after the disastrous issue of the measure taken under his administration, he retired of his own accord, and devoted himself to his bishopric of Verona. Nicolo Schomberg, on the other hand, had again come to be employed in the most important affairs, in consequence of his embassy to Naples. Contarini describes him as a strong partisan of the emperor, a man of good sense, beneficent, but irritable. Jacopo Salviati had also much influence, and was still considered as inclined to the French interests.

Short as is this little work, it is nevertheless highly instructive.

19. *Instructio data Cesari a rector Campeggio in dieta Augustana 1530 (MS. Roma).* [Instructions given to the emperor by cardinal Campeggio in the diet of Augsburg, 1530.]

Hitherto political matters had been the most important, but by degrees ecclesiastical affairs challenged attention. At the very beginning of this document, we light upon that blood-thirsty scheme for a reduction of the protestants of which I have already spoken. It is here even entitled an instruction.

The cardinal says, that as became the place he filled, and in compliance with the orders of the apostolic see, he would set forth the measures which, according to his judgment, it was necessary to adopt.

He thus describes the state of affairs: "In alenni luoghi della Germania per le suggestioni di questi ribaldi sono abrogati tutti li christiani riti a noi dagli antichi sanzi padri dati: non piu si ministrano li sacramenti, non si osservano li voti, li matrinonii si confondono e nelli gradi prohibiti della legge." [In some places in Germany, all the Christian rites handed down to us from the ancient holy fathers have been abolished through the suggestions of these scoundrels: the sacraments are no longer administered; vows are no longer observed, and marriages are contracted promiscuously, and within the forbidden degrees]—and so forth, for it would be superfluous further to transcribe this *capucinule*.

He reminds the emperor that this sect would not procure him any increase of power, as he had been promised. He pledges himself to afford the emperor his special assistance in the measures he recommends. "Et io, se sarà bisogno, con le censure e pene ecclesiastiche li proseguirò, non permettendo cosa a far che sia necessaria, privando li heretici beneficiati delli beneficii loro e separandoli con le excommunicationi del cattolico gregge, e V. Cels. col suo bando imperiale justo e formidabile li ridurrà a tale e sì horrendo estermio che ovvero saranno costretti a ritornare alla santa e cattolica fede ovvero con la loro total ruina mancar delli beni e della vita. . . . Se alcuni ve ne fossero, che dio nol voglia, li quali obstinatamente perseverassero in questa diabolica via, . . . quella (V. M.) potrà mettere la mano al ferro et al fuoco et radicitus extirpare queste male e venenose piante." [And I, if there shall be need, will pursue them with the church's censures and penalties, omitting nothing that may be necessary, depriving the benefited heretics of their benefices, and separating them by excommunication from the catholic flock; and your highness, by your just and formidable

imperial ban, will reduce them to such, and so horrible an extremity, that either they will be constrained to return to the holy catholic faith, or to be utterly ruined and despoiled of goods and life. . . . If there should be any of them, which God forbid, who should obstinately persevere in this diabolical course . . . your majesty may ply fire and sword, and radically extirpate these noxious and venomous weeds.]

He also purposes that the kings of England and of France should confiscate the property of the heretics.

But he dwells above all on Germany; he shows how the articles of Barcelona, to which he frequently refers, should in his opinion be interpreted. "Sarà al proposito, poiche sarà ridotta questa magnifica e cattolica impresa a buono e dritto camino, che alcuni giorni dipoi si eleggeranno inquisitori buoni e santi, li quali con summa diligentia et assiduità vadino cercando et inquirendo, s'alcuni, quod absit, perseverassero in queste diaboliche et heretiche opinioni nè volessero in alcun modo lasciarle, . . . et in quel caso siano castigati e puniti secondo le regole e norma che si osserva in Spagna con li Marrani." [It will be convenient, after this magnificent and catholic enterprise shall have been put fairly on its way, that some days afterwards there be elected good and holy inquisitors, who shall go about seeking and inquiring, with the utmost diligence and assiduity, if there be any, which Heaven forbid, who persevere in these diabolical and heretical opinions, and will by no means be persuaded to leave them, . . . and in that case they shall be castigated and punished according to the rules and regulations observed in Spain with regard to the Moors.]

Fortunately all were not of these opinions. Neither do such schemes appear frequently in the documents we have met with.

20. *Relatio viri nobilis Antonii Suriani doctoris et equitis, qui reversus orator ex curia Romana, presentata in collegio 18 Julii 1533.* (*Archivio di Venetia.*) [Report by Antonio Suriano, doctor and knight, of his embassy to Rome.]

"Among the most important things, he begins by observing, "which are to be noticed by ambassadors, are the personal qualities of the sovereigns to whom they are accredited."

He describes, in the first place, the character of Clement VII.

He remarks, that if the regularity of that pope's habits of life be observed, his unwearied assiduity in giving audiences, and his strict attention to the ceremonies of the church, one would be disposed to consider him of a melancholy temperament; those who know him, however, are of opinion that his temperament is sanguine, only that he is of a cold heart: so that he is slow in making up his mind, and easy to move from his resolution.

"Io per me non trovo che in cose pertinenti a stato la sia proceduta cum grande dissimulatione. Ben cauta: et quelle cose che S. S<sup>ta</sup> non vole che si intendano, piu presto le tace che dirle sotto falso colore." [For my own part, I do not think that he has acted with great dissimulation in matters pertaining to state. He is very cautious; and those things which his holiness does not wish

should be known, he is rather silent about than states them in false colours.]

Those of the ministers of Clement VII. who were chiefly mentioned in former reports, were no longer of weight: they are not even mentioned by Suriano. On the other hand, Jacopo Salviati comes prominently forward, having then the chief conduct of the administration of Romagna and of the Ecclesiastical States in general. The pope trusted him implicitly in this. His holiness saw, indeed, that the minister looked rather too eagerly after his own advantage; he had even complained of this in Bologna; but still he employed him.

Hence Salviati was hated by the pope's other relations. They thought he stood in their way, and they imputed it to him that Clement displayed little liberality to them, ". . . . pare che suadi al papa a tener strette le mani nè li subministri danari secondo è lo appetito loro, che è grande di spender e spander."

But they were very much at variance among themselves. Cardinal Ippolito Medici would fain have been a temporal prince. The pope only said of him at times, "He is a mad devil: the fool does not wish to be a priest"—(L'è matto diavolo, el matto non vole esser prete); but he was exceedingly incensed when Ippolito actually made attempts to drive duke Alexander out of Florence.

Cardinal Ippolito lived on terms of intimate friendship with the young Catherine of Medici, who is here called the "duchessina." She was his "cousina in terzo grado, con la quale vive in amor grande, essendo anco reciprocamente da lei amato, ne piu in altri lei si confida nè ad altri ricorre in li sui bisogni e desiderj salvo al dicto card!" [third cousin, with whom he lives in great affection, which is fully reciprocated by her; and there is no one in whom she more confides, nor has she recourse to any one respecting her wants and wishes except the ~~ss~~ cardinal].

Suriano thus describes the girl who was destined to occupy so important a position in the world in the following terms: "Di natura assai vivace, mostra gentil spirito, ben accostumata: è stata educata e governata cum le monache nel monasterio delle murate in Fiorenza, donne di molto bon nome e saneta vita: è piccola de persona, scarna, non de viso delicato, ha li occhi grossi proprj alla casa de' Medici." [Of a lively character, virtuous and well bred: she was brought up by the nuns of the monasterio delle murate in Florence, ladies of excellent reputation and holy life. She is small in person, thin, not pretty, with the large eyes peculiar to the house of Medici.]

Suitors for her hand presented themselves from every quarter. The duke of Milan, the duke of Mantua, and the king of Scotland wished to marry her; but all were objected to for various reasons. The French marriage was not then finally resolved on. "In accordance with his irresolute nature," says Suriano, "the pope spoke sometimes with greater, sometimes with less, warmth of this marriage."

He is of opinion that the pope's reason for according to the French match was, that he might secure the French party in Florence. For the rest, he treats of the foreign relations of Rome only in a very brief and reserved manner.

21. *Relazione di Roma d'Antonio Suriano 1536. MS. Foscar. Vienna.—Library of St. Marc, Venice.* [Antonio Suriano's report of Rome.]

The copies of this report vary in date from 1535 to 1539. I hold 1536 to be the right date. First, because the report mentions the emperor's return to Rome, which took place in April, 1536; secondly, because there is a letter from Sadolet to Suriano, dated Rome, November, 1536, from which it appears that the ambassador had already taken his departure from Rome when it was written.

This letter (Sadoleti Epp. p. 383) speaks greatly to the honour of Suriano. "Mihi ea officia præstitisti que vel frater fratri, vel filio præstare indulgens pater solet,—nullis meis provocatus officiis." [You rendered me those good offices which a brother bestows upon a brother, or a fond father on a son, though not indebted to me for any similar services.]

Three days after Suriano delivered the preceding report, he was again sent ambassador to Rome (July 21, 1533).

His second report sets forth the further course of the events of which the first relates the beginning, particularly the conclusion of the French marriage, which it seems was not satisfactory to all the pope's relations. "Non voglio tacere che questo matrimonio fu fatto contra il volere di Giac. Salviati e molto piu della S<sup>ta</sup> Lucretia sua moglie, la quale etiam con parole ingiuriose si sforzo di dissuadere S. S<sup>ta</sup>." [I will not conceal that this marriage took place contrary to the wish of Giac. Salviati, and still more of signora Lucretia his wife, who even strove with abusive words to dissuade his holiness from it.] Doubtless because the Salviati were now in the imperial interest. Suriano also speaks of that remarkable meeting between the pope and the emperor which we have mentioned. The pope behaved with the utmost forethought, and would not pledge himself to anything in writing. "Di tutti li desiderii s'accommodò Clemente con parole tali che gli facevano credere S. S<sup>ta</sup> esser disposta in tutte alle sue voglie senza pero far provisione alcuna in scrittura." [Clement met all his wishes with such language as induced him to believe that his holiness was ready entirely to comply with his will, but this without committing himself in writing.] The pope did not wish for war, at least in Italy: all he wanted was to keep the emperor in check; "con questi spaventati assicurarsi del spavento del concilio" [by these fears to secure himself from the fear of a council].

By degrees the council became the grand consideration of the papal policy. Suriano investigates the points of view under which this was contemplated by the court of Rome in the beginning of the reign of Paul III. Even then Schomberg said that it would be assented to only on condition that everything brought forward in it should first be weighed, discussed, and determined in Rome by the pope and the cardinals.

## SECTION II.

### CRITICAL REMARKS ON SARPI AND PALLAVICINI.

The council of Trent, its preliminaries, convocation, twice repeated dissolution, and its re-assembling, with all the motives that contributed thereto, fill a large space in the history of the sixteenth century. It is not necessary to dwell in this place on its immense importance with regard to the definitive establishment of the catholic creed and its relation to protestantism. It was precisely the centre of that theologico-political schism that marked the century.

Its history has been embodied in two elaborate original delineations, each of them possessed of intrinsic interest.

But not only are these two pictures diametrically opposite in character to each other, but the world too has differed no less respecting the historians than their subject. To this very day Sarpi is regarded by the one party as veracious and trustworthy, Pallavicini as false and mendacious: whilst the other party looks on Pallavicini as worthy of implicit credence, and regards the name of Sarpi almost as a by-word for a liar.

A sort of dread comes over us as we approach these voluminous works. The task of mastering their contents would be hard enough even if they contained nothing but what was authentic; but how immensely is the difficulty increased when at every step we are obliged to have a wary eye, lest we be misled by the one or the other, and beguiled into a maze of wilful deceptions.

Nevertheless it is impracticable to test their credibility step by step by means of facts better known to other authorities. Where should we look for impartial information respecting these facts? And if we could find such, we should need fresh folios to bring the matter to an issue in this way.

Nothing remains, then, but to make an attempt towards acquiring a clear insight into the respective methods of our authors.

For all does not necessarily belong to the historian that is to be found in his works, especially in works so voluminous and full of matter as these. He takes the bulk of his facts from others; and it is only by the fashion in which he handles and works up his materials that we are enabled to judge of the individual man who is, after all, himself the unity of his work. Even in these folios, from which industry itself shrinks back appalled, there lurks a poet.

*Storia del concilio Tridentino di Pietro Soave Polano.*

—The first edition free from extraneous additions. Geneva, 1629.

This work was first published in England by Domini of Spalatro, an archbishop who had gone over to protestantism. Though Fra Paolo Sarpi never confessed himself its author, there can be no doubt of the fact. His letters show that he employed himself on such a history; a manuscript copy which he caused to be made of it is preserved in Venice, with corrections in his own hand-writing:

it may be affirmed that he was literally the only man who at any time could have composed such a history as that before us.

Fra Paolo stood at the head of a catholic opposition to the pope, which was grounded on views of state policy, but which in many particulars approximated to protestant notions, especially through the adoption of certain principles of St. Augustine: occasionally, indeed, it incurred the reproach of protestantism.

Sarpi's work, however, is not to be regarded with suspicion purely on the ground of these opinions. The world consisted almost exclusively of two parties, the decided partisans and the decided adversaries of this council. From the former nothing was to be looked for but adulation, from the latter nothing but unmitigated abuse. Sarpi's position was, on the whole, apart from these two opposite camps. He had no motive for defending the council throughout, nor was he under the necessity of indiscriminately condemning it. His position afforded him the means of forming a more unbiassed judgment, and only in the midst of an Italian catholic republic could he have collected the materials necessary thereto.

If we would form a clear conception of his manner of going to work on his subject, we must first of all take into account the mode in which the larger works of history had been composed up to his day.

Historians had not imposed on themselves the task either of collecting their materials in uniform completeness,—a difficult task indeed,—nor of sifting them critically; nor of employing original authorities; nor, finally, of working out the whole matter philosophically.

How few there are even now who give themselves so much trouble!

Authors in those days contented themselves not so much with taking for their groundwork the writings of those men who were generally reckoned trustworthy, as with transferring them bodily to their own pages; enlarging their narratives with the help of the new materials that had been collected, which were interpolated in the proper places. After this had been done, the chief thing that remained was to give the whole work an uniform style.

Thus Sleidan's book is made up of the documents relating to the history of the reformation, which he picked up as he could, and then strung together without much critical discrimination, after which he gave the whole an uniform complexion with the help of his latinity.

Thuanus has without scruple copied long passages from other historians. For instance, he has taken to pieces Buchanan's Scottish history and inserted it in the various parts of his own work. He has borrowed his English history from the materials furnished him by Camden; that of Germany from Sleidan and Chytræus; that of Italy from Adrian; and that of Turkey from Busbequius and Leunclavius.

This was a method, truly, that showed little regard for originality, and in consequence of which we have often set before our eyes the work of a different person from the author whose name is on the title-page. It has been newly adopted in the present day, particularly by the French writers of *Mémoires*: in this they are wholly inexcusable.

The very nature of that class of works demands that they should give the originals unaltered.

To return to Sarpi. In the very beginning of his work he gives us the following undisguised account of his position as a writer.

"My intention is to write the history of the council of Trent. For though many celebrated historians of our age have touched on particular points thereof in their works, and John Sleidan, a very accurate writer, has with great diligence narrated the earlier events by which it was occasioned (le cause antecedenti), yet would not all these matters, were they put together, amount to a complete narrative. So soon as I began to interest myself in the affairs of mankind, I was possessed with a great desire to become thoroughly acquainted with this history. After I had collected all I found written on the subject, as well as the documents, printed or manuscript, which had been promulgated on the subject, I began to explore the remains of the prelates and others who had taken part in the council, in search of the accounts they might have left, as well as to seek out the votes they had given, recorded by themselves or by others, and the notices contained in letters dispatched from Trent. I spared no pains or labour in this search, and I had the good fortune to get sight of whole collections of notes and letters from persons who had taken a considerable part in those transactions. Having thus collected so many things, furnishing superabundant materials for a narrative, I embraced the design of putting them together."

Sarpi has here described his position very simply and clearly. We see him, on the one side, in the midst of the historians whose narratives he has strung together, but which are not sufficient for him; on the other, provided with manuscript materials, with which he eked out what is wanting in his printed authorities.

Unfortunately Sarpi has not given a full list either of the one or the other, nor was this the method of his predecessors; like them he made it his whole concern to weave a well-arranged, agreeable, and complete history out of the records that fell in his way.

Nevertheless, even without any such particular information, we can easily guess what were the printed historians he made use of: first Jovius and Guicciardini, then Thuanus and Adriani, but principally Sleidan, whom indeed he mentions by name.

For example: in his whole account of the state of affairs in the time of the Interim, and after the transference of the council from Trent to Bologna, he had Sleidan before him, and only in a few places the original documents used by that author,—everywhere else Sleidan alone.

It is well worth while to go a step further, and observe his manner of proceeding.

It is not unusual with him simply to translate Sleidan,—freely, indeed, but still he does translate. For instance, in the passage where he speaks of the emperor's negotiations with the several sovereigns as to their preliminary submission to the council of Trent,—Sleidan, lib. xix. p. 50.

"Et Palatinus quidem territatus fuit etiam, nisi morem gereret, ob recentem anni superioris offensionem, uti diximus, cum vix ea cicatrix coaluisset:

Mauricius, qui et socerum landgraviū cuperet liberari et nuper admodum esset auctus a Cæsare, faciendū aliquid sibi videbat. Itaque cum Cæsare eis prolixè de sua voluntate per internuncios promitteret, et ut ipsius fidei rem permitterent flagitaret, illi demum Octobris die vicesimo quarto assentiuntur. Reliquæ solum erant civitates; quæ magni rem esse periculi videbant submittere se conciliis decretis indifferenter. Cum iis Granvellanus et Hasius diu multumque agebant; atque interim fama per urbem divulgata fuit, illos esse præfractos, qui recusarent id quod principes omnes comprobassent: audite quoque fuerunt comminationes, futurum ut acris multo quam nuper plebantur. Tandem fuit inventa ratio ut et Cæsari satisfaceret et ipsis etiam esset cautum. Etenim vocati ad Cæsarem, ut ipsi responsa principum corrigant, non suum esse dicunt, et simul scriptum ei tradunt, quo testificantur quibus ipsi conditionibus concilium probent. Cæsare, eorum audito sermone, per Seldium respondet, sibi pergratum esse quod reliquorum exemplo rem sibi permittant et cæteris consentiant."—Sarpi, lib. iii. p. 283. "Con l'elettor Palatino le preghiere havevano specie di minacce rispetto alle precedenti offese perdonate di recente: verso Maurizio duca di Sassonia erano necessità, per tanti benefici nuovamente havuti da Cesare, e perche desiderava liberare il landgraviuo suo suocero. Perliche promettendo loro Cesare d'acquersarsi che in concilio havessero la dovuta sodisfazione e ricercandogli che si fidassero in lui, finalmente consentirono, e furono seguiti dagli ambasciatori dell' elettore di Brandeburg e da tutti i prencipi. Le città rieursarono, come cosa di gran pericolo, il sottomettersi indifferente a tutti i decreti del concilio. Il Granvela negotio con gli ambasciatori loro assai e longamente, trattandogli anco da ostinati a rieursar quello che i prencipi havavano comprobato, aggiungendo qualche sorte di minacce di condannargli in somma maggiore che la già pagata. Perliche finalmente furono costrette di condesendere al voler di Cesare, riservata però cautione per l'osservanza delle promesse. Onde chiamata alla presenza dell' imperatore, et interrogate se si conformavano alla deliberatione de' prencipi, risposero che sarebbe stato troppo ardire il loro a voler correggere la risposta de' prencipi, e tutti insieme diedero una scrittura contenente le conditioni con che avrebbero ricevuto il concilio. La scrittura fu ricevuta ma non letta, e per nome di Cesare dal suo cancellario furono lodati che ad essemplio degli altri havessero rimesso il tutto all' imperatore e fidatisi di lui: e l'istesso imperatore fece dimostrazione d'haverlo molto grato. Così l'una e l'altra parte voleva esser ingannata."

The remark strikes us at once, on perusing the translation, that Sarpi does not always adhere faithfully to facts as he finds them. Sleidan does not say that Granvella had threatened the cities: what the German mentions as a common talk of the day, the Italian puts into the mouth of the minister. The agreement with the cities is more clearly set forth in the original than in the translation. It is the same with an immense number of other passages.

If this were all, no more would need to be said: it would only be necessary to bear in mind that we had before us a somewhat arbitrary paraphrase

of Sleidan; but now and then we meet with more material changes.

In the first place Sarpi has no accurate notion of the constitution of the empire: he has always in view a constitution consisting of the three estates,—the clergy, temporal lords, and cities. Not unfrequently he alters his author's expressions to suit his own erroneous conception. For example (lib. xx. p. 108). Sleidan gives the votes upon the Interim in the three colleges. 1. The electoral. The three spiritual electors voted in the affirmative, but not the temporal: "reliqui tres electores non quidem ejus erant sententie, Palatinus imprimis et Mauricius, verum uterque causas habebant cur Cæsari non admodum reclamarent."—2. The college of princes: "ceteri principes, qui maxima parte sunt episcopi, eodem modo sicut Moguntinus atque collegæ respondent."—3. "Civitatum non ita magna fuit habita ratio." Sarpi's version of this is as follows (lib. iii. p. 300): The spiritual electors give their opinions in the same way as stated by Sleidan. "Al parer de' quali s'accostarono tutti i vescovi: i prencipi secolari per non offendere Cesare tacquero: et a loro essemplio gli ambasciatori delle città parlarono poco, nè di quel poco fu tenuto conto." What Sleidan says of two electors is here applied to all the temporal sovereigns. The bishops are made to appear to have given their votes separately, and the whole odium is cast on them. The high importance to which the council of the princes of the empire had attained in those times is wholly misconceived. In the above cited passages Sarpi asserts that the princes acceded to the judgment of the electors. Now the fact was, that they had already passed their own resolutions, which were at variance on a multiplicity of points from those of the electors.

But what is of still more moment is, that whilst Sarpi copies the statements he finds, and incorporates with them what he collects from other sources, and extracts and translates, he also interweaves the narrative with his own remarks. Let us observe how he does this, for it is extremely remarkable.

For example, honest Sleidan repeats (lib. xx. p. 58), without any suspicion, a proposal of the bishop of Trent, in which three things are demanded: the recal of the council to Trent, the sending of a legate to Germany, and a resolution respecting the manner in which proceedings were to be regulated in case the papal see should become vacant. Sarpi translates all this verbatim, but interpolates a remark of his own. "The third point," he says, "was added to remind the pope of his advanced age and his approaching death, and so make him more compliant if he would not leave the emperor's displeasure as a bequest to his heirs."

This is a sample of the general style of his remarks; they are every one steeped in gall and bitterness. "The legate summoned the assembly and stated his opinion in the first place: for the Holy Spirit, which is wont to move the legates in accordance with the pope's wishes, and the bishops in accordance with the legates, did as usual on this occasion."

According to Sleidan, the Interim was sent to Rome because it contained some concessions to the protestants. According to Sarpi, the German



prelates insisted on this: "for," says he, "it has always been their aim to uphold the papal authority, as this is the only counterpoise to that of the emperor, which they could not withstand but for the pope, particularly if the emperor should ever, after the usage of the ancient Christian churches, resolve on compelling them to do their duty and curbing the abuses of the so-called ecclesiastical liberty."

On the whole we see how widely Sarpi differs from the compilers who had preceded him. His manner of extracting is full of life and spirit. In spite of his borrowed materials, his language has an easy, pleasant, and uniform flow. We do not perceive the points of transition from one authority to another. But at the same time his narrative is coloured by his own cast of opinion,—his systematic opposition, dislike, or hatred to the court of Rome. Its effect is proportionately impressive.

But, as we have seen, Paul Sarpi had other materials, quite different from printed books; and from them he derived the far greater part of his matter.

He distinguishes the interconciliary and the preliminary events from the history proper of the council, and says he intends to treat the former rather in the style of a book of annals, the latter in that of a diary. Another difference is, that for the former he trusted for the most part to well known current works, while for the latter he had recourse to new and special documents.

The first question is, of what kind are these documents?

I am not inclined to believe that he derived much special information from such men as Oliva, the secretary of the first legate to the council, or Ferrier, the French ambassador to Venice, who was also present at the council. With respect to Oliva, Sarpi commits a great blunder, for he makes him leave the council before he really did so. The French documents were very soon in print. The influence of these two men, who belonged to the malcontent party, will have consisted in this, that they corroborated Sarpi in the dislike he felt for the council. The Venetian collections, on the other hand, presented him with the proper documents in great completeness: letters from legates, e. g. Monti; from secret agents, such as Visconti; reports of nuncios, for instance, Chiericato; minute diaries kept at the council; the *Lettere d'Avisi*, and innumerable other more or less authentic records. He was so fortunate in this respect, that he made use of documents which have never since come to light again, which Pallavicini failed to procure, notwithstanding the vast patronage he enjoyed, and for which historical inquirers of subsequent times must ever refer to Sarpi's work.

The next question is, how did he employ these documents?

There is no doubt that, in part, he transferred them to his own pages with but slight modifications. Courayer asserts that he had once in his hands a manuscript report concerning the congregations of the year, which had been made use of, and nearly copied by Sarpi, "que notre historien a consultée et presque copiée pour pour mot."

I am in possession of a MS.—"Historia del s. concilio di Trento scritta per M. Antonio Milledonne, seer. Veneziano"—which was also known to Foscarini (*Lett. Venez.* i. p. 351) and to Mendham, by a contemporaneous and very well-informed

author, which, notwithstanding its brevity, is by no means uninteresting as regards the latter sittings of the council.

Now I find that Sarpi has occasionally made use of this almost word for word. For instance, the following passage occurs in Milledonne: "Il senato di Norimbergo rispose al nontio Delfino, che non era per partirsi dalla confessione Augustana, e che non accettava il concilio, come quello che non aveva le condizioni ricercate da' protestanti. Simil risposta fecero li senati di Argentina e Francfort al medesimo nontio Delfino. Il senato di Augusta e quello di Olma risposero, che non potevano separarsi dalli altri che tenevano la confessione Augustana."

Sarpi's version is this, p. 450: "Il nontio Delfino nel ritorno espose il suo carico in diverse città. Dal senato di Norimbergo hebbe risposta, che non era per partirsi dalla confessione Augustana, e che non accetterà il concilio, come quello che non aveva condizioni ricercate da' protestanti. Simili risposte gli fecero li senati d'Argentina e di Francfort. Il senato d'Augusta e quello d'Olma risposero, che non potevano separarsi dagli altri che tengono la lor confessione."

Sarpi only does not follow Milledonne when the latter distributes praise, even though it be beyond the reach of eulogy.

Milledonne says: "Il cl. Gonzaga pratico di negotii di stato per aver governato il ducato di Mantova molti anni dopo la morte del duca suo fratello fino che li nepoti erano sotto tutela, gentiluomo di bell' aspetto, di buona creanza, libero e schietto nel parlare, di buona mente, inclinato al bene. Scripando era Napolitano, arcivescovo di Salerno, frate eremitano, grandissimo teologo, persona di ottima coscienza e di singolar bontà, desideroso del bene universale della christianità."

Sarpi is much more chary of praise to these men. "Destinò al concilio," he says, for instance, p. 456, "Fra Girolamo, Cl. Scripando, theologo di molta fama;" this is enough for him.

Visconti's letters, which Sarpi had before him, were afterwards printed, and we perceive upon the first comparison that he adhered very closely to them in places. We have an example in Visconti, *Lettres et Négotiations*, tom. ii. p. 174: "Ci sono poi stati alcuni Spagnuoli, li quali parlando dell' istituzione de' vescovi e della residenza havevano havuto ordine di affirmare queste opinioni per vere come li precetti del decalogo. Segovia seguì in queste due materie l'opinione di Granata, dicendo ch'era verità espressa la residenza ed istituzione delli vescovi essere de jure divino e che niuno la poteva negare, soggiungendo che tanto più si doveva fare tal dichiarazione per dannare l'opinione de' gli heretici che tenevano il contrario. Guadice, Alifi e Montemarano con molti altri prelati Spagnuoli hanno aderito all' opinione di Granata e di Segovia; ma piacque al signore dio che si fecero all' ultimo di buona risoluzione."

Compare Sarpi, viii. 753: "Granata disse, esser cosa indegna haver tanto tempo deriso li padri trattando del fondamento dell' istituzione de' vescovi e poi adesso tralasciandola, e ne ricercò la dichiarazione de jure divino, dicendo maravegliarsi perche non si dichiarasse un tal punto verissimo et et infallibile. Aggiunse che si dovevano prohibire come heretici tutti quei libri che dicevano il contrario. Al qual parer adherì Segovia, affermando

che era espressa verità che nissuno poteva negarla, e si doveva dichiarare per dannare l'opinione degli heretici che tenevano il contrario. Seguivano anco Guadice, Aliffe et Monte Marano con gli altri prelati Spagnuoli, de' quali alcuni dissero, la loro opinione esser così vera come li precetti del decalogo."

Sarpi, we see, is no common transcriber; the more we compare him with his originals, the more we are convinced of his skill in filling up and rounding a story, and enhancing the force of the expressions by a slight turn; at the same time his endeavour is manifest to strengthen the impression unfavourable to the council.

As will naturally be supposed, he treats his manuscript documents just as he does the printed.

This, however, has of course a great effect at times on the aspect in which the facts are presented; as is the case, for instance, in his account of the most important of the German religious conferences, that of Ratisbon in 1541.

Here he again followed Sleidan closely; he had also, no doubt, before him Bucer's account of the conference.

He falls again into the faults already mentioned in his mode of using three German authors. The states in this diet twice returned their answers to the emperor's proposals, and each time they were at variance among themselves. The electoral college was for the emperor's intentions, the college of princes against them. The difference, however, was, that the princes gave way on the first occasion, but not on the second, when they returned a refusal.

Sleidan accounts for the opposition of the college of princes by remarking, that there were so many bishops,—a point certainly of great moment as regarded the constitution of the empire. But Sarpi destroys the whole force of the passage by persisting in calling the college of princes bishops. He says of the first answer: "I vescovi rifiutarono" [the bishops refused]; of the second: "I vescovi con alcuni pochi principi cattolici" [the bishops with some few catholic princes]; thereby, as we have said, totally misrepresenting the constitution of the empire.

We will not, however, dwell on this. The chief point is the way in which he used the more secret authorities to which he had exclusive access, and which he had reason to believe would long remain unprinted.

Towards the history of this diet he had Contarini's instruction, which was subsequently printed by cardinal Quirini, and that too from a Venetian MS.

Now the first thing we have to remark is, that he takes the contents of the instruction and weaves them here and there into the discourses held by the legate with the emperor.

For instance, we read in the instruction: "Eos articulos in quibus inter se convenire non possunt, ad nos remittant, qui in fide boni pastoris et universalis pontificis dabimus operam ut per universale concilium vel per aliquam viam equivalentem non precipitanter, sed mature et quemadmodum res tanti momenti exigit, finis his controversiis imponatur, et remedium quod his malis adhibendum est quam diutissime perdurare possit."

Sarpi makes Contarini require: "ogni cosa si mandasse al papa, il qual prometteva in fede di

buon pastore et universale pontefice di fare che il tutto fosse determinato per un concilio generale o per altra via equivalente con sincerità e con nissun affetto humano, non con precipitio, ma maturamente."

In another place the instruction proceeds thus: "Si quidem ab initio pontificatus nostri, ut facilius hoc religionis dissidium in pristinam concordiam reduceretur, primum christianos principes ad veram pacem et concordiam per literas et nuntios nostros scipissime hortati sumus,—mox ob hanc eandem causam concilium generale . . . christianis regibus et principibus etiam per proprios nuntios significavimus, . . . multaque in Germania religionis causa non ea qua decuit auctoritatem nostram, ad quam religionis iudicium cognitio et examen spectat, reverentia tractari et fieri non absque gravi dolore animi intelleximus, tum temporum conditione moti, tum Caesarum et regum majestatum vel earum oratorum pollicitationibus persuasi, quod ea quae hic fiebant boni alicujus inde secuturi causa fierent, partim patientes tulimus," &c.

Sarpi adds to this: "Siccome la S<sup>ta</sup> S. nel principio del pontificato per questo medesimo fine haveva mandato lettere e nuntii a' principi per celebrare il concilio, e poi intimatolo, e mandato al luogo i suoi legati, e che se haveva sopportato che in Germania tante volte s'havesse parlato delle cose della religione con poca riverentia dell' autorità sua, alla quale sola spetta trattarle, l'haveva fatto per essergli dalle M<sup>te</sup> S. data intenzione e promesso che ciò si faceva per bene."

In short, it is plain that the declarations Sarpi puts into Contarini's mouth are taken from the latter's instruction; and when we are once aware how the fact stands, we can readily excuse it. Still it is not to be denied that truth is sometimes jeopardized by this method of proceeding. The daily changes of events caused corresponding alterations in the instructions sent to the legate. Sarpi makes him put forward reasons for referring to Rome only those points on which no agreement had been come to, at a time when he was required to refer everything, even the points already agreed on, for the approval of the court of Rome.

To this first departure from his original, in applying the words of the instruction to a case for which they were not intended, Sarpi adds others still more serious.

The pope pronounces strongly in the instruction against a national council: "Majestati Caesarum in memoriam redigas, quantopere concilium illud sit semper dectum, cum alibi tum Bononie palam diceret nihil esse perniciosum fore et apostolicum et imperiali dignitatibus quam Germanorum nationale concilium, illi nulla meliore via quam per generale concilium obviam iri posse confiteretur: quin imo etiam S. M. post Ratisbonensem dictam anno d<sup>ni</sup> 1532 habitam pro sua singulari prudentia omni studio semper egit ne qua imperialis dicta hactenus sit celebrata ac ex ea occasione ad concilium nationale deveniretur."

Sarpi quotes this literally, and states, too, that he takes it from the instruction; at the same time he makes a remarkable addition to it. "Che raccordasse all' imperatore quanto egli medesimo havebbe detestato il concilio nazionale essendo in Bologna, conoscendolo pernicioso all' autorità imperiale: poiche i sudditi preso animo dal vedersi

concessa potestà di mutare le cose della religione pensarebbono ancora a mutare lo stato: e che S. M. dopo il 1532 non volse mai più celebrare in sua presenza dieta imperiale per non dar occasione di domandar concilio nazionale."

Who would not suppose from this that the emperor had himself expressed the thought, that a nation readily changes its form of government when once it has made a change in its religion? This, however, I cannot believe on Sarpi's bare word. Nothing of the kind is to be found in the instruction. The thought is one which first gained currency after the events of a later period.

I do not think that my criticism will appear triflingly minute. How are we to set about discovering whether or not an author speaks the truth, but by comparing him with the sources from which he has drawn?

I find in Sarpi another departure from his authorities still stronger than those already mentioned.

Into the very first conversation he gives between Contarini and the emperor, he interweaves the words of the instruction,—those important words to which we have referred in the text\*.

The pope excuses himself for not having given the cardinal such plenary authority as the emperor and the king would have wished: "primum quia videndum imprimis est, an protestantes . . . in principis nobiscum convenient, ejusmodi est hujus sancte sedis primatus tanquam a deo et salvatore nostro institutus, sacros. ecclesie sacramenta, et alia quodam quæ tum sacrarum literarum auctoritate tum universalis ecclesie perpetua observatione hactenus observata et comprobata fuere et tibi nota esse bene scimus: quibus statim initio admissis omnis super aliis controversiis concordia tentaretur."

Sarpi makes Contarini say: "che S. S.<sup>ta</sup> gli aveva data ogni potestà di concordare co' protestanti, purché essi ammettino i principii, che sono il primato della sede apostolica institutio da Christo, et i sacramenti siccome sono insegnati nella chiesa Romana, e altre cose determinate nella bolla di Leone [and the other things determined in Leo's bull], offerendosi nelle altre cose di dar ogni soddisfazione alla Germania."

The difference is glaring. The indefiniteness of the pope's words constitutes the sole possibility of a desirable result: the conference could have had no conceivable aim if this opening had not been left: but Sarpi completely cuts this off. The pope, according to him, does not hint at "quedam quæ tibi nota bene scimus," [certain things which we are well aware you are acquainted with]; but he demands the recognition of the enactments of Leo X.'s bull,—that is, the condemnation of the Lutheran doctrine; a measure wholly impracticable.

In no respect will Sarpi allow that the papal see displayed any kind of conciliatory spirit. According to him, Contarini was obliged to stand up for the papal authority in its harshest forms; and he makes him begin by asserting, that "the pope could not impart to any one his authority to decide absolutely on disputed points of faith; to him alone was given the prerogative of infallibility, in the words, 'Ego rogavi pro te, Petre.' Of all

which, not a word is to be found,—at least in the instruction.

For Sarpi beheld the papacy on the whole in the light of his times. After the restoration had been accomplished, it became far more despotic and inflexible than it had been in its days of danger and depression; and in this fulness of power and unbroken self-exaltation did it stand before Sarpi's eyes. He transferred to earlier times the thoughts and sentiments he had imbibed from the experience of his own. All the accounts and documents that passed through his hands were interpreted by him in this spirit, which was so natural to him, and which originated in the position of his native city, of his party there, and in his own personal situation.

We have another historical work of Paul Sarpi upon the disputes between Venice and Rome in the year 1606: "Historia particolare delle cose passate tra'l summo pontefice Paolo V e la serma rep<sup>a</sup> di Venetia, Lion 1624;" written on the whole in a kindred spirit: a masterpiece in point of description, true in the main, but still a partisan work. We find in Sarpi little or no trace of the discord among the Venetians, which broke out on this occasion, and which constituted so important a feature in their domestic history. According to him it would appear as though but one sentiment pervaded all parties. He is always speaking of the "princeps;" for so he designates the Venetian government. This fiction does not strengthen us in the belief that he attained to much accuracy in his delineation of the internal affairs of Venice. He glides lightly over matters that are not much to the credit of his country, such, for instance, as the surrender of the prisoners; just as if he did not know why they were given up first to the ambassador, and then with other words to the cardinal. Nor does he allude to the fact that the Spaniards were in favour of the exclusion of the Jesuits. He had embraced an implacable hatred against both, and will not condescend to know that on this occasion their interests were mutually at variance.

Now the same is nearly the case with his history of the council of Trent. His authorities are diligently collected, very well handled, and used with superior intelligence; nor can it be said that they are falsified, or that they are frequently or essentially perverted;—but a spirit of decided opposition pervades the whole work.

In this way Sarpi struck anew into a different course from that commonly pursued by the historians of his day. He gave to their system of compilation the unity of a general tone and purpose: his work is disparaging, condemnatory, and hostile; he set the first example of a history which accompanies the whole progress of its subject with increasing censure; far more decided in this than Thuanus, who first made a cursory use of this method. Sarpi has found numberless imitators on this score.

*Istoria del concilio di Trento scritta dal padre Sforza Pallavicino della compagnia di Gesù. 1664.*

Such a book as Sarpi's history, so rich in details never before published, full of talent and sarcasm, and treating of an event of such importance, the consequences of which swayed the destinies of the

\* Supra, p. 43.

age, could not fail of producing the greatest sensation. The first edition appeared in 1619 : between that year and 1622 four editions of a Latin translation were put forth, besides a German and a French translation.

The court of Rome felt the more strongly urged to have the work refuted, inasmuch as it really contained many errors obvious to every one somewhat minutely acquainted with the occurrences of that period.

Terentio Alciati, a Jesuit, Prefect of the Studies in the Collegio Romano, immediately set about collecting materials for a reply, which should also be a circumstantial substantive work. His book had for its title, "*Historiæ concilii Tridentini a veritatibus hostibus evulgatis Elenchus* \*." He amassed an enormous quantity of materials, but died in 1651, before he had reduced them to shape.

Goswin Nickel, the general of the Jesuits, selected Sforza Pallavicini, another brother of the order, who had already given proof of some literary talent, to complete the unfinished task, and he relieved him from all other occupations. Pallavicini himself says, that he had been commanded to this duty by the general, "as a soldier by his condottiere."

Pallavicini executed the task in three thick folios, which appeared subsequently to the year 1656.

The work contains an enormous mass of matter, and is of the utmost importance as regards the history of the sixteenth century, for it begins, he it observed, from the origin of the reformation. The archives were thrown open to the author, and he had access to whatever available materials were contained in the Roman libraries. He was able to avail himself not only of the records of the council in their fullest detail, but also of the correspondence of the legates with Rome, and a great multitude of other sources of information. He is far from concealing his authorities ; on the contrary, he parades their titles in the margin of his book : they are beyond counting.

His grand purpose is above all to refute Sarpi. At the end of each volume he gives a catalogue of "the errors in matters of fact," of which he asserts he has convicted his opponent, and he makes them amount to three hundred and sixty-one : but numberless others, he adds, which he has also confuted, are not set down in the catalogues.

He says in his preface "he will not engage in petty skirmishes : if any one will attack him, let him advance in full order of battle, and overthrow his whole book, as he has overthrown Sarpi's." What a work it would have been that should have accomplished this ! We feel by no means tempted to engage in such an enterprise.

We must, as we said before, content ourselves with collecting an idea of Pallavicini's method from a few examples.

Since he drew from so many private sources, and in fact derived from them the whole substance of his work, it becomes our first consideration to acquaint ourselves how he employed these materials.

We shall find this more particularly easy wherever the documents he made use of were afterwards printed. Besides this, I have had the good fortune to examine a whole series of documents

cited by him, which have never been given to the press : it is necessary that we should compare the originals with his text.

I will do so with regard to a few points consecutively.

1. Now, in the first place, it must be acknowledged that the extracts made by Pallavicini, from the instructions and papers that lay before him, and the mode in which he used them, are often satisfactory. For instance, I have compared an instruction received by the Spanish ambassador in November, 1562, the answer given him by the pope in March, 1563, and the fresh instruction furnished by the pope to his nuncio, with Pallavicini's extracts from them, and found them to correspond exactly. Pall. xx. 10. xxiv. 1. He has but availed himself of a reasonable privilege, if he has made some transpositions which in no respect do any violence to truth. It is true, no doubt, that he softens down some rather strong expressions, as, for instance, when the pope says he had opened the council only in reliance on the aid and support of the emperor, persuaded that the king would be to him as his right arm, and a guide and leader in all his thoughts and dealings—"Il fondamento che facessimo nella promessa di S. M<sup>a</sup> e de' suoi ministri di doverci assistere ci fece entrare arditamente nell'impresa, pensando di avere S. M<sup>a</sup> per nostro braccio dritto e che avesse a cassarci guida o condottiero in ogni nostra azione e pensiero,"—Pallavicini makes him say merely, he would not have opened the council again had he not been persuaded the king would be his right arm and his leader. But as the substance is here preserved there is no room for censure. Upon the occasion of Visconti's embassy to Spain, and the despatch of another ambassador to the emperor, Sarpi gives it as his opinion (viii. 61) that the orders given to them to propose a meeting was but a feint ; but this is too subtle a surmise. The proposal for a congress, or a conference as it was then called, is one of the points most strongly insisted on in the instruction. Pallavicini is unquestionably right in upholding this.

2. But Pallavicini is not always the better informed. When Sarpi relates that Paul III. had proposed to the emperor Charles V. at the congress of Bussoto, that the fief of Milan should be conferred on his nephew, who was married to the emperor's natural daughter, Pallavicini devotes a whole chapter to contradict this. Nor will he believe any other historians who state the same fact. "How, in that case," he exclaims, "should the pope have ventured to write letters to the emperor in such a tone as he actually did ?" "Con qual petto avrebbe ardito di scrivere a Carlo lettere così risentite." The emperor might at once have charged him with shameless dissimulation (*simulazione sfacciata*). Since Pallavicini displays so much vehemence we must suppose that he here writes *bonâ fide*. Sarpi's account of the matter is well founded for all that ; the despatches of the Florentine ambassador (Dispaccio Guicciardini, 26 Giugno 1543) put the matter beyond dispute.

Still more circumstantial details of the affair are to be found in a manuscript<sup>†</sup> life of Vasto. We may mention a Discorso of cardinal Carlo which tends to the same result. Nay, the pope had not given up this idea even in the year 1547. "Le cardinal de Bologne au roy Henry II," in Ribier,

\* It is so given by Mazzuchelli.

11. 9. "L'un—le pape—demande Milan, qu'il jamais n'aura, l'autre—l'empereur—400,000 scudi, qu'il n'aura sans rendre Milan." [The pope demands Milan, which he will never get; the emperor, 400,000 scudi, which he will not get without giving up Milan.] Notwithstanding this, pope Paul III. did actually write the letter in question.

3. But the question presents itself, does Pallavicini in general err but bonâ fide? This cannot be alleged in every case. It does happen at times that his documents are not so orthodox and catholic as he is himself. While events were still in progress, showing every aspect of their nature, and obtruding every possibility of varying course and result, it was impossible to entertain such strict views as at a later period when everything was once more on a firm footing. Such a compromise as the peace of Augsburg could never have been tolerated by the orthodoxy of the seventeenth century. Pallavicini bewails the "detrimenti gravissimi" it occasioned the see of Rome, and compares it with a palliative medicine, which in the end only gives occasion to a more perilous crisis. For all that he met with a report on the subject by a bishop who was convinced of its necessity. This was bishop Delfino of Liesina. Pallavicini mentions the report made by that bishop to cardinal Caraffa, and actually makes use of it. But how does he do so?

All the reasons which Delfino alleges in proof of the intrinsic necessity of this compromise, Pallavicini converts into so many excuses urged on his own behalf by Ferdinand.

The nuncio says, that at that time there was no prince or city that had not some dispute with their neighbours, and he names them;—the country was going to ruin, Brandenburg, Hesse, and Saxon-Naumburg, declared, as if constituting an opposition diet, that they would hold together;—the king had besought the emperor to make peace with France, and to turn his whole attention to Germany; but the latter refused; the estates assembled in the midst of all these disorders; the king then confirmed the points on which both parties were agreed: this they did so joyfully (*si allegramente*) that Germany had never been so quiet as it was then since the time of Maximilian.

Pallavicini, too, mentions all this (l. xiii. c. 13); but how much does he weaken its force by putting the entire statement into the mouth of a monarch who is only trying to excuse himself.

"Scusavasi egli di ciò con addurre che haveva richiesto d'ordini specificati l'imperatore, confortandolo alla pace di Francia, . . . ed havergli ricordato esser questa l'unica arme per franger l'orgoglio de' protestanti, etc." [He excused himself for this by stating, that he had requested specific orders of the emperor, and urged him to make peace with France, . . . reminding him that this was the only weapon to break the pride of the protestants, &c.] Compare these tortured expressions with Delfino's words: "Il sermo re vedendo questi andamenti (the religious dissensions) scrisse a S. M<sup>ta</sup> Cesarea esortandola alla pace col christianissimo accioche ella possa attendere alle cose di Germania e farsi ubedire etc." [The most serene king seeing these proceedings, wrote to his imperial majesty, exhorting him to peace with the most Christian king, so that

he might be able to attend to the affairs of Germany, and enforce obedience there, &c.]

Unquestionably it is a gross departure from the original, and one not to be borne in a work that makes such pompous claims to accordance with authentic documents, to transform the narration of a nuncio into the self-exculpation of the king: but the worst of the matter is, that it obscures the true view of the event.

The whole of the documents are used, translated from the language of the sixteenth into that of the seventeenth century, but used amiss.

4. We have still further remarks to make on the relations between the pope and Ferdinand I. The emperor we know urged a reform that was far from acceptable to the pope. Twice in the early part of the year 1563 Pius sent his nuncios, first Commendone and then Morone, to Insbruck, where the emperor was then residing, to withdraw him from his opposition: these were very remarkable missions, and the results had a vast effect upon the council. It is interesting to observe the manner in which Pallavicini (xx. 4) reports them. We have Commendone's report of the 19th of February, 1563, which Pallavicini had also before him.

Now the first thing we have to remark is, that he vastly weakens the expressions used at the imperial court, and the intentions entertained there. He makes Commendone say of the union then subsisting between the emperor on the one side, and the French and the cardinal of Lorraine on the other: "Renderis credibile che scambievolmente si conferirebbono nel pare o si prometterebbono aiuto nell' operare;" [it is probable that their views will mutually harmonize and combine, and that they will pledge each other aid in their respective undertakings.] Commendone expresses himself quite differently. The imperial court did not merely propose to urge reform in common with the French: "Pare che penso trovar modo o forma di haver più parte et autorità nel presente concilio per stabilire in esso tutte le loro petitioni giuntamente con Francesci." [It appears that they are bent on finding ways and means to obtain more weight and influence in the present council, towards carrying through in it the measures they propose in conjunction with the French.]

But there are many other things of which Pallavicini absolutely omits all mention. The opinion prevailed at the imperial court that much might be effected with the protestants with the help of a little more compliancy, coupled with real reforms. "La somma è che a me pare di haver veduto non pur in S. M<sup>ta</sup> ma nelli principali ministri, come Trausen e Seldio, un ardentissimo desiderio della riforma e del progresso del concilio con una gran speranza quod remittendo aliquid de jure positivo et reformando mores et disciplinam ecclesiasticam non solo si possono conservare li cattolici ma guadagnare e ridurre degli heretici, con una opinione et impressione pur troppo forte che qui siano molti che non vogliano riforma." [In fine, I think I have discovered, not indeed in his majesty, but in his principal ministers, such as Trausen and Seld, a most earnest desire for reform, and for the good speed of the council, with a strong hope, that by relaxing something of the *jus positivum*, and by a reform of morals and discipline in the church, not only may the catholics be preserved to the church, but also the heretics gained and brought back;

while at the same time they are impressed with an exaggerated belief that there are many here averse to reform.] I will not inquire who may have been the protestants whose return to the church might have been expected in case of due reform, but language of such a tenour was too offensive to the courtier prelate to be reported by him. Mention being made of the difficulties experienced in the council, Seld answered shortly: "Oportuisset ab initio sequi sana consilia." [Wholesome measures ought to have been adopted from the beginning.] Pallavicini mentions the complaints of the difficulties, but he suppresses the answer.

On the other hand, he gives at full length the decision of the chancellor in favour of the Jesuits.

In short, he dwells on what is agreeable to him, but ignores whatever might be irksome to himself and the curia.

5. This cannot have failed to act injuriously on the views he has given of his subject.

For example, in the year 1547 the Spaniards presented some articles of reform, known by the title of the Censures. The transference of the council to Bologna followed soon after, and it cannot be questioned but that the Censures had much to do with causing that event. It was by all means matter for the most serious reflection that the immediate adherents of the emperor Charles put forth such extraordinary demands at the very moment when he was victorious. Sarpi gives them at full length, lib. ii. p. 262; and he shortly after subjoins the pope's answers. But such outrageous demands on the part of orthodox prelates are not opportune to Pallavicini's purposes. He says that Sarpi relates a great deal on the subject, of which he can find nothing; and that he only finds an answer of the pope to certain proposals of reform made by numerous fathers, and communicated to him by the president; lib. ix. c. 9, "sopra varie reformazioni proposte da molti de' padri." He takes good care not to cite them. They might have interfered inconveniently with his refutation of the worldly grounds assigned by Sarpi for the transference of the council.

6. He carries to a rare pitch this art of silence, and of passing over whatever does not suit his purpose.

In his third book, for instance, he two or three times quotes a Venetian report by Suriano. Speaking of it, he says the author asserts that he had diligently inquired and assured himself, beyond all doubt, of the existence of a treaty between Francis and Clement; nor does Pallavicini think of questioning the fact (iii. chap. xii. n. 1): he inserts in his work passages from the report, e.g. that Clement had shed tears of grief and indignation upon hearing that his nephew had been taken prisoner by the emperor: in short, he puts full faith in Suriano. He also alleges that this Venetian directly contradicts his countryman Sarpi. The latter says: "Il papa negotiò confederazione col re di Francia, la quale si concluse e stabilì anco col matrimonio di Henrico secondogenito regio e di Catharina." [The pope negotiated an alliance with the king of France, which was concluded and further consolidated by the marriage of Henry, the king's second son, and Catherine.] Upon this subject Pallavicini exclaims—"The pope did not ally himself with the king, as P. Soave so boldly maintains." He appeals to Guicciardini and Soriano. Now what

does the latter say? He investigates at great length how and where the inclination of the pope to the French had begun; what a decidedly political colour it had; and lastly, he speaks too of the negotiations of Bologna. He certainly denies that a regular treaty of alliance took place; but his denial imports no more than that the terms of the treaty were not committed to writing. "Di tutti li desiderii (del re) s'accommodò Clemente con parole tali che gli fanno credere, S. S<sup>ta</sup> esser disposta in tutto alle sue voglie, senza però far provisione alcuna in scrittura." [Clement acquiesced in all the king's desires, in such words as gave his majesty reason to believe that his holiness was disposed in all things to accede to his wishes, without however making any stipulation in writing.] He afterwards relates that the king pressed for the fulfilment of the promises that had been made him there: "S. M<sup>ta</sup> ch'era dimandò che da S. S<sup>ta</sup> li fussino osservate le promesse;" which, according to the same author, was among the causes of the pope's death. Here we have the curious case in which falsehood is, in a certain sense, truer than truth. Sarpi is undoubtedly wrong in saying that a league was concluded; what is so called was not carried into effect: Pallavicini is right in denying it: yet, on the whole, Sarpi approaches much nearer to the truth. The closest union was cemented, only it was ratified by words of mouth, not in writing.

7. The case is similar as to the use made by Pallavicini of Visconti's letters. Sarpi sometimes takes more from them than is literally set down in them. For instance, he says, vii. 657, speaking of the decree enforcing residence, that cardinal Lorraine had spoken very diffusely and indistinctly, and that no one could tell whether he was altogether in favour of such a decree or not. Pallavicini vehemently contradicts him. "Si scorge apertamente il contrario" (xix. c. 8). He even quotes Visconti in support of his contradiction. Let us hear Visconti himself: "Perchè s'allargò molto, non poterò seguire se non pochi prelati." (Trento X. Dec. Mansi Misc. Balusii, iii. p. 454.) Thus it is true, that it was not possible to follow or to understand his meaning. Further on, Pallavicini is enraged that Sarpi gives it to be understood that the cardinal did not make his appearance in a congregation because he wished to give the French an opportunity of expressing their opinions in perfect freedom; and that he made the news of the king of Navarre's death a pretext for his absence. Pallavicini vehemently asserts that this was his true and only motive. "Nè io trovo in tante memorie piene di sospetto, che ciò capitasse in mente a persona." (ib.) [Nor do I find among so many records filled with suspicions that this one entered any body's head.] What? no one conceived any suspicion as to the motive of the cardinal's absence? Visconti says, in a letter published by Mansi: "Loreno chiamò questi prelati Francesi, e gli commise che havessero da esprimere liberamente tutto quello che haveano in animo senza timor alcuno. E sono di quelli che pensano che il cardinal se ne restasse in casa per questo effetto." [Cardinal Lorraine called together those prelates, and told them that they should speak out freely whatever they had a mind, without any fear. And some there are who think that the cardinal remained at home to that end.] Visconti certainly says nothing about the cardinal's making a pretext



of the king of Navarre's death ; unless perchance he does so in some other letter (and Sarpi had manifestly other sources before his eyes) : but as for the fact that the cardinal was suspected to have remained away purposely, this assuredly the letters distinctly assert. What must we say, since Pallavicini undoubtedly saw them ?

8. Pallavicini has but one object in view, to confute his opponent, without concerning himself to bring the truth itself to light. This is no where more glaring than with regard to the Ratisbon conference, of which we have already spoken so fully. Pallavicini too, as may readily be supposed, was acquainted with the instruction in question, and he held it to be more secret than it really was. But his manner of dealing with it fully unfolds his character to us. He inveighs vehemently against Sarpi ; he abuses him for making the pope declare that he was willing to give the protestants satisfaction, provided only they would agree with him in the already established points of the catholic faith : "che ove i Luterani convenissero ne' punti già stabiliti della chiesa romana, si offeriva nel resto di porger ogui sodisfazione alla Germania." He finds this directly contrary to the truth. "Questo è dirimpetto contrario al primo capo dell'istruzione." What ? Does he mean that the contrary was the fact ? In the pope's instruction it is said : "Videndum est an in principiis nobiscum convenient, . . . quibus admissis omnis super aliis controversiis concordia tentaretur." [It must be ascertained whether or not they agree with us in principal points . . . these being admitted, every means of concord on other controverted topics should be essayed], and the other words which have been already quoted. It is true, Sarpi is at fault here ; he makes the legate's powers more restricted than they really were ; he says too little of the pope's disposition to give way. Pallavicini, instead of discovering this palpable error, makes it out that Sarpi states too much ; he enters into a distinction between articles of faith and others, which is not made in the bull ; and he brings forward a multitude of things, which are true, but not the whole truth, and which cannot undo those words which are set down in the instruction. In non-essentials he is accurate ; he completely distorts essentials. In short, Pallavicini acts like an advocate who has undertaken to defend a client in a difficult case through thick and thin. He endeavours to place him in the best light, and brings forward whatever can help his cause ; whatever he imagines might prejudice him he not merely omits, but flatly denies.

It would be impossible to follow him through the diffuse discussions into which he enters : it is enough if we have in some measure afforded an idea of his manner.

Truly the result of such an inquiry is not the most agreeable for the history of the council.

It has been asserted that the truth may be distinctly gathered from these two works combined. This may perhaps be the case in a very large and general sense : it is by no means so in particulars.

They both swerve from the truth, which certainly lies in the midst between them ; but it cannot be come at by conjecture : truth is positive, original, and is not to be conceived by any accommodation of partial statements, but by a direct review of facts.

As we have seen, Sarpi says that a treaty had been concluded at Bologna ; Pallavicini denies this : no conjecture in the world could hit upon the fact that the treaty was made by word of mouth, but by writing,—a fact which really reconciles the discrepancy.

They both distort Contarini's instruction ; there is no harmonizing their contradictions ; it is only when we refer to the original that the truth strikes us.

Their minds were of the most opposite cast. Sarpi is keen, penetrating, caustic ; his arrangement is eminently skilful, his style pure and unaffected ; and though the Crusca will not admit him into the list of classic authors, probably on account of some provincialisms he exhibits, his work is really refreshing after all the pompous array of words through which we are forced to toil in other authors. His style coincides with his subject : in point of graphic power he is certainly the second among the modern historians of Italy :—I rank him immediately after Machiavelli.

Nor is Pallavicini void of talent : he draws many pointed and forcible parallels, and he often displays no little skill as the pleader for a party. But his talent is somewhat of a heavy and cumbrous cast ; it is one that chiefly delights in turning phrases and devising subtleties ; his style is overloaded with words. Sarpi is clear and transparent to the very bottom ; Pallavicini is not wanting in continuous flow, but he is muddy, diffuse, and shallow.

Both are heart and soul partisans ; both lack the true spirit of the historian, that grasps its object in its full truth, and sets it in the broad light of day. Sarpi had certainly the talent requisite for this, but he will be an accuser and nothing more ; Pallavicini had it in a vastly lower degree, but he will be by all means the apologizer of his party.

Neither can we obtain a full view of the substance of the case from the works of these two writers combined. It is a very remarkable circumstance, that Sarpi contains much that Pallavicini was never able to hunt out, many as were the archives thrown open to him. I will only mention a memoir of the nuncio Chiericato, concerning the consultations at the court of Adrian VI., which is very important, and against which Pallavicini makes objections of no moment. Pallavicini also overlooks many things from a sort of incapacity. He cannot discover them to be of much consequence, and so he neglects them. On the other hand, Sarpi lacked a multitude of documents which Pallavicini possessed : the former saw but a small part of the correspondence of the Roman court with the legates. His errors spring, for the most part, from the want of original documents.

But in many cases they both are ignorant of important records. A little report by cardinal Morone, who executed the decisive embassy to Ferdinand I., is of the highest moment, as regards the history of the whole latter part of the council. Neither of them has made use of it.

Nor must we suffer ourselves to believe that these deficiencies are fully supplied by Rainaldus or Le Plat. The former frequently does no more than abridge Pallavicini. Le Plat follows him or Sarpi often verbatim, and takes the Latin translations of their text as original authority for what he cannot find in a more authentic form elsewhere. He has used much fewer MS. materials than might



be expected. Many things new and valuable are to be found in Mendham's History of the Council of Trent ; for instance, at page 181, there is an extract from the official records of Paleotto : there are besides his introductions to several distinct sessions, as for example the 20th : but he has not duly studied the subject.

If any one should be disposed to undertake a new history of the council of Trent (which is not very likely, since the subject has lost so much of its original interest), he must begin anew from the very commencement. He must collect the special negotiations and the discussions of the congregations, of which very little that is authentic has been published ; he must possess himself of the dispatches of one or other of the ambassadors who attended the council. Not till he had done this would he be able to take a full and commanding view of the whole matter, and of the two authors who have treated of it. This, however, is a task that will never be undertaken, since those who could fulfil it will not, and those who would, have not the means.

### SECTION III.

#### PERIOD OF THE RESTORATION OF CATHOLICISM DOWN TO THE PONTIFICATE OF SIXTUS V.

We return to our manuscripts, in which we find information, however fragmentary, at all events genuine and unadulterated.

22. *Instructio pro causa fidei et concilii data episcopo Mutinae, Pauli III. ad regem Romanorum nuncio destinata*, 24 Oct. 1586. (MS. Barb. 3007. 15 leaves.) [Instruction given touching the faith and the council by Paul III. to the bishop of Mutina, appointed nuncio to the king of the Romans.]

A striking evidence how necessary the Roman court felt it to recollect itself and take heed to its good name. The following, among other rules of conduct, are enjoined on the nuncio. He was neither to be lavish nor parsimonious ; neither too grave nor too lively ; he was not to publish his spiritual prerogatives by affixing them to the church doors, which might bring him into derision ; whoever wanted him could find him without that ; he was only under peculiar circumstances to remit his dues, but he was never to exact them with excessive rigour ; he was not to contract any debts, and was to pay in the inn. "Nec hospitii pensione nimis parce vel fortasse etiam nequaquam soluta discedat, id quod ab aliquibus nuntiis aliis factum plurimum animos eorum populorum in nos irritavit. . . In vultu et colloquiis omnem timorem aut causæ nostræ diffidentiam dissimulet. . . Hilari quidem vultu accipere se fingant invitationes, sed in respondendo modum non excedant, ne id forte mali iis accidat quod cuidam nobili Saxoni, camerario secreto q. Leonis X (Miltitz), qui ob Lutheranam causam componendam in Saxoniam missus, id tantum fructus reportavit, quod sæpe, perturbatus vino, ea effutire de pontifice et Romana curia a Saxonibus inducebatur, non modo quæ facta erant, sed quæ ipsi e male in nos mentis affectu

imaginabantur et optabant ; et ea omnia scriptis excipientes postea in conventu Vormatiensi nobis publice coram tota Germania exprobrabant." [Let him not pay scantily, or perhaps not at all, on quitting his inn, which some nuncios have done, thereby exceedingly exasperating the minds of those people against us. . . Let him dissemble in his countenance and his discourse all fear and distrust of our cause. . . . Let them affect to accept invitations with cheerful looks ; but let them not forget moderation in responding to them, lest they meet with the same mischance as a certain noble Saxon, private chamberlain to Leo X. (Miltitz), who was sent into Saxony to settle the Lutheran business, and had no other fruit of his pains, but that being frequently confused with wine, he was induced by the Saxons to blab things of the pope and the court of Rome ; not only such as were true, but such as they in their malice towards us imagined and desired. All these things they took down in writing, and afterwards cast up against us at the diet of Worms publicly, in the presence of all Germany.]

We see from Pallavicini, i. 18, that the conduct of Miltitz caused his memory to be in very bad odour at the court of Rome.

The instruction before us is further remarkable for mentioning by name some less known champions of catholicism in Germany : Leonh. Marstaller, Nicol. Appel, Joh. Burchard, preacher of his order . . . "qui etsi nihil librorum ediderit contra Lutheranos, magno tamen vitæ periculo ab initio usque hujus tumultus pro defensione ecclesiæ laboravit," [who though he has not published any books against the Lutherans, has nevertheless laboured, at the great peril of his life, from the very beginning of this disturbance, for the defence of the church.] Among those of more note, Ludwig Berus, who had fled from Basel to Freiburg, in the Breisgau, is especially extolled and recommended to the nuncio, "tum propter sanam et excellentem hominis doctrinam et morum probitatem, tum quia sua gravitate et auctoritate optime operam navare poterit in causa fidei," [both for his sound and excellent doctrines and morals, and because, by the weight and influence of his character, he can do the best possible service to the cause of the faith.] It is well known that Ber knew how to make himself respected even by the protestants.

23. *Instruzione mandata da Roma per l'elezione del luogo del concilio, 1537.—Informazioni Polit.* tom. xii. [Instruction sent from Rome touching the selection of a place for the meeting of the council.]

It was now by all means the intention of Paul III. to convoke a council : in this instruction he affirms that he was fully resolved on doing so ("tutto risoluto"), only his wish was to assemble it in Italy. He was inclined to choose Piacenza or Bologna, places belonging to the church, the common mother of all,—or at least some town of the Venetians, since these were the common friends of all. His reasons were, that he believed the protestants were not in earnest in their calls for a council, as appeared from the conditions for which they stipulated. Here the notion discovers itself, which afterwards acquired so important a bearing on the history of the world, that the council was only an affair of the catholics among themselves.

Furthermore, he gives the emperor intelligence of his efforts for internal reform. . . "Sarà con effetto e non con parole." [It shall take place, not in words only but in deed.]

24. *Istruzione data da Paolo III. al d. Montepulciano destinato all' imperatore Carlo V. sopra le cose della religione in Germania 1539. (Bibl. Corsini nr. 467.)* [Instruction given by Paul III. to cardinal Montepulciano on his embassy to the emperor Charles V., respecting the religious affairs of Germany.]

Nevertheless, it was apparent that the need of a reconciliation was most pressing in Germany. Now and then it set both parties in array against the pope. At the convention of Frankfort, the imperial ambassador, Johann Wessel, archbishop of Lund, made the protestants very important concessions,—a truce of fifteen months, during which all judicial proceedings of the Kammergericht should be suspended, and a religious conference, with which the pope was not at all to interfere. Of course this was exceedingly offensive to Paul III. Cardinal Montepulciano, afterwards Marcellus II., was therefore sent to Germany to frustrate so un-catholic an arrangement.

The instruction, above all, accuses the archbishop of Lund of having had corrupt personal motives for his compliant conduct, of having been influenced by presents, promises, and ulterior views. "La comunità d'Augusta gli donò 2500 fiorini d'oro, poi gli fu fatta promissione di 4000 f. singulis annis sopra il frutto del suo arcivescovato di Lunda occupato per quel re Lutero." [The city of Augsburg gave him 2500 gold florins; in addition to which he was promised 4000 florins yearly out of the proceeds of his archbishopric, seized by the Lutheran king (of Denmark).] He is suspected of wishing to stand well with the duke of Cleves, and with queen Maria of Hungary: for that sister of the emperor, who was then governess of the Netherlands, was especially accused of a strong leaning to the protestants. "Secretamente presta favore alla parte di Luterani, animandogli ove può, e con mandarli huomini a posta disfavoreggia la causa de' cattolici." [She secretly favours the party of the Lutherans, encouraging them, as far as she can, and sending them men on purpose to hurt the cause of the catholics.] She had sent an envoy to Smalcalde, and expressly exhorted the elector of Trier not to join the catholic league.

Maria and the archbishop were prominent representatives of the anti-French and anti-Roman policy of the imperial court. They wished to see Germany united under the emperor. The archbishop declared that this depended only on a few religious concessions: "chese S. M<sup>ta</sup> volesse tolerare che i Luterani stassero nei loro errori, disponeva a modo o voler suo di tutta Germania" [that if his majesty would tolerate the persistence of the Lutherans in their errors, he might dispose of all Germany as he pleased].

The pope replies that there were very different means of settling affairs in Germany. Let us hear himself.

"Annichilandosi dunque del tutto per le dette cose la dieta di Francfordia, et essendo il consiglio di S. M<sup>ta</sup> Cesarea et altri principi christiani che per la mala disposizione di questi tempi non si

possa per hora celebrare il concilio generale, non ostante N. S. già tanto tempo lo habbia indetto et usato ogni opera e mezzo per congregarlo, pare a S. B<sup>ne</sup> che sarebbe bene che S. M<sup>ta</sup> pensasse alla celebrazione di una dieta imperiale, per prohibire quelli inconvenienti che potriano nascere massimamente di un concilio nazionale, il quale facilmente si potria fare per cattolici e Luterani per la quiete di Germania quando i cattolici havendo visto infiniti disordini seguiti per causa di alcun ministro della Cesarea e Regia M<sup>ta</sup> vedessero anche le Maestà loro esser tardi alli rimedi: nè detto concilio nazionale sarebbe meno dannoso alla Cesarea e Regia Maestà, per le occulte cause, che sanno, che alla sedia apostolica; non potria e non partorire scisma in tutta la christianità così nel temporale come nello spirituale. Ma S. S<sup>ta</sup> è di parere che si celebri tal dieta in evento che S. M<sup>ta</sup> si possa trovare presente in Germania o in qualche luogo vicino a la congregazione: altrimenti se S. M<sup>ta</sup> Cesarea distratta da altre sue occupationi non potesse trovarsi così presto, è d'opinione che la dieta non s'indichi, nè che S. M<sup>ta</sup> si riposi nel giudicio altrui, quantunque sufficienti e buoni che procurassero e sollecitassero fare detta dieta in assenza di S. M<sup>ta</sup>, per non incorrere in quei disordini che sono seguiti nelle altre diete particolari ove non si è trovato S. M<sup>ta</sup>, o tra questo mezzo con fama continuata da ogni banda di voler venire in Germania e fare la dieta e con honeste vie et esecutioni trattenere quei principi che la sollecitano e l'addimandano: mentre che S. M<sup>ta</sup> venendo da buon senno la indichi poi e celebri, et interea vedendo S. M<sup>ta</sup> quanto bene et utile sia per portare la propagatione della lega cattolica, attenda per hora a questa cosa principalmente, e scriva al suo oratore in Germania e parendoli ancora mandi alcun' altro che quanto più si può procurino con ogni diligenza e mezzo d'accrescere detta lega cattolica acquistando e guadagnando ogn' uno, ancora che nel principio non fossero così sinceri nella vera religione, perche a poco a poco si potriano poi ridurre, e per adesso importa più il togliere a loro che acquistare a noi: alla quale cosa gioveria molto quando S. M<sup>ta</sup> mandasse in Germania quella più quantità di denari ch'ella potesse, perche divulgandosi tal fama confermarebbe gli altri, che più facilmente entrassero vedendo che li primi nervi della guerra no mancariano. E per maggiore corroborazione di detta lega cattolica S. S<sup>ta</sup> si risolverà di mandare una o più persone a quei principi cattolici per animarli similmente con promissioni di ajuto, di denari et altri effetti, quando le cose s'incammineranno di sorte, per il beneficio della religione e conservazione della dignità della sede apostolica e della Cesarea M<sup>ta</sup>, che si veda da buon senno la spesa dover fare frutto: nè in questo si partirà dal ricordo di S. M<sup>ta</sup>; nè sarebbe male tra questo mezzo sotto titolo delle cose Turchesche mandare qualche numero di gente Spagnuolo et Italiana in quelle bande con trattenerli nelle terre del re de' Romani suo fratello, accioche bisognando l'ajuto fosse presto in ordine." [Now whereas the diet of Frankfort has been broken up for the aforesaid causes, and whereas his imperial majesty and other Christian princes are advised, that in consequence of the evil disposition of these times a general council cannot be held at present, notwithstanding that our lord the pope proclaimed it long since, and has used every effort and means to assemble

it, it seems to his holiness that his majesty would do well to think of holding an imperial diet, to prevent those inconveniences which might most especially arise out of a national council, whereby the quiet of Germany might very readily be disturbed by catholics and Lutherans, should the catholics, after seeing infinite disorders produced by any imperial or royal minister, perceive that their majesties themselves were slow in applying remedies. Nor would the said national council be less mischievous to his imperial and his royal majesty for occult causes, than certain, as they well know, to produce for the apostolic see schism throughout all Christendom, both in temporal and in spiritual things. But his holiness is of opinion that such a diet may be held, if so be his majesty may be able to be present in Germany or in some place near the assembly. Otherwise should his imperial majesty's occupations prevent his being so near at hand, his holiness is of opinion that it should not be called, and that his majesty should not rely on the judgment of others, however sound and sufficient, who should endeavour and solicit to have the said diet held with his majesty's consent, that so those disorders may be avoided which have happened in other special diets where his majesty was not present. Meanwhile, it will be advisable, by continual reports from all quarters of the emperor's intention to visit Germany and hold the diet, and by all honourable ways and means, to keep in play those princes who solicit and demand it. When his majesty shall have actually arrived he may proclaim and hold the diet; and meanwhile, seeing how advisable it is to propagate the catholic league, he should attend at present chiefly to this, and should write to his ambassador in Germany, and if he pleases send also some one else thither with orders that they should with all possible diligence use every means to increase the said catholic league, acquiring and gaining over every one, even such as may not at first have been quite sound in the true religion; because by and by they may come round, and at present it is of more moment to take from their ranks than to add to ours. To this end I should much rejoice if his majesty would send as much money as ever he can into Germany, because upon such news spreading through the country others would be more induced to join the league, seeing that the main sinews of war were not wanting. And for the greater strengthening of the said catholic league, his holiness will resolve to send one or more persons to those catholic princes to encourage them, and to convey to them likewise promises of aid in money and otherwise, when matters shall have been put in such a train for the benefit of religion and the preservation of the dignity of the apostolic see and of his imperial majesty, that there shall appear in reality good reason to hope for a desirable result. Nor will his holiness forget his majesty in this matter: nor would it be amiss meanwhile, under pretext of Turkish affairs, to send a certain number of Spanish and Italian troops into those parts, maintaining them in the territories of the emperor's brother, the king of the Romans, so that in case of need due aid should be at hand.]

Pallavicini was acquainted with this as well as with the former instruction. (Lib. iv. c. xiv.) We learn from him that the information concerning Germany in the latter of the two is derived chiefly

from the letters of Aleander, who earned for himself so ambiguous a reputation in these transactions.

25. *Instructiones pro rev<sup>mo</sup> dom<sup>no</sup> episcopo Mutinensi apostolico nuntio interfuturo conventui Germanorum Spire 12 Maji 1540 celebrando.*—(Barb. 3007.) [Instructions for the bishop of Mutina, nuntio at the German conference in Spire.]

The religious conferences took place however. We here see in what light they were regarded in Rome.

"Neque mirum videatur alicui si neque legatis neque nuntiis plenaria facultas et auctoritas decedendi aut concordandi in causa fidei detur, quia maxime absurdum esset et ab omni ratione dissentaneum, quin imo difficile et quam maxime periculosum, sacros ritus et sanctiones, per tot annorum censuras ab universali ecclesia ita receptas ut si quid in his innovandum esset, id non nisi universalis concilii decretis vel saltem summi pontificis ecclesie moderatoris mature et bene discussa deliberatione fieri debeat, paucorum etiam non competentium judicio et tam brevi ac precipiti tempore et in loco non satis idoneo committi.

"Debet tamen rev. dom. nuntius domi sue seorsim intelligere a catholicis doctoribus ea omnia que inter ipsos et doctores Lutheranos tractantur, ut suum consilium prudentiamque interponere et ad bonum finem omnia dirigere possit, salva semper sanctissimi Domini Nostri et apostolicę sedis auctoritate et dignitate, ut saepe repetitum est, quia hinc salus universalis ecclesie pendet, ut inquit D. Hieronimus. Debet idem particulariter quadam cum dexteritate et prudentia catholicos principes, tam ecclesiasticos quam seculares, in fide parentum et majorum suorum confirmare, et ne quid in ea temere et absque apostolicę sedis auctoritate, ad quam hujusmodi examen spectat, innovari aut immutari patiantur, eos commonefacere." [Nor let it seem strange to any one, if neither to legates nor nuncios is accorded plenary power and authority to decide or enter into agreement in matters of faith, because it would be most absurd and at variance with all reason, nay in the utmost degree difficult and excessively perilous, that to the judgment of a few persons, and those not competent, in so brief a space of time, with such precipitation, and in no very suitable place, should be committed sacred rites and sanctions, commended to the universal church by the searching experience of so many years; and so received by it, that were any innovation to be made in them, it could only be done by the decrees of an universal council, or at the least by the mature and well-digested deliberation of the sovereign pontiff, the moderator of the church.

[The reverend nuntio ought, however, when abroad, to hear from the catholic doctors all those things which shall be treated of between them and the Lutheran doctors, so that he may be able to interpose with his wisdom and his counsel, and direct everything to a happy issue; saving always the authority and dignity of our most holy lord, and of the apostolic see, as has been repeatedly said; because on this depends, as St. Jerome says, the weal of the universal church. He ought likewise in particular, with some address and judgment, to confirm the catholic princes as well clerical as lay, in the faith of their parents and

their forefathers, and admonish them not to suffer any change or innovation to be made in it rashly, and without the authority of the apostolic see, to which the investigation of such matters properly appertains.]

26. *Instructio data rerum card<sup>u</sup> Contareno in Germanicum legato.* 28 Jan. 1541. [Instruction given to cardinal Contarini, legate to Germany.]

Already printed and often noticed.—At length the court of Rome consents to give way in some degree.

Our collections contain between the years 1541 and 1651 a considerable number of letters, reports, and instructions, comprehending all Europe, and not unfrequently throwing a new light on events that cannot, however, be minutely investigated in this place, for the book which these extracts would further illustrate was not intended for a complete representation of that period. I therefore, without much scruple, confine myself to the more important.

27. 1551 die 20 Junii in senatu *Matthæus Dandulus eques et Roma orator.*

The title of the report which Matt. Dandolo—the brother-in-law of Gaspar Contarini, as we learn from the letter of cardinal Pole (ed. Quir. ii. p. 90)—gave in after a residence of twenty-six months in Rome. He promises to be brief: “Alle relatione non convengono delle cose che sono state scritte se non quelle che sono necessario di esser osservate.”

He speaks first of the latter days of Paul III. (I have already given the most important portions); he then mentions the conclave, and names all the cardinals. Dandolo asserts that he arrived in Rome with members of the college belonging to the university of Padua. We see how well he must have been informed. He then gives a table of the papal finances:—“Il particolare conto, io l’ho avuto da essa camera.

“I. La camera apostolica ha d’entrata l’anno: per la thesaureria della Marca 25000 sc., per la salara di detta provincia 10000, per la thesaureria della città d’Ancona 9000,—d’Ascoli 2400,—di Fermo 1750,—di Camerino 17000,—di Romagna et salara 31331,—di Patrimonio 24000,—di Perugia et Umbria 35597,—di Campagna 1176, per Norsia 600, per la salara di Roma 19075, per la doana di Roma 92000, per la gabella de cavalli in Roma 1322, per le lumiere 21250, per l’ancoraggio di Civita vecchia 1000; per il sussidio triennale: dalla Marca 66000, da Romagna 44334, da Bologna 15000, da Perugia et Umbria 43101, da Patrimonio 18018, da Campagna 21529; da censi di S. Pietro 24000, dalla congreg<sup>ne</sup> de frati 23135, da vigesima de Hebrei 9855, da malefici di Roma 2000. Summa 559473.

Da doxime del stato ecclesiastico quando si pongono 3000 esc., da dixime di Milano 40000,—del regno 37000,—dalla gabella della farina 30000,—della gabella de contratti 8000 = 220(?)000. Ha il datario per li officii che vacano compositioni et admissioni 131000, da (2) spoglie di Spagna 25000 = 147000

Summa delle entrate tutte 706(?)473

senza le 5 partite non tratte fuora, che stanno a boneplacito di N. Signore.

“II. La camera ha di spesa l’anno: a diversi governatori, legati, roche 46071 scudi, alli officiali di Roma 145815, a diverse gratie 58192, in Roma al governatore bargello, guardie camerale et altri officii 66694, al capitano generale 39600, alle galere 24000, al popolo Romano per il capitolio 8950, al maestro di casa, il vitto della casa 60000, a diversi extraordinarii in Roma 35485, al signor Balduino cameriere 17000, al signor Gioan Battista 1750, alla cavalleria quando si teneva l’anno 30000, al N.S. per suo spendere et per provisioni da a cardinali e tutto il datario 232000. Summa in tutto questo exito 706(?)5557 scudi.”

[I. The apostolic chamber has of yearly revenue, from the treasury of La Marca 25000 scudi, from the salt dues of the said province 10000, from the treasury of the city of Ancona 9000,—of Ascoli 2400,—of Fermo 1750,—of Camerino 17000,—of Romagna, with salt dues, 31331,—of the Patrimony 24000,—of Perugia and Umbria 35597,—of Campagna 1176, from Norsia 600, from the salt dues of Rome 19075, from the customs of Rome 92000, from the tax on horses in Rome 1322, from lights 21250, from the anchorage of Civita Vecchia 1000; from the triennial subsidy, of La Marca 66000, of Romagna 44334, of Bologna 15000, of Perugia and Umbria 43101, of the Patrimony 18018, of Campania 21529; from St. Peter’s tax 24000, from the congregation of friars 23135, from the Hebrew twentieths 9855, from the malefactors of Rome 2000.

Total 559473

Adding for the tithes of the ecclesiastical state 3000 scudi, for that of Milan 40000, for that of the kingdom 37000, for the wheat tax 30000, for the tax on contracts 8000 = 220000 The datario receives upon vacant offices for compositions and admissions 131000, from Spanish booty 25000. = 147000

Total of the entire revenue 706473 without the five portions not brought forward, which are disposable at the good pleasure of our lord.

[II. The chamber’s annual expenditure is: for various governors, legates, forts, 46071 scudi, for the officers of Rome 145815, for various gratuities 58192, in Rome for the governor bargello, guards of the chamber, and other appointments, 66694, for the captain general 39600, for the galleys 24000, for the Roman people for the capitol 8950, for the master of the palace, for the victualling of the palace 60000, for sundry contingencies in Rome 35485, for signor Balduino, chamberlain, 17000, for signor Gioan Battista 1750, for the cavalry when it was on service 30000 yearly, for our lord, for his privy purse, and for pensions for the cardinals and the whole datario, 232000. Total of this whole expenditure, 705557 scudi.]

He ends with remarks on the person of Julius III. “Papa Giulio, Serma Sigr<sup>ia</sup>, gravissimo e sapientissimo cons<sup>o</sup>, è dal Monte Sansovino, picciol luogo in Toscana, come già scrisi alle Ecc<sup>ze</sup> Ve. Il primo che diede nome e qualche riputatione alla casa sua fu suo avo, dottore e molto dotto in legge, e fu al servizio del duca Guido de Urbino, dal quale mandato in Roma per negotii del suo stato li

acquistò gratia molta, sicche col molto studio che in detta facultà fece il suo nepote, acquistò tanto di gratia et reputatione che el fu il cardinal de Monte: di chi poi fu nipote questo. Arrivato in corte per il primo grado camerier di papa Julio secondo, fu poi arcivescovo di Siponto, et in tal grado venne qui alle Ecc<sup>se</sup> V<sup>e</sup> a dimandargli Ravenna et Cervia, quandoche elle le hebbero doppo il sacco di Roma: et col multo suo valore nel quale el si dimostrò et nelle lettere di legge et nei consigli havuti molti et per l'auttorità molta di suo zio, che fu il cardinal di Monte, doppo morto lui, fu fatto cardinal questo. Et fatto papa si prese subito il nome di Julio, che fu il suo patron, con uno perfection (presumption ?) di volerlo imitare.

“Ha Sua S<sup>ta</sup> 64 anni a 28 Ottobre, di natura collerica molto, ma ancho molto benigna, sicche per gran collera che l'abbi la gli passa inanzi che compisse di ragionarla, sicche a me pare di poter affirmare lui non portar odio nè ancho forse amore ad alcuno, eccetto però il cardinal di Monte, del quale dirò poi. A Sua Santità non volsero mai dar il voto li cardinali nè di Marsa (?) nè di Trento, et furono li subito et meglio premiati da lei che alcun' altro di quei che la favorirono. Il più favorito servitore di molti anni suo era lo arcivescovo di Siponto, che lei essendo cardinale gli diede l'arcivescovato e da lui fu sempre ben servita, sicche si credea che subito la lo farebbe cardinale, ma lui si è rimasto in minoribus quasi che non era quandoche lei era cardinale, che poi fatto papa o poco o nulla si è voluto valer di lui, sicche el poverino se ne resta quasi come disperato.”

[Pope Julius, may it please your most serene signory, most grave and most wise council, is from Monte Sansovino, a little place in Tuscany, as I have already written to your excellencies. The first who gave name and some degree of reputation to his house was his grandfather, a doctor very learned in the laws, who was in the service of duke Guido de Urbino, by whom being sent to Rome on affairs concerning his state, he attained to great favour there: so that his nephew, having made great progress in the study of the said faculty, acquired so much favour and renown, that he became cardinal di Monte, whose nephew is the present pope. His first appointment at court having been that of chamberlain to pope Julius the second, he was next made archbishop of Siponto, and in that rank went to your excellencies to demand of you Ravenna and Cervia when you held them after the sack of Rome; and by means of his great ability, whereby he distinguished himself both in legal learning and on numerous occasions on which his counsel was available, and through the great influence of his uncle, the then cardinal de Monte, since dead, he was made cardinal. On being made pope, he immediately took the name of Julius, which was that of his patron, with a purpose to imitate him.]

[His holiness will be 64 years of age the 28th of October, is of a very choleric but yet very kindly nature, so that, for all his choler be great, he puts it aside with those who are able to reason with him; so that I think I can affirm that he does not entertain hatred to any one, nor it may be love,—except, indeed, to cardinal di Monte, of whom I shall speak hereafter. Neither cardinal di Marsa (?) nor cardinal di Trento ever voted for his holiness, and they immediately received higher rewards

from him than any of those who favoured him. His most favourite servant for many years was the archbishop of Siponto, to whom, when he was cardinal, he gave the archbishopric, and he was always well served by him, so that it was thought he would immediately make him cardinal: the archbishop, however, has remained in minoribus, worse almost than he was when the pope was cardinal, who when he became pope made little or no account of him, so that the poor man is almost in despair thereat . . . . .] The MS. is unfortunately too defective to allow of our copying further, particularly as the information it gives often becomes trivial.

28. *Vita di Marcello II scritta di propria mano del signor Alex. Cervini suo fratello.* (Alb. nr. 157.) [The life of Marcellus II., written by his brother, Signor Alex. Cervini, with his own hand.]

There exists a very useful little work on pope Marcellus II. by Peter Polidori, 1744. The very first of the sources from which he states that he drew his information is this biography by Alex. Cervini. Unfortunately the greater part of it suffered severely in a fire that occurred in the family mansion at Montepulciano in the year 1598. Only a fragment of it remains. I extract the following passage, which relates to an attempt at reforming the calendar made under Leo X., which is not mentioned by Polidori.

“Havendolo adunque il padre assuefatto in questi costumi et esercitandolo nella grammatica, rettorica, aritmetica, e geometria, accadde che anche fu esercitato nell' astrologia naturale più ancora che non haverebbe fatto ordinatamente, e la causa fu questa: la S<sup>ta</sup> di N. Sigre in quel tempo, Leone X., per publico editto fece intendere che chi haveva regola o modo di correggere l'anno trascorso fino ad all' hora per undici giorni, lo facesse noto a S. S<sup>ta</sup>: onde M<sup>r</sup> Riccardò già detto, siccome assai esercitato in questa professione, volse obbedire al pontefice, o però con longa e diligente osservazione e con suoi strumenti trovò il vero corso del sole, siccome apparisce nelli suoi opusculi mandati al papa Leone, con il quale e con quella gloriosissima casa de Medici teneva gran servitù e specialmente con il magnifico Giuliano, dal quale aveva ricevuti favori et offerte grandi. Ma perche la morte lo prevenne, quel Signore non seguì più oltre il disegno ordinato che M<sup>r</sup> Riccardò seguitasse, servendo la persona Sua Ecc<sup>sa</sup> in Francia e per tutto dove essa andasse, come erano convenuti. Nè la Santità di N. Signore potette eseguire la publicatione della correctione dell' anno per varii impedimenti e finalmente per la morte propria, che ne seguì non molto tempo doppo.”

[His father then having accustomed him to these habits, and having exercised him in grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic, and geometry, it happened that he became likewise much versed in natural astrology, and that much more than would have been the case under ordinary circumstances. The cause was this: his holiness, the then pope, Leo X., gave out by public proclamation, that whoever knew a rule, or method, for correcting the year,—which by this time had outrun the reckoning eleven days,—should make the same known to his holiness. Accordingly, the before-mentioned M<sup>r</sup>

Riccardo (the pope's father), being tolerably versed in that profession, applied himself to obey the pope, and so by long and diligent observation, and with the help of his instruments, he found the true course of the sun, as appears in his essays presented to pope Leo, whose very devoted servant he was, as well as of the whole of that most glorious house of Medici, particularly the magnifico Giuliano, from whom he had received favours and large offers. But the death of that squire prevented the fulfilment of the intention that Mr. Riccardo should attend on his excellency in France and wherever he went, as had been agreed on by them. Nor was his holiness able to follow up the publication of the correction of the year, by reason of various hindrances, and finally of his own death, which followed not long after.]

We see how the minds of the Italians in the times of Leo X. were busied in this matter; and that the bishop of Fossombrone, who urged a reform of the calendar in the Lateran council of the year 1513, was not the only one who turned his attention to the subject.

29. *Antonio Caracciolo Vita di Papa Paolo IV.* (2 vols. fol.) [Life of pope Paul IV. by Antonio Caracciolo.]

Antonio Caracciolo, a theatine, a Neapolitan, and a compiler all his life, could not abstain from devoting his industry to the history of the most renowned of Neapolitan popes and the founder of the theatines, Paul IV. For this we owe him all thanks. He has collected a great multitude of particulars that would otherwise have been lost. His book is the basis of Carlo Bromato's elaborate work, *Storia di Paolo IV. Pontefice Massimo*, Rom. 1748, which presents an exceedingly rich collection of materials in two thick and closely-printed quarto volumes.

But, as was inevitable under the rigid censure exercised in the catholic church, Bromato could by no means admit every thing that he found in his authorities.

I have often mentioned a detailed information presented by J. P. Caraffa to Clement VII. on the condition of the church, which was drawn up in the year 1532. Bromato has a long extract from it (i. p. 265), but he omits a great deal, and that too the most significant part; for example, what is said of the propagation of Lutheran opinions in Venice.

"Si supplica S. S<sup>ta</sup> che per l'honore di dio e suo, non essendo questa città la più minima nè la più vil cosa della christianità et essendovi nella città o nel dominio di molte e molte migliaia d'anime commesso a S. S<sup>ta</sup>, sia contenta da persona fedele ascoltare qualche cosa del loro bisogno, il quale ancor che sia grande, pure se ne dirà per hora qualche parte. E perche, come l'apostolo dice, sine fide impossibile est placere deo, comincierete da questa, et aviserete S. S<sup>ta</sup> Come si sente degli errori e dell'heresia nella vita e nei costumi di alcuni, come è in non fare la quaresima e non confessarsi etc., e nella dottrina di alcuni, che pubblicamente ne parlano e tengono e comunicano ancora con gli altri de' libri prohibiti senza rispetto. Ma sopra tutto direte che questa peste, tanto dell'heresia Luterana quanto d'ogni altro errore contra fidem et bonos mores, da due sorti di persone potissimamente si va

disseminando et aumentando, cioè dagli apostati e da alcuni frati massime conventuali, e S. S<sup>ta</sup> deve sapere di quella maledetta nidata di quelli frati minori conventuali, la quale per sua bontà fermando alcuni suoi servi ha incominciato a mettere in iscompiglio: perche essendo loro stati discepoli d'un frate heretico già morto, han voluto far onore al maestro. . . . E per dire quello che in cio mi occorre, pare che in tanta necessità non si debba andare appresso la stampa usata: ma siccome nell'ingruente furor della guerra si fanno ogni di nuove provvisioni opportune, così nella maggior guerra spirituale non si deve stare a dormire. E perche S. S<sup>ta</sup> sa che l'officio dell'inquisitione in questa provincia sta nelle mani de' sopradetti frati minori conventuali, li quali a caso s'abbattono a fare qualche inquisitione idonea, come è stato quel maestro Martino da Treviso, della cui diligenza e fede so che il sopradetto di buona memoria vescovo di Pola informò S. S<sup>ta</sup>, et essendo hora lui mutato da quello in altro officio, è successo nell'inquisitione non so chi, per quanto intendo, molto inetto: e però bisognerebbe che S. S<sup>ta</sup> provvedesse parte con eccitar gli ordinarij, che per tutto quasi si dorme, o parte con deputare alcune persone d'autorità, mandare in questa terra qualche legato, se possibile fosse, non ambizioso nè cupid, e che attendesse a risarcire l'honore e credito della sede apostolica e punire o almeno fugare li ribaldi heretici da mezzo de' poveri christiani: perche dovunque anderanno, porteranno seco il testimonio della propria nequitia e della bontà de' fedeli cattolici, che non li vogliono in lor compagnia. E perche la peste dell'heresia si suole introdurre e per le prediche o libri hereticali e per la lunga habitazione nella mala e dissoluta vita, della quale facilmente si viene all'heresia, par che S. S<sup>ta</sup> potria fare in cio una santa, honesta et utile provvisione."

[His holiness is implored for the honour of God and his own, this city not being the least or the meanest object in Christendom, and there being in this city and its territories many and many a thousand souls committed to his holiness, that he be content to hear from a faithful witness something of their wants, which, great as they are, shall now be stated, at least in part. And since, as the Apostle says, without faith it is impossible to please God, you shall begin with this, and acquaint his holiness of the errors and heresies in life and conduct of certain persons, who do not keep Lent, nor confess, &c., and with the doctrines of others, who publicly profess and maintain the same, and indecently communicate with others in the matter of prohibited books. But, above all, you will say that this plague, whether of the Lutheran heresy, or of all other errors contrary to the faith and to sound morality, is chiefly disseminated and augmented by two sorts of persons, that is, by apostates and by certain monks especially; and his holiness ought to be made acquainted with that accursed nest of frati minori, which being allowed by his goodness to stop some of his servants, has begun to create disturbance; for they, having been disciples of a heretic monk now dead, wish to do honour to their master. . . . And to speak my opinion in this matter, I think that in so great an emergency we ought not to confine ourselves to the usual routine; but, as in the thickening horrors of war, new expedients are daily adopted as opportunity requires, so in the greater spiritual warfare we ought not to

slumber. And whereas his holiness knows that the office of the inquisition in this province is in the hands of the aforesaid frati minori, who occasionally condescend to execute some fit inquisition, as was the case under that master Martino de Treviso, of whose diligence and faith I know that the aforesaid bishop of Pola, of worthy memory, informed his holiness; and he being now transferred from that office to another, and his place filled by I know not who, some very incapable person, as far as I can learn,—it were needful accordingly that his holiness should make due provision, partly by exciting the ordinaries, who are every where, so to speak, asleep, and partly by deputing some persons of weight, and sending hither some legate free, if it be possible, from ambition and cupidity, who should apply himself to patch up the honour and credit of the apostolic see, and to punish, or at least to chase away, the rascal heretics from among the poor Christians: for let them go where they will, they will carry with them the evidence of their own wickedness, and of the goodness of the faithful catholics, who will not have them in their company. And whereas the plague of heresy is usually introduced by preachers and by heretical books, and by long habitation in an evil and dissolute life, which easily leads to heresy, it seems that his holiness might adopt a holy, honourable, and useful provision in this respect.]

Caracciolo's work contains a great many other pieces of information of more or less consequence, which however have remained unknown, and which a more detailed work than the present ought not to overlook. The Italian Biography is altogether distinct from another of his writings, "Collectanea historica de Paulo IV.:" it is quite a different kind of work, and far more useful. There are, however, in the Collectanea some few things which recur in the "Vita," such, for instance, as the description of the changes undertaken by Paul IV. after he had dismissed his nephews.

30. *Relazione di M. Bernardo Navagero alla Sma. Rezza di Venetia tornando di Roma ambasciatore appresso del pontefice Paolo IV.* 1558. [Report made to the republic of Venice by Bernardo Navagero on his return from an embassy to Paul IV.]

This is one of the Venetian reports which obtained general circulation. Pallavicini made use of it, and was even attacked on that account: Rainaldus, too, not to speak of later authors, makes mention of it (Annales Eccles. 1557, No. 10).

Undoubtedly it is highly deserving of these honours. Bernardo Navagero enjoyed the reputation in Venice of a learned man. We learn from Foscarini (della Lett. Ven. p. 255) that he was proposed as historiographer of the republic. In his former embassies to Charles V., Henry VIII., and Solyman, he had acquired practice in the conduct of difficult affairs, and in the observation of remarkable characters. He came to Rome immediately after the accession of Paul IV.

Navagero classifies the duties of an ambassador under three heads; understanding, which demands penetration; negotiation, which demands address; and reporting, which demands judgment in order to determine what it is necessary and useful to say.

He begins with the general question of the election and power of the popes. It is his opinion that if the popes would make it their study to imitate Christ, they would be vastly more formidable. He then portrays "le conditioni" as he says, "di papa Paolo IV., e di chi lo consiglia," [the qualities of pope Paul IV., and of his advisers], that is, above all his three nephews. I have made use of his description; but we cannot agree with the author in his general conclusions. He holds that even Paul IV. had no other object than the aggrandizement of his own house. Had Navagero written at a later period, after the banishment of the nephews, he would not have let fall such an opinion. That very event marked the great turn in the papal policy from temporal to spiritual views. From personal matters Navagero proceeds to a description of the war between Paul IV. and Philip II., and here he displays the same happy conception and acute observation. Next follow reflections on the foreign relations of Rome, and on the probable result of a future election. It is with extreme caution Navagero ventures to speak on this subject: "più," he says, "per sodisfare alle SS. VV. EE. che a me in quella parte," [rather for your excellencies' satisfaction than my own.] But he did not guess amiss. He names as one of the two who, in his opinion, had the greatest chance of success, Medigliis, who was actually elected, although he thought, indeed, that the other, Puteo, had the better prospects.

"Now, however," he says, "I am here once more. I again behold the countenance of my sovereign, the illustrious republic, for whose service there is nothing so great that I would not attempt it, nothing so insignificant that I would not undertake it." This expression of devotedness gives a still more glowing colour to his descriptions.

31. *Relazione del Cmo M. Aluise Mocenigo Cava ritornato della Corte di Roma 1560.*—(Arch. Ven.) [Aluise Mocenigo's report of his embassy to Rome.]

Mocenigo remained seventeen months at the court of Paul IV.; the conclave lasted four months eight days; and seven months he filled the post of ambassador to Pius IV.

He describes first the ecclesiastical and temporal administration, the tribunals of justice, and the court under Paul IV. On this head he makes an observation, of which I have not ventured to make use, though it is suggestive of a great deal: "I cardinali," he says, "dividono fra loro le città delle legationi (nel conclave): poi continuano in questo modo a beneplacito delli pontefici." [The cardinals distribute the legations to the several cities among themselves (in the conclave), and the arrangement is afterwards continued, subject to the good pleasure of the popes.] Is this possibly the origin of the administration of the state by the clergy, which was gradually introduced?

Nor does he forget the antiquities in which Rome, as the accounts of Beissard and Gamucci testify, was then more rich than at any other period. "In cadaun loco, habitato o non habitato, che si scava in Roma, si ritrovano vestigie a fabbriche nobili et antiche, et in molti luoghi si cavano di bellissime statue. Di statue marmoree, poste



insieme, si potria fare un grandissimo esercito." [In every spot, inhabited or otherwise, which is excavated in Rome, are found vestiges of noble antique structures, and in many places very beautiful statues are dug up. There are marble statues enough, if they were put together, to form a huge army.]

He then adverts to the disturbances that broke out on the death of Paul IV., and which, even after they appeared to be allayed, were repeated in a thousand fresh disorders. "Cessato c'hebbe il popolo, concorsero nella città tutti falliti e fuorusciti, che non si sentiva altro che omicidii, si ritrovavano alcuni che con 8, 7 e fin 6 scudi si pigliavano il carico d'amazzar un' uomo, a tanto che ne furono in pochi giorni commesse molte centenara, alcuni per nimicitia, altri per lite, molti per ereditar la sua roba et altri per diverse cause, di modo che Roma pareva, come si suol dire, il bosco di Baecaro." [When the people had ceased from their commotions, all the broken men and outlaws flocked to the city, so that nothing was heard of but murders; and persons were found who for eight, seven, and even six scudi, would take upon them to kill a man, so that many hundred murders were committed in a few days, some for old quarrels, some on account of law-suits, many for the sake of inheriting the spoils of the murdered, and for divers other reasons, inasmuch that Rome, as the saying is, was like the forest of Baecaro.]

The conclave was very jovial, with banquets every day; Vargas spent whole nights there; at least "alli busi del conclave;" but the person who determined the election was duke Cosmo of Florence. "Il duca di Firenze l'a fatto papa: lui l'a fatto poner nei nominati del re Filippo e poi con diversi mezzi raccomandand' anco dalla regina di Franza, e finalmente guadagnatogli con grand' industria e diligenza la parte Carafesca." [The duke of Florence made him pope. It was he who had him put among the nominees of King Philip, then by various means caused him to be recommended by the queen of France, and finally with great exertions gained over the Caraffa party to his interests.] How plainly do all the intrigues related in the histories of the conclaves shrink before our eyes into their intrinsic nothingness! The authors of these histories, themselves usually members of the conclaves, saw only the mutual bearings of the individuals with whom they were acquainted, but all influences from without were hidden from them.

The report concludes with a description of Pius IV. so far as his personal character had up to that time displayed itself.

32. *Relatione del C<sup>mo</sup> M. Marchio Michiel K<sup>r</sup> e Proc. ritornato da Pio IV sommo pontefice, fatta a 8 di Zugno 1560.* [Report of the embassy of Marchio Michiel to Pius IV.]

A report of an embassy of congratulation which was absent from Venice but thirty-nine days, and cost 13,000 ducats. As a report it is very feeble. Michiel exhorts to submissiveness to Rome. "Non si tagli la giurisdiction del papa, e li sig<sup>ri</sup> avogadori per non turbare l'animo di S. S<sup>ta</sup> abbino tutti quelli rispetti che si conviene, i quali ho visto che molte volte non si hanno." [Let the pope's jurisdiction not be wrested from him, and let the lawyers, to

avoid disturbing the mind of his holiness, act with all that deference and circumspection which is becoming, and which I have on many occasions seen that they do not observe.]

33. *Dispacci degli ambasciatori Veneti 18 Maggio—21 Sett. 1560.—Inform. Politt. tom. viii. 272 leaves.—Ragguagli dell' ambasciatore Veneto in Roma 1561. Inform. Politt. tom. xxxvii. 71 leaves.* [Despatches of the Venetian ambassadors, 18th May—21st Sept. 1560.—Reports of the Venetian ambassador at Rome, 1561.]

The Ragguagli are also dispatches of the months of Jan. and Feb. 1561, all from Marc. Anton. de Mula, who for a while filled the post of ambassador. (See Andrea Manroceni Hist. Venet. lib. viii. tom. ii. 153.) They are very instructive, and interesting as to the circumstances of the times and the character of Pius. The final fate of the Carafeschi occupies a prominent place in them, and it appears that Philip II. was then desirous of saving his old foes. This was even alleged against him at the court of Rome as a crime. Vargas replied that Philip II. had pardoned them once for all: "quel gran re, quel santo, quel cattolico non facendo come voi altri" [that great king, that holy, that catholic king not doing after your ways]. The pope, on the other hand, reproached them most vehemently: "havere mosse l'arme de Christiani, de Turchi e degl' eretici, . . . e che le lettere che venivano da Franca e dagli agenti in Italia, tutte erano contrafatte etc." [that they had roused the Christians, the Turks, and the heretics to war . . . and the letters from France and from the agents in Italy were all forged, &c.] The pope said he would give 100,000 scudi to know they were innocent. But horrors such as they had committed were not to be endured in Christendom.

I abstain, however, from making extracts from these letters. It is enough to have signified their contents.

34. *Extractus processus cardinalis Caraffæ. Inf. tom. ii. f. 465 bis 516, with the addition: Hæc copia processus formati contra cardinalem Caraffam reducta in summam cum imputationibus fisci coramque reprobationibus perfecta fuit d. XX Nov. 1560.* [Extract of the trial of cardinal Caraffa, &c.]

From the ninth point of the defence, s. v. Heresis, we learn that Albert of Brandenburg sent a certain colonel Friedrich to Rome to conclude a treaty with Paul IV. The colonel had audience of the pope himself, but the cardinal of Augsburg (Otto von Truchsess) raised so many objections against him, that he was at last sent out of Rome. To this is annexed: "El successo de la muerte de los Garrafas con la declaracion y el modo que murieron y el di y hora 1561. Inform. ii.

35. *Relatione di Girolamo Soranzo del 1563. Roma. —(Arch Ven.)* [Report by Girolamo Soranzo.]

The date of the year 1561 on the copy in the archives, is undoubtedly incorrect. It appears from the authentic lists of the embassies, that Girolamo Soranzo was appointed as early as Sept.

22, 1560, on account of Mula having accepted a place of pope Pius IV. and thereby fallen into disgrace with the republic. But he was forgiven, and it was not till he was even made cardinal, in the year 1562, that he was replaced by Soranzo. The latter often refers, too, to the council, which did not sit at all in the year 1561.

Girolamo Soranzo remarked, that the reports of ambassadors were both useful and agreeable to the senate (e volentieri udite e maturamente considerate); he composed his own with industry and good-will. It is well worth while to hear his description of Pius IV.

“Delle qualità dell’ animo di Sua Beatitudine dirò sinceramente alcune particolari proprietà, che nel tempo della mia legazione ho potuto osservare in lei et intender da persone che ne hanno parlato senza passione. Il papa, come ho detto di sopra, ha studiato in leggi: con la cognizione delle quali e con la pratica di tanti anni nelli governi principali che ha havuto, ha fatto un giudizio mirabile nelle cause così di giustizia come di gratia che si propongono in segnatura, in modo che non s’apre la bocca che sa quello si può concedere e quello si deve negare, la quale parte è non pur utile ma necessaria in un pontefice per le molte et importanti materie che occorre trattar di tempo in tempo. Possiede molto bene la lingua latina e s’ha sempre diletto di conoscer le sue bellezze, in modo che, per quanto mi ha detto l’illustrissimo Navagiero, che ne ha così bel giudizio, nei concistorj, dove è l’uso di parlar latino, dice quello che vuole e facilmente e propriamente. Non ha studiato in theologia, onde avviene che non vuole mai propria autorità pigliar in se alcuna delle cause commesse all’ ufficio dell’ inquisitione: ma usa di dire che non essendo theologo si contenta rimettersi in tutte le cose a chi si ha il carico: e se bene si conosce non esser di sua satisfattione il modo che tengono gl’ inquisitori di procedere per l’ordinario con tanto rigore contra gl’ inquisiti, e che si lascia intendere che più gli piaceria che usassero termini da cortese gentilhuomo che da frate severo, nondimeno non ardisce o non vuole mai opporsi ai giudicii loro, nei quali interviene poche volte, facendosi per il più congregazioni senza la presenza sua. Nelle materie o deliberazioni di stato non vuole consiglio d’alcuno, in tanto che si dice non esser stato pontefice più travagliato e manco consigliato di S. S<sup>ta</sup>, non senza meraviglia di tutta la corte che almeno nelle cose di maggior importantia ella non voglia avere il parere di qualche cardinale, che pur ve ne sono molti di buon consiglio: e so che un giorno Vargas lo persuase a farlo, con dirle che se bene S. S<sup>ta</sup> era prudentissima, che però unus vir erat nullus vir, ma ella se lo levò d’inanzi con male parole: et in effetto si vede che, o sia che ella stima esser atta di poter risolver da se tutte le materie che occorrono, o che pur conosca esser pochi o forse niuno cardinale che non sia interessato con qualche principe, onde il giudizio non può esser libero e sincero, si vede, dico, che non si vuole servire d’altri che dal card<sup>l</sup> Borromeo e dal sig<sup>re</sup> Tolomeo, i quali essendo giovani di niuna o poca sperienza et esseguiti ad ogni minimo cenno di S. S<sup>ta</sup>, si possono chiamar piuttosto semplici esecutori che consiglieri. Da questo mancamento di consiglio ne nasce che la Beat<sup>e</sup> Sua, di natura molto presta per tutte le sue attioni, si risolve anco molto presto in tutte le materie, per importanti che le sieno, e presto si

rimuove da quello che ha deliberato: perche quando sono publicate le sue deliberationi e che li venga poi dato qualche avvertimento in contrario, non solo le altera, ma fa spesso tutto l’opposito al suo primo disegno, il che a niio tempo è avvenuto non una ma molte volte. Con i principi tiene modo immediate contrario al suo predecessore: perche quello usava di dire il grado del pontefice esser per metter sotto i piedi gl’imperatori et i re, e questo dice che senza l’autorità de’ principi non si può conservare quella del pontefice: e perciò procede con gran rispetto verso di cadauno principe e fa loro volentieri delle gratie, e quando le nega, lo fa con gran destrezza e modestia. Proceede radesimamente con gran dolcezza e facilità nel trovar i negotii indifferentermente con tutti: ma se alcuna volta segli domanda cosa che non sente, se mostra vehementemente molto e terribile, né patisce che segli contradica: né quasi mai è necessaria con S. S<sup>ta</sup> la destrezza, perche quando si è addolcita, difficilmente nega alcuna gratia: è vero che nell’ executione poi si trova per il più maggior difficultà che nella promessa. Porta gran rispetto verso i rev<sup>mi</sup> card<sup>li</sup>, e fa loro volentieri delle gratie, né deroga mai ai soi indulti nelle collationi de’ beneficii, quello che non faceva il suo predecessore. È vero che da quelli di maggior autorità par che sia desiderato che da lei fusse dato loro maggior parte delle cose che occorrono a tempo di tanti travagli di quello che usa di fare la S. S<sup>ta</sup>: onde si dogliono di vedere deliberationi di tanta importantia passar con così poco consiglio, o chiamano felicissima in questa parte la Serenità Vostra. Alli ambasciatori usa S. Beat<sup>e</sup> quelle maggior dimostrazioni d’amore et honore che si possi desiderare, né lascia adietro alcuna cosa per tener li ben satisfatti e contenti: tratta dolcemente i negotii con loro, e se alcuna volta s’altera per causa di qualche dimanda ch’ella non senta o altra occasione, chi sa usare la destrezza, l’acquista subito, e fa in modo che se non ottiene in tutto quanto desidera, ha almeno in risposta parole molto cortesi: dove quando segli vuol opponere, si può esser certo di non aver né l’uno né l’altro: e però Vargas non è mai stato in gratia di S. S<sup>ta</sup>, perche non ha proceduto con quella modestia ch’era desiderata da lei. Finito che ha di trattar li negotii con li ambasciatori, fa loro parte cortesemente, parla delli avvisi che ha di qualche importantia, e poi entra volentieri a discorrere de lo presente stato del mondo: e con me l’ha fatto in particolare molto spesso, come si può ricordar V. S<sup>ta</sup> che alcune volte ho empito i fogli dei suoi ragionamenti. Con i suoi famigliari procede in modo che non si può conoscere che alcuno ha autorità con lei, perche li tratta tutti egualmente, non li dando libertà di far cosa alcuna che non sia conveniente, né permettendo che se la piglino da loro medesimi, ma li tiene tutti in così bassa o povera fortuna che dalla corte saria desiderato di veder verso quelli più intimi camerieri et altri servitori antichi dimostrazione di maggior stima et amore. Fa gran professione d’esser giudice giusto, e volentieri ragiona di questo suo desiderio che sia fatto giustizia, e particolarmente con gli ambasciatori de’ principi, con li quali entra poi alle volte con tal occasione a giustificarsi della morte di Caraffa e delle sententie di Napoli e Monto come fatto giustamente, essendoli forse venuto alle orecchie esser stato giudicato dalla corte tutta ch’esse sententie e particolarmente quella di Caraffa siano

state fatte con severità pur troppo grande et straordinaria. E naturalmente il papa inclinato alla vita privata e libera, perchè si vede che difficilmente si può accomodare a procedere con quella maestà che usava il precessore, ma in tutte le sue attioni mostra piuttosto dolcezza che gravità, lasciandosi vedere da tutti a tutte l'hore et andando a cavallo e a piedi per tutta la città con pochissima compagnia. Ha una inclinatione grandissima al fabbricare, et in questo spende volentieri e largamente, sentendo gran piacere quando si lauda le opere che va facendo: e par che habbi fino lasciar anco per questa via memoria di se, non vi essendo hornai luogo in Roma che non habbi il nome suo, et usa di dire il fabbricare esser particolarmente inclinatione di casa de' Medici, nè osserva S. Beat<sup>no</sup> quello che è stato fatto dalli altri suoi precessori, che hanno per il più incominciato edificii grandi o magnifici lasciandoli poi imperfetti, ma ella ha piuttosto a piacere di far acconciar quelli che minacciano rovina e finir gl'incominciati, con farne anco de' nuovi, facendo fabbricar in molti luoghi dello stato ecclesiastico: perchè fortifica Civita vecchia, acconcia il porto d'Ancona, vuol ridur in fortezza Bologna: in Roma poi, oltre la fortificazione del borgo e la fabbrica di Belvedere e del palazzo, in molte parti della città fa acconciar strade, fabbricar chiese e rinovar le porte con spesa così grande che al tempo mio per molti mesi nelle fabbriche di Roma solamente passava 12 m. scudi il mese e forse più di quello che si conviene a principe, in tanto che viene affermato da più antichi cortigiani non esser mai le cose passate con tanta misura e così strettamente come fanno al presente. E perchè credo non habbia ad esser discaro l'intendere qualche particolare che tiene S. Beat<sup>no</sup> nel vivere, però satisfarò anche a questa parte. Usa il pontefice per ordinario levarsi, quando è sano, tanto di buon' hora così l'inverno come l'estate ch'è sempre quasi inanzi giorno in piedi, e subito vestito esce a far esercitio, nel quale spende gran tempo: poi ritornato, entrano nella sua camera il rev<sup>mo</sup> Borromeo o mon<sup>s</sup> Tolomeo, con i quali tratta, come ho detto, S. S<sup>ta</sup> tutte le cose importanti così pubbliche come private, e li tiene per l'ordinario seco doi o tre hore: e quando li ha licentati, sono introdutti a lei quei ambasciatori che stanno aspettando l'audientia: e finito che ha di ragionar con loro, ode S. S<sup>ta</sup> la messa, e quando l'hora non è tarda, esce fuori a dare audientia ai cardinali et ad altri: e poi si mette a tavola, la qual, per dir il vero, non è molto splendida, com'era quella del precessore, perchè le vivande sono ordinarie e non in gran quantità et il servizio è de' soliti soi camerieri. Si nutrice di cibi grossi e di pasta alla Lombarda bene più di quello che mangia, et il vino è greco di somma molto potente, nel quale non si vuole acqua. Non ha piacere che al suo mangiare si trovino, secondo l'uso del precessore, vescovi et altri prelati di rispetto, ma piuttosto ha caro udir qualche ragionamento di persone piacevoli e che habbino qualche umore. Ammette alla sua tavola molte volte di cardinali e degli ambasciatori, et a me in particolare ha fatto di questi favori con dimostrazioni molto amorevoli. Dapoi che ha finito di mangiare, si ritira nella sua camera, e spogliato in camicia entra in letto, dove vi sta per l'ordinario tre o quattro hore: e svegliato si ritorna a vestire, e dice l'ufficio et alcune volte da audientia a qualche cardinale et ambasciatore, e

poi se ne ritorna al suo esercitio in Belvedere, il quale non intermette mai l'estate fin l'hora di cena e l'inverno fin che si vede lume." [Of the character of his holiness's mind I will sincerely relate some special traits which I had an opportunity of personally observing during my embassy, and of hearing from persons who spoke of them dispassionately. The pope, as I have already said, has studied the laws; his knowledge in this department, and his practical experience for so many years in the principal governments, have given him an admirable force of judgment in the questions, as well of justice as of favour, which are brought forward in the segnatura; so that he never opens his mouth without knowing what may be granted and what must be denied; an endowment not only useful but necessary to a pontiff, seeing the multitude of important matters he has to dispose of from time to time. He is very proficient in the Latin language, and has always delighted in its beauties; so that, as I am informed by the illustrious Navagiero, who is a good judge, in the consistories, where it is customary to speak Latin, he expresses whatever he will with ease and propriety. He is not read in theology, for which reason he will never take upon himself, of his unaided authority, any of the cases before the office of the inquisition; but he is accustomed to say, that not being a theologian he is content to rely in all things on those whose proper business it is: and though it is notorious that he is not well pleased with the mode adopted by the inquisitors of proceeding commonly with so much rigor against the accused; and though he gives it to be understood he would better like that they should use the language of courteous gentlemen than of stern monks, still he never ventures or chooses to oppose their judgments, with which he seldom interferes, the congregations taking place for the most part without his presence. In the business and deliberations of state he desires no man's counsel, so that the saying runs, there never was a pontiff more worked and less advised than his holiness; nor does it fail to excite surprise at court that at least in more important matters he does not choose, for appearance' sake, to employ a few cardinals, many of whom by the by are men of sound judgment. I know that Vargas one day advised him to do so, telling him that though his holiness was indeed most wise, yet *unus vir erat nullus vir*; but his holiness cut him short with a severe reproof. And in fact it is plain, that whether it be he deems himself fitted with the capacity to determine all matters that come before him, or that he knows there are few, or perhaps not one, of the cardinals not committed to the interests of some prince or other, whence they cannot exercise a free and unbiassed judgment,—it is plain, I say, that he will not make use of any others than the cardinals Borromeo and Signor Tolomeo, who being young men of little or no expectations, and obsequious to his holiness's least beck, may rather be called simple executors of his commands than counsellors. From this lack of advice it comes to pass that his holiness, prompt by nature in all his actions, is very rapid, too, in his decisions in all matters, whatever their importance, and rapidly abandons the decision he has pronounced. For when his conclusions have been made public, and he subsequently receives any information of a contrary tendency, he not only

alters them, but frequently does the very opposite to his original design; a thing that in my time happened not once but on many occasions. His behaviour towards princes is the direct opposite to that of his predecessor; for the latter used to say the pope was made to tread on the heads of emperors and kings, but the present pope declares that, without the authority of princes, that of the pontiff cannot be maintained: hence he bears himself very respectfully towards every potentate, cheerfully grants them favours, and when he denies them does it with great address and modesty. In like manner he conducts himself with great gentleness and affability towards all persons without distinction in matters of business; but if on any occasion a request be made him which is not to his taste, he becomes very vehement and terrible, and will suffer no contradiction. It is hardly ever necessary to use address with his holiness, for when he is in good humour, he finds it hard to refuse any favour; true it is the execution subsequently presents more difficulty than the promise. He displays great respect for the most reverend cardinals, and cheerfully bestows favours upon them, nor ever detracts from the value of his kindness in the collation of benefices, which was not the case with his predecessor. It is true that the more influential among them appear to wish that they were allowed a larger share than is customary with his holiness in the affairs which occur in so busy a period; they are dissatisfied, therefore, at seeing deliberations of such importance take place with so little aid of counsel, and pronounce your serenity particularly fortunate in this respect. His holiness bestows on ambassadors the highest demonstrations of love and honour they can desire, and omits nothing that can tend to their satisfaction; he treats mildly with them of their several affairs, and if he sometimes becomes exasperated on account of some demand he disapproves of, or for any other cause, one who can use address quickly pacifies him, and succeeds with him so far, that if he does not wholly obtain what he desires, at least he receives very courteous language in reply; whereas, if one were to oppose him roundly, he might be assured of receiving neither the one nor the other: yet for all this Vargas never possessed the favour of his holiness, because he did not conduct himself with the modesty which was looked for in him. When the business in hand is dispatched, he converses courteously with the ambassadors; talks of the advices he has received of any importance, and enters freely into discourse on the present posture of the world: with myself in particular he has done this very frequently; and your serenity may remember that I have sometimes filled leaves with his discourses. With his domestics he behaves in suchwise that no one can perceive any of them to possess influence over him, for he treats them all equally, not suffering one of them to do anything that is not becoming, nor permitting them to take anything of themselves; but he keeps them all in such poor and humble fortune that the court would willingly see more respect and regard displayed towards the more confidential chamberlains and other old servants. He makes high professions of justice as a judge, and willingly converses respecting this desire of his, that justice should be done, particularly with the ambassadors of potentates, with whom, on all such occasions, he

proceeds to justify the death of Caraffa and the sentences of Napoli and Monte as equitably pronounced, it having probably reached his ears that these sentences, especially that of Caraffa, were judged by the whole court to be of extraordinary and undue severity. The pope is naturally disposed to a life of privacy and freedom, because he sees he can hardly fashion himself to the majesty with which his predecessor bore himself; but in all his actions he displays kindness rather than dignity, suffering himself to be seen by every one and at all hours, and going all over the city on foot and on horseback with a very scanty retinue. He has a very great taste for construction, in which way he spends readily and largely, being highly gratified when the works he has in hand meet with praise: it seems he looks to perpetuate his memory in this way too, there being now scarcely a place in Rome that does not bear his name; and he is in the habit of saying, that construction is particularly the propensity of the house of Medici. Nor does his holiness follow the practice of his predecessors, who for the most part began large and sumptuous edifices, and then left them imperfect, but he delights rather in causing the repair of those that are threatened with ruin, and in finishing those that are begun, while at the same time he also causes the erection of new ones, having many such constructed in many places of the ecclesiastical states; for he is fortifying Civita Vecchia, repairing the harbour of Ancona, and proposes to convert Bologna into a fortress. In Rome again, besides the fortification of the town, and the construction of the Belvedere and the palace, he is causing streets to be repaired in many parts of the city, churches to be built, and the gates to be repaired, with an outlay so great, that in my time there were expended on the buildings of Rome alone for many months 12m. scudi the month, more perhaps than becomes a sovereign; inasmuch that it is affirmed by the oldest courtiers that matters were never subjected to such strict rule and measure as at present. As I imagine some particulars as to his holiness's personal habits will not be unwelcome, I will supply information on this head also. The pontiff is commonly in the habit of rising so early, when in good health, both winter and summer, that he is always a-foot almost before day, and dressing quickly he goes out for exercise, in which he spends a great deal of time. Upon his return, cardinal Borromeo and Mons. Tolomeo enter his chamber, and with them his holiness, as I have said, treats of all important matters both public and private, and he usually keeps them with him two or three hours. On their dismissal those ambassadors who expect audience are introduced to him, and when his holiness has concluded with them he hears mass, and if it be not late goes out to give audience to the cardinals and others. After this he goes to table, which, to say the truth, is not served in any very splendid style as was that of his predecessor, for the viands are common and in no great quantity, and the attendance is that of his usual valets. His diet is of coarse meats and Lombard pastry, and his wine is Greek, of a very strong body, and which will not bear water. He is not fond, as was his predecessor, of having bishops and other dignified prelates at his table, but rather loves the conversation of agreeable persons, and such as possess some humour. He often admits cardinals and ambassadors to his table, and on me

in particular he has bestowed such favours in the most gracious manner. When he has finished his meal he retires to his chamber, and stripping to his shirt goes to bed, where he remains usually three or four hours. On waking he dresses again, recites his offices, and sometimes gives audience to a few cardinals and ambassadors, and then returns to his exercise in the Belvedere, which he never leaves off in summer till supper time, and in winter so long as there is light.]

Many other interesting particulars relating to the history of those times are adduced by Soranzo. For instance, he throws light on the otherwise almost inexplicable conversion of the king of Navarre to catholicism. Assurances had been given him from Rome, that should Philip II. not indemnify him with Sardinia for the lost part of Navarre, the pope would at all events give him Sardinia. "No theologians, says the ambassador, were needed to effect the change in his sentiments; the negotiation did the business.

36. *Istruzione del re cattolico al C<sup>te</sup> M<sup>re</sup> d'Alcantara suo ambasciatore di quello ha da trattar in Roma. Madr. 30 Nov. 1562. (M.S. Rom.)*—[Instruction of the catholic king to his ambassador, Monsignor d'Alcantara, touching matters to be handled in Rome.]

Accompanied with the pope's answer. Pallavicini's extracts from the document (xx. 10.) are satisfactory, with the exception of the following passage, which he rather seems to have mistaken. "Circa l'articolo della comunione sub utraque specie non restaremo di dire con la sicurtà che sapemo di potere usare con la M<sup>te</sup> Sua, che si parono cose molto contrario il dimandar tanta libertà o licenza nel concilio et il volere in un medesimo tempo che noi impediamo detto concilio e che proibiamo all' imperatore, al re di Francia, al duca di Baviera et ad altri principi che non possano far proponere et questo et molti altri articoli che ricercano attento, che essi sono deliberati et risoluti di farli proponere da suoi ambasciatori e prelati, etiam che fosse contro la volontà dei legati. Sopra il che S. M<sup>te</sup> dovrà fare quella considerazione che le parerà conveniente. Quanto a quello che spetta a noi, havemo differita la così fin qui, o cerchiamo di differirla più che potremo, non ostante le grandi istanze che circa ciò ne sono state fatte: e tuttavia se fanno dalli sudetti principi, protestandoci che se non se gli concede, perderanno tutti li loro sudditi, quali dicono peccar solo in questo articolo e nel restò esser buoni cattolici, e di più dicono che non essendogli concesso, li piglieranno da se, e si congiungeranno con li settarii vicini e protestanti, da quali quando ricorrano per questo uso del calice, sono astretti ad abjurare la nostra religione: sicché S. M<sup>te</sup> può considerare in quanta molestia e travaglio siamo. Piacesse a dio che S. M<sup>te</sup> cattolica fosse vicina e potessimo parlare insieme ed anche abboccarsi con l'imperatore—havendo per ogni modo S. M<sup>te</sup> Cesarea da incontrarsi da noi,—che forse potriamo acconciare le cose del mondo, o nessuno le acconcerà mai se non dio solo, quando parerà a Sua Divina Maestà," [Touching the article of communication in both kinds, we will not hesitate to say, with all the freedom we are assured we may use towards his majesty, that it appears to us a glaring contradic-

tion, to demand so much liberty and license in the council, and at the same time to require that we should hinder the said council, and prohibit the emperor, the king of France, the duke of Bavaria, and the other princes, from proposing this and many other articles, seeing that they have deliberately resolved on proposing them through their ambassadors and prelates, even though it should be in opposition to the will of the legates. Upon this head his majesty must adopt what views he shall think proper. As far as we are concerned, we have hitherto postponed the matter, and will endeavour to postpone it as much as we can, notwithstanding the earnestness with which it has been urged, and still is so, by the said princes, who protest that, if it is not conceded to them, they will lose all their subjects, who, they say, are in fault only on this point, and in all others are good catholics; and, moreover, they say, if the same be not granted them, they will take it of themselves, and will combine with the neighbouring sectaries and protestants, whom if they join in this use of the cup, they will be forced to abjure our religion. His majesty therefore may see in what a painful perplexity we are placed. Would to God that his catholic majesty were near us, and that we could speak with him, and also with the emperor,—it being by all means expedient that his imperial majesty should have an interview with us,—so that perchance we might arrange the affairs of the world, else no one will ever arrange them except God alone, when it shall seem good to his Divine Majesty.]

37. *Istruzione data al s<sup>co</sup> Carlo Visconti mandato da papa Pio IV al re cattolico per le cose del concilio di Trento.*—*Subscribed, Carolus Borromaeus ultimo Oct. 1563.* [Instruction to Carlo Visconti, envoy from Pius IV. to the king of Spain, touching the affairs of the council of Trent.]

Not contained in the collection of the nuncio's letters, which goes no further than September, 1563, and remarkable from its investigation of the motives for closing the council. Pallavicini, xxiv. 1, 1, has cited the greater part of this instruction, though not in the order in which it was written. The most remarkable fact, perhaps, made known by it, is, that it had been intended to bring the affairs of England before the council, and that this was abstained from only in deference to Philip II. "Non abbiamo voluto parlare sin ora nè lasciar parlare in concilio della regina d'Inghilterra (Mary Stuart), con tutto che lo meriti, nè meno di quest'altra (Elizabeth), e ciò per rispetto di S. M<sup>te</sup> Cattolice.—Ma ancora e questa bisognerebbe un di pigliare qualche verso, e la M<sup>te</sup> S. dovrebbe almeno fare opera che li vescovi et altri cattolici non fossero molestati." [Hitherto we have not been willing to speak or to allow mention in the council of the queen of England (Mary Stuart), much as she deserves it, nor yet of the other (Elizabeth), and that out of respect to his catholic majesty. . . . The latter, however, must some day take a turn, and his majesty ought at least to make it his care that the bishops and other catholics be not molested.] It is made, we see, in some sort incumbent on Philip II. to take up the cause of the English catholics.

38. *Relatione in scriptis fatta dal Commendone ai 8<sup>a</sup> legati del concilio sopra le cose ritratte dell' imperatore 19 Febr. 1563.*—[A report made in writing by Commendone, to the legates at the council, concerning the matters treated of with the emperor, &c.]

"La somma è che a me pare di aver veduto non pur in S. M<sup>ta</sup> ma nelli principali ministri, come Trausen e Seldio, un ardentissimo desiderio della riforma e del progresso del concilio con una gran speranza quod remittendo aliquid de jure positivo et reformando mores et disciplinam ecclesiasticam non solo si possono conservare li cattolici ma guadagnare e ridurre degli heretici, con una opinione o impressione pur troppo forte che qui siano molti che non vogliano riforma." [See p. 375.] The activity of the Jesuits had made a marked impression. "Seldio disse, che li Gesuiti hanno hormai mostrato in Germania quello che si può sperare con effetto, perche solamente con la buona vita e con le prediche e con le scuole loro hanno ritenuto e vi sostengono tuttavia la religione cattolica." [Seld said, that the Jesuits have now shown palpably in Germany what may be expected; for solely by their good lives, their preachings, and their schools, they have been, and are still, the stay of the catholic religion in that land.]

39. *Relatione summaria del cardinal Morone sopra la legatione sua 1564 Januario.* (Bibl. Altieri VII, P. 3.)

This ought properly to be given at full length. Unfortunately I had not an opportunity of procuring a copy: so that the reader must be content with the extract I have inserted in the third book.

40. *Antonio Canossa: On the attempt to assassinate Pius IV.* See page 90.
41. *Relatione di Roma al tempo di Pio IV e V di Paolo Tiepolo ambasciatore Veneto.*—[Report on Rome in the times of Pius IV and V., by Paolo Tiepolo, Venetian ambassador.] First found in MS. in Gotha, and afterwards in many other collections.—1568.

In almost all the copies this report is set down as belonging to the year 1567; but as Paolo Tiepolo says expressly, he was 33 months with Pius V., who was elected in January, 1566, this would make the true date sometime after September, 1568. The dispatches, too, of this ambassador,—the first that were preserved in the Venetian archives,—reach to that year.

Tiepolo portrays Rome, the states of the church, and their administration, as well as the ecclesiastical power, which, as he says, punishes by interdicts and rewards with indulgences. He then draws a comparison between Pius IV. and V., their respective piety, equity, liberality, manners, and character in general. Venice had found in the former a very easy, in the latter a very rigorous, pope. Pius V. complained incessantly of the limitations of ecclesiastical privileges ventured on by Venice, its taxation of monasteries, its summoning priests before the civil tribunals, and the conduct

of the avogadores. In spite of these misunderstandings, the comparison instituted by Tiepolo is wholly in favour of the more rigid, and to the disadvantage of the more indulgent pope. This ambassador affords an example of the impression made on the catholic world at large by the personal qualities of Pius V.

This report, as we have said, is frequently to be met with. It has occasionally been adopted into printed works; but in what manner, deserves to be noted. In the Tesoro Politico, i. 19, there is a Relatione di Roma, in which everything Tiepolo says of Pius V. is applied to Sixtus V. Traits of character,—nay, even particular acts, ordinances, &c.,—are here transferred from one pope to another. This thoroughly falsified account was afterwards inserted in the Repubblica Romana, published by Elzevir, where it is to be found verbatim, under the title, "De statu urbis Romæ et pontificis relatio tempore Sixti V pape, anno 1585."

42. *Relatione di Roma del C<sup>mo</sup> Sr Michiel Suriano K<sup>r</sup> ritornato ambasciatore da N. S. papa Pio V. 1571.*—[Report on Rome by Michiel Suriano, late ambassador to pope Pius V.]

Michiel Suriano, in whom, as Paruta says, (Guerra di Cipro, i. p. 28.) literary attainments added a more brilliant lustre to talents for business, was the immediate successor of Paolo Tiepolo.

Ho thus describes Pius V.

"Si vede che nel papato S. Santità non ha atteso mai a delitie nè a piaceri, come altri suoi antecessori, che non ha alterato la vita nè i costumi, che non ha lasciato l'essercitio dell' inquisitione che haveva essendo privato, et lasciava più presto ogn' altra cosa che quella, riputando tutte l'altre di manco stima et di manco importantia: onde benche per il papato fosse mutata la dignità et la fortuna, non fu però mutata nè la volontà nè la natura. Era S. S<sup>ta</sup> di presenza grave, con poca carne magra, et di persona più che mediocre ma forte et robusta: havea gl'occhi piccoli ma la vista acutissima, il naso aquilino, che denota animo generoso et atto a regnare, il colore vivo et la canitie veneranda: camminava gagliardissimamente, non temea l'aere, mangiava poco e bevea pochissimo, andava a dormire per tempo: pativa alcune volte d'orina, et vi remediava con usar spesso la cassia et a certi tempi il latte d'asina et con viver sempre con regola et con misura. Era S. S<sup>ta</sup> di compassione colerica et subita, et s'accendeva in un tratto in viso quando sentiva cosa che le dispiacesse: era però facile nell' audientie, ascoltava tutti, parlava poco et tardo et stentava spesso a trovar le parole proprie et significanti al suo modo. Fu di vita csemplare et di costumi irreprensibili con un zelo rigoroso di religione, che haveria voluto che ogn' un l'havesse, et per questo corregea gl' ecclesiastici con riserve et con bollo et i laici con decreti et avvertimenti. Facea professione aperta di singierità et di bontà, di non ingannare, di non publicar mai le cose che gli eran dette in segretezza et d'esser osservantissimo della parola, tutte cose contrarie al suo predecessore: odiava i tristi et non poteva tollerarli, amava i buoni o quei che era persuasa che fosser buoni: ma come un tristo non potea sperar mai di guadagnar la sua gratia, perche ella non credea che potesse diventar buono, così non era senza pericolo



un buono di perderla quando cadea in qualche tristezza. Amava sopra tutte le cose la verità, et se alcuno era scoperto da S. S<sup>ta</sup> una sol volta in bugia, perdeva la sua gratia per sempre, et fu visto l'esempio nel sig<sup>r</sup> Paolo Ghisilieri suo nipote, il quale scacciò da se per averlo trovato in bugia, come S. S<sup>ta</sup> medesima mi disse, et per officii che fosser fatti non volse mai più riceverlo in gratia. Era d'ingegno non molto acuto, di natura difficile et sospettosa, et da quella impression che prendea una volta non giovava a rimuoverlo niuna persuasione di ragione di rispetti civili. Non avea isperienza di cose di stato, per non averlo mai praticate se non ultimamente: onde nei travagli che portan seco i maneggi di questa corte et nelle difficoltà che sempre accompagnano la novità dei negotii, un che fosse grato a S. Santità et in che ella avesse fede era facilmente atto a guidarla a suo modo, ma altri in che non aveva fede non potea essere atto, et le ragioni regolate per prudenza humana non bastavano a persuaderla, et se alcun pensava di vincere con autorità o con spaventi, ella rompeva in un subito et metteva in disordine ogni cosa o per lo manco gli dava nel viso con dir che non temeva il martirio et che come dio l'ha messo in quel luogo così poteva anco conservarlo contra ogni autorità et podestà humana. Queste conditioni et qualità di S. Santità, se ben son verissime, però son difficili da credere a chi non ha auto la sua pratica et molto più a chi ha auto pratica d'altri papi: perche pare impossibile che un huomo nato et nutriti in bassa fortuna si tenesse tanto sincero: che resistesse così arditamente a i maggior prencipi et più potenti: che fosse tanto difficile nei favori et nelle gratie et nelle dispense et in quell'altre cose che gl'altri pontefici concedean sempre facilmente: che pensasse più all'inquisitione che ad altro, et chi secondava S. Santità in quella, potesse con lei ogni cosa: che nelle cose di stato non credesse alla forza delle ragioni nè all'autorità de i prencipi esperti, ma solamente alle persuasioni di quei in che aveva fede: che non si sia mai mostrato interessato nè in ambizione nè in avaritia, nè per se nè per niun de suoi: che credesse poco ai cardinali et gl'avesse tutti per interessati o quasi tutti, et chi si valca di loro con S. Santità, se nol faceva con gran temperamento et con gran giudicio, si rendea sospetto et perdeva il credito insieme con loro. Et chi non sa queste cose et si ricorda dello debolezze, della facilità, di i rispetti, delli passioni et degl'affetti de gl'altri papi, accusava et strapazzava gl'ambasciatori, credendo non che non potessero ma che non volessero o non sapessero ottenere quelle cose che s'ottennevano facilmente in altri tempi."

[It is plain that when pope, his holiness never devoted himself to luxury or pleasure, as others before him, that he changed neither his life nor habits, that he did not abandon the exercise of his inquisitorial functions which he had practised when in a private station, but rather postponed every thing than this, considering all others as of little estimation and importance: thus, though changed in dignity and fortune by his accession to the popehood, he was yet unchanged in will and in nature. His holiness was of a grave presence, of a spare habit of body, below the middle size, but strong and robust: he had small eyes, but very quick sight, an aquiline nose, the which denotes a lofty spirit fitted to command, florid complexion, and venerable grey hairs; his step was elastic and

buoyant; he shunned not the open air, ate little and drank very little, and retired early to rest: he suffered occasionally from urinary disorders, as remedies for which he constantly employed cassia, and at certain times asses' milk, aided with constant regularity and temperance. His holiness was of a choleric and sudden temperament, and his countenance would kindle up in an instant when any thing occurred to displease him: nevertheless, he gave audience affably, had an ear for every man, spoke little and slowly, and frequently paused to select the proper words, and such as were most expressive after his own fashion. His life was exemplary, and his habits irreproachable; and he was animated with a rigorous zeal for religion, which he would fain have seen partaken by every individual, wherefore he chastised the clergy with reservations and bulls, and the laity with decrees and admonitions. He made open profession of sincerity and good faith, of eschewing fraud, of never publishing matters told him in secret, and of being a most strict observer of his word; in all which he was the opposite of his predecessor: he hated profligate men, and could not tolerate them; he loved the good, or those whom he believed to be so: but as no profligate man could ever hope to gain his favour, because he did not think such an one capable of goodness, so too a good man ran the risk of losing his favour when he fell into any vice. He loved truth above all things, and if any one was once detected by his holiness in a lie, he lost his favour for ever. This was exemplified in the case of Signor Paolo Ghisilieri, his nephew, whom he drove from him because he had caught him in a lie, as his holiness himself told me, and, in spite of all the efforts that were made to that end, he would never take him back into favour. His genius was not very acute, his nature was hard and prone to suspicion, and when he had once taken up an impression, he was not to be moved from it by any considerations of courtesy. He had no experience in state affairs, not having practised them till latterly; whence it happened, that in the labours belonging to his court, and amidst the difficulties always incident to business of a novel kind, one who possessed his favour, and in whom he had confidence, might easily lead him after his own fashion, but others in whom he had not faith could do little, and reasonings, shaped in accordance with human prudence, were unavailing to convince him; and if any one thought to prevail with him by authority, or through the influence of fear, he would suddenly cut the whole matter short, and leave it in confusion, or else look him sternly in the face, and tell him that he did not fear martyrdom, and that as God had put him in that place, so He could keep him there in despite of all human authority and power. These characteristics of his holiness, most true though they be, are yet hard to be believed by any one who has not been in personal contact with him, and still more by one who has had personal knowledge of other popes; for it seems impossible that a man born and educated in low station could maintain so much sincerity, that he should with such ardour resist the greatest and most powerful princes; that he should be so chary of favour, and affection, and expense, in those matters, in which other pontiffs always evince such facility; that he should think more of the inquisition than of any thing else, and whoever seconded his holiness in



this should be all potent with him; that in matters of state he should concede nothing to the force of argument or to the authority of experienced princes, but only to the representations of those in whom he had confidence; that he never manifested an interested feeling of ambition or avarice, whether for himself or for any belonging to him; that he put little trust in the cardinals, and held them all, or nearly all, for interested men; and any one of them who sought to ingratiate himself with his holiness, if he did it not with great reserve and discretion, rendered himself suspected by him, and lost credit equally with the rest. Now those who were unaware of these things, and remembered the weakness, the facility, the polite compliances, the passions and affections of other popes, accused and condemned the ambassadors, believing not that they could not, but that they would not, or had not the skill to obtain certain things easy to be had in other times.]

We can readily believe the ambassador that he had a difficult task with a pope of this character. When Pius, for instance, was aware that they would not publish the bull, "In eua domini" in Venice, he broke out into a violent rage: "Si perturbò estremamente, et acceso in collera disse molte cose gravi et fastidiose." These were circumstances that rendered the management of business doubly difficult. Suriano, in fact, lost the favour of his republic. He was recalled, and a great part of the present report has for its purpose to justify his conduct, in which we cannot accompany him.

43. *Informatione di Pio V. Inform. Politt. Bibl. Ambros. F. D. 181.*

Anonymous indeed, but founded on accurate information, and corroborating the other accounts. It is a singular fact stated here, that, in spite of all the rigour of this pious pope, factions prevailed in his family. The older servants were opposed to the younger, who adhered to the grand chamberlain, M<sup>r</sup> Cirillo. The latter was in general the most accessible. "Con le carezze e col mostrar di conoscere il suo valore facilmente s'acquistarebbe: ha l'animo elevatissimo, grande intelligenza con Gamba e Correggio, e si stringe con Morone."

44. *Relatione della corte di Roma nel tempo di Gregorio XIII. (Bibl. Cors. nr. 714.) Siguel 26 Febr. 1574.*—[Report on the court of Rome in the time of Gregory XIII.]

Anonymous, but nevertheless very instructive, and impressed with the stamp of truth.

The author thinks it difficult to judge of courts and sovereigns. "Dirò come si giudica nella corte e come la intendo." [I will state the opinions entertained at court, and what I myself think.] He gives the following description of Gregory XIII.

"Assunto che è stato al pontificato in età di 71 anni, ha parso c'habbi voluto mutare natura: et il rigore che era solito biasimare in altri, massimamente nel particolare del vivere con qualche licenza con deum, n'è stato più rigoroso dell' antecessore e fattone maggiori esecuzioni: e parimente nella materia del giuoco si è mostrato rigorosissimo, perche havendo certi illustrissimi principati a trattarsi nel principio del pontificato con giuocare qualche scudo, li riprese acerbamente, ancorche

alcuni dubitarono che sotto il pretesto del giuoco si facessero nuove pratiche di pontificato per un poco di male c'hebbe S. S<sup>ta</sup> in quel principio: e da questo cominciò a calare quella riputazione o opinione che si voleva far credere dall' illustrissimo de' Medici d'haver lui fatto il papa e doverlo governare, la qual cosa fece chiaro il mondo quanto S. S<sup>ta</sup> aborrisce che alcuno si voglia arrogare di governarlo o c'habbi bisogno d'essere governato, perche non vuole essera in questa opinione di lasciarsi governare a persona. Perche in effetto nelle cose della giustizia n'è capacissimo e la intende e non bisogna pensare di darli parole. Ne' maneggi di stati S. S<sup>ta</sup> ne potria saper più, perche non vi ha fatto molto studio, e sta sopra di sealle volte irresoluto, ma considerato che v'habbi sopra, n'è benissimo capace e n'è udire le opinioni discernere benissimo il meglio. E patientissimo e laboriosissimo e non sta mai in otio e piglia ancora poca ricreazione. Da continuamente audientia e vede scritture. Dorme poco, si leva per tempo, e fa volentieri esercizio, e li piace l'aria, quale non teme, per cattiva che sia. Mangia sobriamente e beve pochissimo, ed è sano senza sorte alcuna di schinelle. E grato in dimostrazioni esteriori a chi gli ha fatto piacere. Non è prodigo nè quasi si può dire liberale, secondo l'opinione del volgo, il quale non considera o discerno la differentia che sia da un principe che si astenghi dall' estorsioni e rapacità a quello che conserva quello che ha con tenacità: questo non brama la roba d'altri e gli insidia per haverla. Non è crudele nè sanguinolento, ma temendo di continuo delle guerre si del Turco come degli heretici, li piace d'haver somma di denari nel erario e conservarli senza dispensarli fuori di proposito, e n'ha intorno a un milione e mezzo d'oro: è però magnifico e gli piacciono le grandezze, e sopra tutto è desideroso di gloria, il qual desiderio li fa forse trascorrere in quello che non piace alla corte: perche questi reverendi padri Chietini, che l'hanno conosciuto, se li sono fatti a cavaliere sopra con dimostrarli che li credito et autorità che haveva Pio V non era se non per riputazione della bontà, e con questo li tengono quasi in filo et li necessitano a far cose contra la sua natura e la sua volontà, perche S. S<sup>ta</sup> è sempre stato di natura piacevole e dolce, e lo restringono a una vita non consueta: et è opinione che per far questo si siano valsi di far venire lettere da loro padri medesimi di Spagna e d'altri luoghi, dove sempre fanno mentione quanto sia commendata la vita santa del papa passato, quale ha acquistata tanta gloria con la riputazione della bontà e delle riforme, e con questo modo perseverano loro in dominare et havere autorità con S. Beat<sup>ne</sup>: e dicesi che sono ajutati ancora dal vescovo di Padova, nuntio in Spagna, eravatura di Pio V e di loro. Brama tanto la gloria che si ritiene e sforza la natura di fare di quelle dimostrazioni ancora verso la persona del figliuolo quali sariano riputate ragionevoli et honeste da ogn'uno per li scrupoli che li propongono costoro: et in tanta felicità che ha havuto S. S<sup>ta</sup> di essere asceto a questa dignità da basso stato, è contrapesato da questo oggetto e dell' havere parenti quali non li soddisfanno e che a S. S<sup>ta</sup> non pare che siano atti o capaci de' negotii importanti e da commetterli le faccende di stato."

[Having arrived at the papacy at the age of seventy-one, he seemed disposed to change his nature; the rigour which he used to blame in others,

—particularly as regarded a certain license as to inter-course with women,—he enforced in a still more peremptory manner than his predecessors. With respect to play, likewise, he has shown himself most rigorous; for certain persons of the highest rank having begun, in the commencement of his pontificate, to amuse themselves with playing for a few crowns, he reproved them with acrimony; though some, indeed, suspected that the said play was made a cloak for new electioneering intrigues, in consequence of a slight illness with which his holiness was affected at the time. Thenceforth the opinion began to lose ground, that cardinal de Medici had been the means of creating his holiness pope, and would possess a commanding influence over him; and it became manifest to the world how much his holiness abhors the thought that any one should presume to govern him, or that he needs to be governed; for he will not have it believed that he suffers himself to be governed by any one,—and, indeed, in all things of a judicial nature he is in the highest degree competent, and no one need think of dictating to him. His holiness is not so well versed as he might be in matters of state policy, because he has not studied them much, and at times he is at a loss how to make up his mind; but when he has considered the matter, he shows a very just conception of it, and, upon hearing opinions, he very soundly discerns that which is best. He has great patience and industry, is never idle, and takes little amusement. He continually gives audience, and looks over papers. He sleeps little, rises early, is fond of exercise and of the open air,—which he does not fear, however inclement may be the weather. He is moderate in his eating, and drinks very little; and enjoys sound health, without any kind of bolstering up. He is gracious in outward demeanour to those who please him. He is not lavish, nor, it may be, liberal, according to the opinion of the vulgar, who do not consider or discern the difference there is between a sovereign who abstains from extortion and rapacity, and one who keeps what he has got with tenacity. He does not covet other men's property, nor intrigue to possess himself of it. He is not cruel, nor sanguinary; but as he is in continual apprehension of war, both on the part of the Turks and of the heretics, he chooses to have a sum of money in the treasury, which he will not have spent inopportunely,—this sum amounts to a million and a half of gold. He is, after all, fond of magnificence and grandeur, and, above all things, desirous of glory: which desire, perhaps, makes him run into things that are not pleasing to the court; for the reverend padri Chietini, who knew him well, have got the upper hand of him, showing him that the credit and personal influence possessed by Pius V. was due to nothing else than his reputation for goodness: and they thereby keep him in leading strings, as it were, and oblige him to do things contrary to his nature and his wishes; for his holiness has always been of an amiable and gentle disposition, and they bind him to a course of life to which he is not accustomed. It is thought that to this end they have employed the expedient of having letters addressed to them from the fathers of their order in Spain and elsewhere, in which it was continually remarked how highly commended was the holy life of the late pope, who

had acquired so much glory through his reputation for goodness and reforming zeal; and in this way it is said they maintained their sway and their influence with his holiness. It is said too that they are also assisted by the bishop of Padua, nuncio in Spain,—the creature of Pius V. and their own. So desirous is he of glory, that he puts force on his own nature, and refrains from those demonstrations even towards his son, which every one would admit to be reasonable and honourable, in consequence of the scruples the aforesaid persons suggest to him. The great good fortune his holiness has enjoyed, in reaching this dignity from a low station, is counterbalanced by this matter, and by his having relations who do not give him satisfaction, and whom he does not think of proper capacity for important affairs, or fit to be entrusted with the business of state.]

In the same manner he portrays the cardinals also. Of Granvilla he remarks, that he did not maintain his credit. He was intent on his own inclinations, and was reputed to be avaricious; in the affair of the Ligue he had nearly brought about a rupture between the king and the pope. On the other hand Commendone is highly extolled. “Ha la virtù, la bontà, l'esperienza con infinito giudicio.” [He is virtuous, good, experienced, and of vast judgment.]

45. *Seconda relatione dell' ambasciatore di Roma, chiamato M. Paolo Tiepolo K. 3 Maggio 1576.*  
[Second report of Paolo Tiepolo, ambassador to Rome.]

The above anonymous report speaks in high terms of Tiepolo, as a man of sound head and moral worth. “E modesto e contra il costume de' Veneziani è cortegiano e liberale, e riesce eccellentemente, e soddisfa molto, e mostra prudenza grande in questi travagli e fraganti a sapersi regere.” [He is modest, and, contrary to what is usual with the Venetians, he is courteous and liberal; he succeeds admirably, gives much satisfaction, and shows great prudence in shaping his course through these stormy affairs.]

The Venetians having fallen off from the confederacy against the Turks, he had a difficult position to maintain. It was thought that the pope would bring forward in consistory a proposal to excommunicate the Venetians, and some cardinals were prepared to oppose such a design. “Levato Cornaro nessuno fo che in quei primi giorni mi vedesse o mi mandasse a veder, non che mi consigliasse, consolasse e sollevasse.” [Except Cornaro, (a Venetian) there was no one who for the first few days came to see me, or sent to me, or who gave me advice, comfort, or assistance.] Tiepolo states, as the special reason for the separate peace, that, after the Spaniards had promised they would be ready in April, 1573, they declared in that month that their preparations would not be completed before June. It went a great way towards soothing the pope, that Venice at last resolved to declare his son a Venetian noble. The manner in which Tiepolo expresses himself about this son of the pope is very remarkable.

“Il sr Giacomo è figliulo del papa: è giovane anchor esso di circa 29 anni, di belle lettere, grato maniero, di grande et liberal animo et d'un ingegno attissimo a tutto le cose dove egli l'appli-

casae. Non bisogna negar che'l primo et si può dir solo affetto del papa non sia verso di lui, come è anco ragionevole che sia, perciocche nel principio del pontificato, quando egli operava più secondo il suo senso, lo creò prima castellano et dapoì governator di s. chiesa con assegnarli per questo conto provisioni di cerea X m. ducati all' anno et con pagarli un locotenente, colonnelli et capitani, accioche egli tanto più honoratamente potesse comparer: ma dapoì, come che si fosse pentito di esser passato tanto oltre verso un suo figliuolo naturale, mosso per avvertimenti, come si affermava, di persone spirituali, che li mettevano questa cosa a conscientia et a punto d'honore, incominciò a ritirarsi con negarli i favori et le gratie che li erano da lui domandate et con far in tutte le cose manco stima di lui di quello che prima avea fatto: anzi come che dopo averlo palesato volesse nascondarlo al mondo, separandolo da lui lo fece partir da Roma et andar in Ancona, dove sotto specie di fortificar quella città per un tempo lo intertenne, senza mai provederlo d'una entrata stabile et sicura colla quale egli doppo la morte sua avesse possuto con qualche dignità vivere et sostenersi: onde il povero signore dolendosi della sua fortuna che lo avesse voluto innalzar per doverlo poi abbandonare si messe più volte in tanta desperatione che fuggendo la pratica et conversazione di ciascuno si ritirava a viver in casa solitario, continuando in questo per molti giorno, con far venir anchora all' orecchie dell' padre come egli era assalito da fieri et pericolosi accidenti, per vedere se con questo avesse possuto muover la sua tenerezza verso di lui. In fine troppo può l'amor naturale paterno per spingere o dissimulare il quale indarno l'uomo s'adopera. Vinto finalmente et commosso il papa dapoì passato l'anno santo volse l'animo a provederli et a darli satisfatione, et prima si risolse da maritarlo." [Signor Giacomo is the pope's son; his age is about twenty-nine; he is well read, of graceful manners, of a noble and liberal mind, and an understanding very apt for all things to which he might apply it. It need not be denied that the first, and it may be said, the sole affection of the pope is fixed on him, as it is reasonable that it should be; for in the beginning of his pontificate, when his son acted more in accordance with his wishes, he made him first castellan, and afterwards governor of the holy church, with an income of about ten thousand ducats yearly, paying for him, besides, a lieutenant, colonels, and captains, so that he might be able to make the more dignified an appearance. But afterwards, as if he had repented of having gone such lengths on behalf of his natural son, and moved by warnings, as he affirmed, from ecclesiastical persons, who made this matter a point of honour and conscience with him, he began to draw in, and to refuse him such favours as he asked, and to show in all things less esteem for him than he had at first evinced. And as if after making him public he had wished to hide him from the world, he drove him from his presence, and made him quit Rome, and go to Ancona, where he kept him engaged some time under pretence of fortifying that city, without ever providing him any fixed and permanent income with which he might maintain himself with becoming dignity after the pope's death. Hence the poor signor, bemoaning his fortune, which had raised him so high only to abandon him, fell frequently

into such despondency, that, shunning all converse and society, he would shut himself up alone, and so continue many days, at the same time causing it to be reported to his father how he had suffered fearful accidents, in order to see if so the pope might be moved to tenderness towards his son. After all, the natural love of a father will break through all the vain attempts a man may make to suppress or dissemble it. Overcome at last, and giving way to his feelings, after the termination of the year of jubilee the pope applied himself to provide for his son and to give him satisfaction, and in the first place he resolved to marry him.]

Tiepolo likewise gives some interesting particulars respecting the administration of Gregory XIII. and especially as to the cardinal of Como.

"Partisce il governo delle cose in questo modo, che di quelle che appartengono al stato ecclesiastico, ne dà la cura alli d<sup>ni</sup> cardinali sui nepoti, et di quelle che hanno relatione alli altri principi, al cardinali di Como. Ma dove in quelle del stato ecclesiastico, che sono senza comparation di manco importanza, perche non comprendono arme o fortezze, al governatore generale riservate, ne danari, de' quali la camera apostolica et il tesorier generale ne tien cura particolare, ma solamente cose ordinarie pertinenti al governo delle città et delle provincie, non si contentando delli d<sup>ni</sup> nepoti ha aggiunta loro una congregazione di quattro principali prelati, tra' quali vi è monsignor di Nicastro, stato nuntio presso la Serenità Vra, colli quali tutte le cose si consigliano per doverle poi referir a lui: in quelle di stato per negotii colli altri principi, che tanto rilevano et inportano non solo per la buona intelligentia con lor ma ancora per beneficio et quiete di tutta la christianità, si rimette in tutto nel solo cardinal di Como, col quale si redrecciano li ambasciatori dei principi che sono a Roma et li nuntii apostolici et altri ministri del papa che sono alle corti, perche a lui solo scrivono et da lui aspettano li ordini di quello che hanno da fare. Egli è quello che solo consiglia il papa, et che, come universalmente si tiene, fa tutte le resolutioni più importanti, et che da li ordini et li fa eseguire. Sogliono ben alcuni cardinali di maggior pratica et autorità et qualeun' altro ancora da se stesso raccomandare al papa quello che giudica a proposito, et suolo ancora alle volte il papa domandar sopra alcune cose l'opinione di qualcuno et di tutto il collegio di cardinali ancora, massimamente quando li torna bene che si sappia che la determination sia fatta di consiglio di molti, come principalmente quando si vuol dare qualche negativa, et sopra certo particolari occorrente ancora suole deputar una congregazione di cardinali, come già fo fatto nelle cose della lega et al presente si fa in quelle di Germania, del concilio, et di altre: ma nel restretto alle conclusioni et nelle cose più importanti il cardinal di Como è quello che fa et vale. Ha usato il cardinal, se ben cognosce saver et intender a sufficiencia, alle volte in alcune cose andarsi a consigliare col cardinal Morone et cardinal Commendon, per non si fidar tanto del suo giudicio che non tolesse ancor il parer d'huomini più intelligenti et savii: ma fatto da lui poi il tutto dipende. Mette grandissima diligentia et accuratezza nelle cose, et s'industria di levar la fatica et i pensieri al papa et di darli consigli che lo liberino da travagli presenti et dalla spesa, poiche nessuna cosa pare esser più dal papa desiderata che'l sparagno et la

quiete. Si stima universalmente ch'esso abbia grande inclinazione al re cattolico, non tanto per esser suo vassallo et per haver la maggior parte delli sui beneficii nei sui paesi, quanto per molti comodi et utilità che in cose di molto momento straordinario riceve da lui, per recognition de' quali all' incontro con destri modi, come ben sa usar senza molto scoprirsi, se ne dimostri nelle occasioni grato. Verso la Serenità Vostra posso affermar ch'egli sottosopra si sia portato assai bene, massimamente se si ha rispetto che ne i ministri d'altri principi non si può ritrovar tutto quello che si vorria, et che ben spesso bisogna contentarsi di manco che di mediocre buona volontà."

[He divided the affairs of government in such a manner, that those of an ecclesiastical nature were committed to the care of the cardinals his nephews, and those which had reference to the other sovereigns fell to cardinal di Como. Now whereas in ecclesiastical matters, (which are of incomparably less importance, as not comprising arms or fortresses, reserved to the governor-general, nor money, which is specially seen to by the apostolic chamber and the treasurer-general, but only ordinary affairs pertaining to the government of the cities and provinces,) not content to rely on his nephews, he has conjoined with them a congregation of four principal prelates, among whom is monsignor di Nicastrò, formerly nuncio to your serenity, with whom all matters are first discussed and afterwards reported to himself: on the other hand in matters of state connected with the other sovereigns, weighty and important as they are, not only as regards the preservation of good intelligence with the sovereigns, but the advantage, too, and the peace of all Christendom, he trusts wholly and solely to cardinal di Como, to whom the foreign ambassadors at Rome address themselves, as well as the apostolic nuncios and the pope's other ministers at the several courts; for they write only to him and receive their orders from him. He is the pope's sole counsellor, and the man who, as it is universally supposed, suggests all the more important resolutions, and gives orders, and sees to their execution. Some of the cardinals, it is true, of greater weight and experience, and others besides, are accustomed to suggest on their part to the pope what they think expedient; and at times, too, the pope will ask the advice of different persons, and of the whole college of cardinals, particularly when it is desirable it should be known that the determination taken was adopted upon the advice of numbers; especially, for instance, when it is intended to give a refusal: and upon certain special occurrences he is also used to depute a congregation of cardinals, as was done in the affairs of the Ligue, and as is now done in those of Germany, the council, and others; but in the chief points determined, and in all matters of special importance, cardinal di Como's power and influence are paramount. The cardinal, though he has sufficient confidence in his own judgment and abilities, has been in the occasional habit of consulting cardinal Morone or cardinal Commendone, that he might not so far rely on his own judgment as not to avail himself of that of men of eminent intelligence and wisdom: but after all everything in reality depends on himself. He displays extreme diligence and accuracy in business, and he studies to relieve the pope from trouble and anxiety, and to give

him such counsels as may free him from present toils and from expence; for there is nothing the pope seems more desirous of than economy and quiet. It is universally thought that the cardinal is strongly inclined to the catholic king, not so much as being his vassal, and having most of his benefices in his majesty's dominions, as for the many extraordinary favours and advantages he receives from him in matters of much moment, for which he contrives on occasions to show his gratitude in adroit ways, such as he knows how to use without much exposing himself. Towards your serenity, I can affirm, that on the whole he has been tolerably well disposed, especially if it be considered that one cannot always meet with all one wishes in the ministers of other sovereigns, and that very often one must needs be content with less than middling good will.]

Although this report by no means obtained the publicity of the other, still it is in reality no less important and instructive regarding the times of Gregory XIII. than the former with respect to those of Pius IV. and V.

46. *Commentariorum de rebus Gregorii XIII. lib. i. et ii.*—(Bibl. Alb.) [Commentaries on the affairs of Gregory XIII. books i. and ii.]

Unfortunately incomplete. The author, cardinal di Verecchi, when he comes, after some preliminaries, to speak of Gregory's pontificate, promises to treat of three things,—the war against the Turks, the war of the protestants against the kings of France and Spain, and the disputes respecting the jurisdiction of the church.

It is to be regretted, however, that we find in the second book only the war against the Turks up to the Venetian treaty of peace.

We know the connexion that subsisted between eastern affairs and those of religion. Our author's exposition of the entanglements of the year 1572 is by no means bad. A report had been spread that Charles IX. was abetting the outbreaks of the protestants in the Netherlands. "Quod cum Gregorius moleste ferret, dat ad Gallorum regem litteras quibus ab eo vehementer petit ne suos in hoc se admiscere bellum patiatur: alioquin se existimaturum omnia huc illius voluntate nutuque fieri. Rex de suis continendis magnæ sibi cure fore pollicetur, id quod quantum in se est præstat: verum ejusmodi litteris, quæ paulo minacius scripte videbantur, nonnihil tactus, nonnullis etiam conjecturis eo adductus ut se irritari propeque ad bellum provocari putaret, ne imparatum adirentur, urbes quas in finibus regni habebat diligenter communit, duces suos admonet operam dent ne quid detrimenti capiat, simulque Emanueleum Allobrogum ducem, utriusque regis propinquum et amicum, de his rebus omnibus certiores facit. Emanuel, qui pro singulari prudentia sua, quam horum regum dissensio suis totique reipublicæ christianæ calamitosa futura esset, probe intelligebat, ad pontificem hæc omnia perscribit, eumque obsecrat et obtestatur nascenti malo occurrat, ne longius serpat atque inveteratum robustius fiat. Pontifex, quam gereret personam minimum oblitus, eum regem Gallorum adolescentem et gloria cupiditate incensum non difficillime a catholicæ fidei hostibus, quorum tunc in aula maxima erat auctoritas, ad hujusmodi bellum impelli posse anim-

adverteret, reginam tamen ejus matrem longo ab eo abhorrere dignitatisque et utilitatis suae rationem habituram putaret, mittit eo Antonium Marianum Salviatum, reginae affinem ei que pergratum, qui eam in officio contineat, ipsiusque opera facilius regi, ne reip. christianae accessionem imperii et gloriam quae ex orientali expeditione merito expectanda esset invident funestumque in illius visceribus moveat bellum, persuadeat." [Gregory taking this amiss, sent a letter to the king of France, urgently requiring that he should not suffer his subjects to take part in that war; otherwise he would think that all these things were done with his wish and instigation. The king promised he would use the utmost diligence to restrain his subjects, and did all that was in his power to that end; but being somewhat piqued by a letter of such a kind, which seemed rather threatening in its tones,—and being wrought on by some conjectures, to think even that he was irritated and almost challenged to war,—in order that he might not be taken unprepared, he carefully put his frontier towns in a state of defence, gave orders to his generals to take all necessary measures, and at the same time gave notice of all these things to Emanuel, duke of Savoy, the relation and friend of both kings. Emanuel, whose remarkable prudence distinctly perceived how calamitous this dissension between the two kings would be to his own country and to the whole Christian commonwealth, reported everything to the pope, and implored him to stifle the mischief in its birth, and not allow it to creep on and gather strength. The pope, in nowise forgetful of the duties of his high station, reflecting that the king of France—a young man, and fired with the love of glory—might with no great difficulty be urged to this war by the enemies of the catholic faith, whose influence was then very great at court; and thinking that his mother was extremely averse to it, and would have regard to her dignity and advantage, sent thither Antonio Maria Salvato, the queen's kinsman and esteemed friend, to keep her to her duty, and with her help to persuade the king not to hinder the Christian commonwealth of obtaining that accession of dominion and glory which might justly be expected from the eastern expedition, nor to excite within it that deadly intestine war.]

Thus far the pope was assuredly indirectly implicated in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. He had reason to make every effort to prevent the breaking out of war between Spain and France. It were very much to be wished that we possessed at least the part of this book which related to the religious differences.

I have had another reason for quoting the above passage, namely, that the very first lines in it show that it belongs to the sources of which Maffei availed himself for his "Annali di Gregorio XIII Pontefice Massimo." Compare the passage in Maffei, i. p. 27: "Scrisse a Carlo risentitamente, che se egli comportava che i sudditi e ministri s'intromettessero in questa guerra per distornarla, egli tutto riconoscerebbe da lui e dalla mala sua intenzione. E per l'istesso fine operò che li signori Veneziani gli mandassero un' ambasciadore con diligenza. Rispose Carlo modestamente, ch'egli farebbe ogni possibile perchè i suoi nè a lui dovessero dar disgusto nè agli Spagnuoli sospetto di quello ch'egli non aveva in pensiero. Ma non

restò però di dolersi con Emanuele duca di Savoia della risentita maniera con che gli aveva scritto il pontefice: parendogli che si fosse lasciato spingere dagli Spagnuoli che avessero voglia essi di romperla: et ad un tempo cominciò a presidiare le città delle frontiere."

It appears to me that Maffei's book is here and there but an amplified transcript of parts of the manuscript before us. I will not, however, on this account, attempt in the least to disparage Maffei's work, to which I am indebted for much instruction, and which, even though not impartial, is calm, copious in matter, and on the whole trustworthy.

47. *Relazione di monsr revermo Gio P. Ghislieri a papa Gregorio XIII, tornando egli dal presdentato della Romagna.*—See p. 99.

48. *Discorso over ritratto della corte di Roma di monsr ilmo Commendone all' ilmo s' Hier. Savorgnano.* (Bibl. Vindob. Codd. Rango. nr. 18. fol. 278—395.) [A discourse on the court of Rome, addressed by cardinal Commendone to cardinal Hieronymo Savorgnano.]

To all appearances this work belongs to Gregory's times. I should not venture to warrant Commendone's name; but whoever was the author, he was at all events a man of talent, profoundly initiated into the more secret relations of Roman life.

He thus defines the court. "Questa republica è un principato di somma autorità in una aristocrazia universale di tutti i christiani collocato in Roma. Il suo principio è la religione. Conciosia," he concludes, "che la religione sia il fine e che questa si mantenga con la virtù e con la dottrina, è impossibile che alterandosi le condizioni degli uomini non si rivolga insieme sotto tutta la republica." [This commonwealth is a principality of supreme authority in an universal aristocracy of all Christians, the seat of which is in Rome. Its principle is religion. Seeing that religion is its end, and that this is maintained by virtue and doctrine, it is impossible but that, men's conditions being altered, the whole commonwealth shall be turned topsy-turvy.]

He then treats principally of this conflict between the spiritual and secular interests. Above all things, he inculcates great forethought: "molto riguardo di tutti i movimenti e gesti della persona: casa, servitori, cavalcature convenienti, amicitie e honorate e virtuose, non affermando cosa che non si sappia di certo" [much attention to all movements and gestures of the person; house, servants, equipages, all of a becoming kind; honourable and virtuous acquaintances; no affirming a thing that is not known for certain]. The court demands, "bontà, grandezza dell' animo, prudentia, eloquentia, theologia" [goodness, greatness of soul, prudence, eloquence, theology]. Still all is uncertain. "Deve si pensar che questo sia un viaggio di mare, nel quale benchè la prudentia possa molto o ci renda favorevole la maggior parte de' venti, nondimeno non gli si possa prescrivere tempo determinato o certezza alcuna d'arrivar. Alcuni di mezza estate in gagliarda e ben fornita nave affondono o tardano assai, altri d'inverno in debole e disarmato legno vanno presto." [We ought to regard this as a sea voyage, in which, though pru-

dence can do much, and make most winds available, still it cannot command what weather it will, or possess any certainty of arrival. Some in the middle of summer, with good and well found ships, sink, or make slow way; whilst others make good speed in winter in crazy or dismantled vessels.]

## SECTION IV.

## SIXTUS V.

## I.—CRITICAL REMARKS ON THE BIOGRAPHERS OF THAT POPE, LETI AND TEMPESTI.

*Vita di Sisto V pontefice Romano scritta dal signor Gellio Rogeri all' istanza di Gregorio Leti. Roma 1669, 2 vols.; afterwards published under less singular titles, in 3 vols.*

It is far more by popular writings, which obtain universal currency, than by historical works of more weight, which are often too long delayed, that the reputation of a man, or the mode of viewing an event, is usually determined. The public do not specially inquire whether the statements laid before them are well founded; they are satisfied if the reminiscences presented to them in print be like those expressed in conversation, as abundant and as varied in colour, only somewhat more concise, and therefore the more piquant.

Such a book is the biography of Sixtus V. by Leti,—the most effective production, perhaps, of that voluminous author: it has determined the light in which the memory of pope Sixtus has ever since been viewed by the world.

We are strangely perplexed upon our first attempts in the study of such books. We cannot deny them a certain degree of truth, we cannot pass them by unnoticed; yet we see at once they are not to be trusted far. But where the boundary lies, there is no determining in general terms.

The only way in which we can arrive at a sound conclusion is by discovering an author's sources, and ascertaining his way and manner of employing them.

Now in the course of our researches we light upon the sources from which Leti drew; we cannot refrain from comparing them with his representations.

I. In the whole history of Sixtus V. there is nothing more famous than the way in which he is said to have attained to the papacy, and his behaviour in the conclave. Who is there but knows the story, how the decrepid cardinal, tottering along with the help of his stick, after he was made pope, suddenly drew himself up erect and strong, flung away his stick, and threatened those with the exercise of his power from whom he had won it by deceit? This tale of Leti's has been received throughout the whole world. Whence did he take it? we ask.

There exist documents relating to every papal election, giving the motives, or rather the intrigues, that led to it. We find, among others, a so-called "Conclave," relating to the election of Sixtus V., contemporaneous, like most of the others, and written with much knowledge of persons. "Conclave nel quale fu creato il c<sup>le</sup> Montalto che fu Sisto V."

We see on the first comparison that Leti had

this document chiefly in view. We may perceive that, in point of fact, he only paraphrases it.

Concl. MS. "Il lunedì mattina per tempo si ridussero nella capella Paulina, dove il cardinal Farnese come decano celebrò messa, e di mano sua comunicò li cardinali: dipoi si venne secondo il solito allo scrutinio, nel quale il cardinal Albani hebbe 13 voti, che fu il maggior numero che alcun cardinale avesse. Ritornati i cardinali alle celle, si attese alle pratiche, et Altamps cominciò a trattare alla gagliarda la pratica di Sirleto, ajutato da Medici e delle creature di Pio IV, per la confidenza che havevano di poter di qualsivoglia di loro disporre: ma subito fu trovata l'esclusione, scoprendosi contra di lui Este, Farnese e Sforza."

Leti: "Lunedì mattina di buon' hora si adunano tutti nella capella Paulina, ed il cardinal Farnese in qualità di decano celebrò la messa, e comunicò tutti i cardinali: e poi si diede principio allo scrutinio, nel quale il cardinal Albano hebbe 13 voti, che fu il numero maggiore. Dopo questo li cardinali se ne ritornarono alle lor celle per pransare, e doppo il pranso si attese alle pratiche di molti: ma particolarmente Altamps cominciò a trattare alla gagliarda le pratiche di Guglielmo Sirleto Calabrese, ajutato dal cardinal Medici e dalle creature di Pio IV, per la confidenza che haveva ogni uno di loro di poterne disporre: ma in breve se gli fece innanzi l'esclusione, scoprendosi contro di lui Este, Farnese e Sforza."

It is just the same with accessories as with leading points, e.g. MS. "Farnese incapricciato et acceso di incredibile voglia di esser papa, comincia a detestare pubblicamente la pratica et il soggetto, dicendo: Io non so come costoro lo intendono di volere far Sirleto papa."—Leti: "Il primo che se gli oppose fu Farnese, incapricciato ancor lui ed acceso d'incredibile voglia d'esser papa: onde parendo a lui d'esserne più meritevole, come in fatti era, cominciò pubblicamente a detestare la pratica ed il soggetto, dicendo per tutti gli angoli del conclave: Io non so come costoro l'intendono di voler far papa Sirleto."

So also as to the reflections. For instance, the MS. says what offence the disguise of Sixtus gave to cardinal Alessandrino: "Ma dio, che haveva eletto Montalto papa, non permesse che si avvertisse a quello che principalmente avvertire si doveva, nè lasciò che Farnese nè suoi si svegliassero a impedire la pratica, credendo che non fosse per venire ad effetto dell' adoratione, ma solo per honorare Montalto nello scrutinio." Though so pious a mode of thought is not usual with Leti, he finds it very convenient, nevertheless, to copy it, and insert it in his book. He did so verbatim, with only a few slight changes.

Does not this rather speak in praise than in censure of Leti's often disputed fidelity?

Let us, however, proceed to the one thing that excites our doubts,—the conduct of the cardinal. It is remarkable that on this point alone Leti does not agree with his original.

Leti says: "Montalto se ne stava in sua camera e non già nel conclave, fingendosi tutto lasso et abbandonato d'ogni ajuto humano. Non usciva che raramente, e se pure andava in qualche parte, come a celebrare messa, o nello scrutinio della capella, se ne andava con certe maniere spensierate." [Montalto kept his chamber and did not go to the conclave, pretending to be quite worn out and



beyond the reach of all human aid. He went out but seldom; and when he did go anywhere, as to celebrate mass, or to the scrutiny in the chapel, he departed with a certain air of indifference.]

On the other hand the original says: "Sebene non mostrava una scoperta ambizione, non premetteva di far poi tutti quelli uffici che il tempo et il luogo richiedevano, humiliandosi a cardinali, visitandoli et offerendosi, ricevendo all' incontro i favori e l'offerte degli altri." [Though he did not display an open ambition, still he did not omit any of those ceremonious offices which the time and place required, humbling himself to the cardinals, visiting and making them offers, and in return receiving favours and offers from the others.]

The original says: "Before the assembly of the conclave he did thus with Farnese, and afterwards with Medici and Este:" it relates how, on the evening before his election he visited cardinal Madruzzi, and cardinal Altemps on the previous morning, and received their assurance that he should be elected. In a word, Montalto appears in the original active, full of life and health; nay, that he enjoyed such a lusty old age is set down as a motive to his election. The whole story of his pretended debility and seclusion, which has acquired so much celebrity, is an addition by Leti. But whence did he take it? Did he merely follow popular rumour, a self-wrought story, or some other writer?—We shall return to this point.

2. A second prominent feature in the universally received notions about Sixtus V. is the idea entertained of his financial arrangements. This, too, is partially founded on Leti's statements. In the second part of his book (p. 289) there is a table of the papal revenue and expenditure, that has found a certain degree of credit even at the hands of the most rational and the most learned persons. "Rendite ordinarie c'haveva la sede apostolica nel tempo che Sisto entrava nel pontificato." We ought at least to be able to put confidence in his figures in general.

Nevertheless, even here it is palpable that matters are not as Leti represents them. Upon the accession of Sixtus in April, 1585, the contracts were still in force, which had been concluded by Gregory XIII. in Aug. 1576, for nine years, with the farmers of the revenues. We have an authentic detail of these under the title "Entrata della reverenda camera apostolica sotto il pontificato di N. Sig<sup>to</sup> Gregorio XIII fatto nell' anno 1576," a very accurate document, in which are separately set forth, first the sum contracted for, then the part of it that was alienated, and next the remainder. Now Leti's statements agree very badly with these tables. He sets down the proceeds of the dogana di Roma at 182,460 scudi, whereas they amounted only to 133,000: not a single sum of all he names is correct. But whence did he derive the particulars of his account? It cannot be that he should have drawn it up altogether without any authority. We have another account in our hands of the year 1592, two years after the death of Sixtus V. Leti's agrees with this with regard to almost all the public offices, and even the order in which they stand; in both we find for instance in the same succession: "Dogana di Civita vecchia 1977 sc., di Narni 400, di Rieti 100, gabella del studio di Roma 26560, gabella del quadrino a libra di carne di Roma 20,335," &c. But what a confusion is here! All

the changes introduced by Sixtus V. were already begun in these offices, and ought to have been detailed. Nay, the confusion does not end here. Probably Leti fell in with a bad MS. if he did not himself make some arbitrary alterations in it; at all events he makes the strangest deviations from the authentic account. The Salara di Roma produced 27,654 scudi, he gives 17,654; the tesoreria e salario di Romagna brought in 71,395 scudi, he puts it down at 11,395. In short, his account is not even correct with reference to any other year, but in all particulars thoroughly false and useless.

3. He compiled, as we perceive, without judgment or critical discrimination; he transcribed, but hastily: how, indeed, could it have been possible for him, in the unsettled life he continually led, to have produced so many books entirely of his own labour? Whence, then, did he draw his materials on this occasion?

A MS. in the Corsini library in Rome, "Detti e fatti di papa Sisto V.," enables us to answer this question.

It is manifest at the first glance that this work is substantially Leti's. Let us compare the first passage that occurs to us.

E. g. the Corsini MS. says: "Il genitore di Sisto V si chiamava Francesco Peretti, nato nel castello di Farnese, di dove fu costretto non so per qual accidente partire, onde s'incamminò per trovare la sua fortuna altrove: et essendo povero e miserabile, non aveva da poter vivere, essendo solito sostentarsi di quello alla giornata guadagnava grandemente faticando, e con la propria industria viveva. Partitosi dunque da Farnese, se ne andò a trovare un suo zio."

Leti has in the first edition: "Il padre di Sisto si chiamava Francesco Peretti, nato nel castello di Farnese, di dove fu costretto non so per qual accidente occorsoli di partirsi, ciò che fece volentieri per cercar fortuna altrove, mentre per la povertà della sua casa non haveva di che vivere se non di quello che lavorava con le proprie mani alla giornata. Partito di Farnese la mattina, giunse la sera nelle grotte per consigliarsi con un suo zio."

It is plain that this is the same account with a slight modification of style.

At times, indeed, we find little interpolations in Leti:—but the MS. and the printed book immediately coincide again.

And now if we ask whence were derived those additions with which he tricked out his history of the conclave, we shall find that they also figure in our MS. The above cited passage from Leti runs thus in the MS.: "Montalto se ne stava tutto lasso con la corona in mano et in una piccolissima cella abbandonata da ogn'uno, e se pure andava in qualche parte, come a celebrare messa, o nello scrutinio della capella, se ne andava etc." We see that Leti has given a very slightly altered version of this text.

I am induced by the importance of the subject to cite one more passage. The MS. says: "Prima di cominciarsi il Montalto, che stava appresso al card<sup>l</sup> di San Sisto per non perderlo della vista o perche non fosse subornato da altri porporati, gli disse alle orecchie queste parole: Faccia istanza V. Sria illma che lo scrutinio segua senza pregiudicio dell' adoratione: e questo fu il primo atto d'ambizione che mostrò esteriormente Montalto. Non mancò il card<sup>l</sup> di San Sisto di far ciò: perche con il Bonelli unitamente principiò ad al-



zare la voce due o tre volte così : Senza pregiudicio della seguita adoratione. Queste voci atterrirono i cardinali : perche fu supposto da tutti loro che dovesse esser eletto per adoratione. Il card<sup>l</sup> Montalto già cominciava a levar quelle nebbie di finzioni che avevano tenuto nascosto per la spatio di anni 14 l'ambitione grande che li regnava in seno : onde impatiente di vedersi nel trono papale, quando udì leggere la metà e più delli voti in suo favore, tosto allungò il collo e si alzò in piedi, senza attendere il fine del scrutinio, e uscito in mezzo di quella capello gittò verso la porta di quella il bastoncino che portava per appoggiarsi, ergendosi tutto dritto in tal modo che pareva due palmi più lungo del solito. E quello che fu più maraviglioso, etc."

Leti us compare with this the corresponding passage in Leti, i. p. 412 (edition of 1669) : "Prima di cominciarsi Montalto si calò nell' orecchia di San Sisto, o gli disse : Fate istanza che lo scrutinio si faccia senza pregiudicio dell' adoratione : che fu appunto il primo atto d'ambitione che mostrò esteriormente Montalto. Nè San Sisto mancò di farlo, perche insieme con Alessandrino cominciò a gridare due o tre volte : Senza pregiudicio dell' adoratione. Già cominciava Montalto a levar quelle nebbie di finzioni che havevano tenuto nascosto per più di quindici anni l'ambitione grande che li regnava nel cuore : onde impatiente di vedersi nel trono pontefice, non si tosto intese legger più della metà de' voti in suo favore che assicuratosi del ponteficato si levò in piedi e senza aspettare il fine dello scrutinio gettò nel mezzo di quella sala un certo bastoncino che portava per appoggiarsi, ergendosi tutto dritto in tal modo che pareva quasi un piede più lungo di quel ch'era prima : ma quello che fu più maraviglioso, etc." Thus we see that, with the exception of a few words, the passages are identical.

Leti, on one occasion, mentions an evidence for his narrative : "Io ho parlato con un Marchiano, ch'è morto venti (in later editions trenta) anni sono, et assai caduce, il quale non aveva altro piacere che di parlare di Sisto V. e ne raccontava tutte le particolarità." Now, upon the face of the thing, it seems improbable that Leti, who arrived in Rome in 1644, at the age of fourteen, should have had intercourse with people who knew Sixtus V. intimately, and that he should have derived many materials for his book from their conversation :—but this passage, too, is one of those extracted from the MS. : "Et un giorno parlando con un certo uomo dalla Marchia, che è morto, che non aveva altro piacere che di parlare di Sisto V." The "twenty or thirty years" were thrown in by the author for the sake of greater probability.

Here, too, it appears to me that Leti made use of a bad copy. The MS. states in the very beginning that the boy was often obliged to pass the night in the open field, watching the cattle, "in campagna aperta ;" instead of this, Leti writes "in compagnia d'un altro," which has quite the appearance of an ill-corrected clerical error. The M. A. Selli of Leti must have meant according to the MS. M. A. Siliaci.

In a word, Leti's *Vita di Sisto V.* is by no means an original work. It is a version of an Italian MS. that fell into his hands, with some additions, and an improvement in style.

The whole question would now seem to be, what credit does this MS. deserve ? It is a collection of

anecdotes, made after a considerable lapse of years, and altogether of an apocryphal nature. In particular, that same story of the conclave is utterly undeserving of belief. Sixtus V. was not the first of whom it was told ; the very same thing had already been narrated of pope Paul III. In the preface to the work, *Acta Concilii Tridentini* 1546, from which there is an extract in Strobel's *Neue Beiträge*, v. 233, it is said of Paul III. : "Mortuo Clemente valde callide primum simulabat . . . vix prius senio posse suis pedibus consistere : ardebat omnibus, ludebat neminem, suamque prorsus voluntatem ad nutum reliquorum accommodabat : . . . ubi se jam pontificem declaratum sensit, qui antea tarditatem, morbum, senium et quasi formidolosum leporem simulabat, extemplo tunc est factus agilis, validus, imperiosus, suamque inauditam ferociam . . . cepit ostendere." [On the death of Clement, he pretended at first very cunningly that he could hardly stand on his feet for age : he smiled on every one, offended no one, and altogether submitted his own will to the beck of the others : . . . when he heard himself actually declared pope, he who before feigned decrepitude, disease, old age, and almost trembling complaisance, now suddenly became active, strong, imperious, and began to display his unheard-of ferocity.] This is plainly the origin of the story as given by Leti.

Leti had no thought of scrutinizing his MS., or clearing it of its errors ; he has rather done his best still more to distort what he found before him.

Notwithstanding this, his work was very successful ; it ran through edition after edition, and a multitude of translations.

It is a striking fact, that history, such as it fixes itself in the memory of men, always touches upon the range of mythology. Personal traits become more sharply and strongly marked ; they approach in some way or another to an ideal that can be laid hold of by the imagination ; the events acquire a more striking character ; accessory circumstances and co-operative causes are forgotten. Thus only does it appear that the demands of the imagination can be satisfied.

Then comes the scholar at a later day, wondering how men could have fallen upon such false notions ; he does what he can to dissipate errors, but at last is obliged to own that the task is not so easy of accomplishment. Reason submits to be convinced, but imagination is not to be conquered.

*Storia della vita e geste di papa Sisto V. sommo pontefice, scritta dal Pre Mro Casimiro Tempesti. Roma 1755.* [Life of Sixtus V. by Casimiro Tempesti, &c.]

We have made mention of the temperate, cheerful, and well-meaning pope Benedict XIV. : his pontificate was further distinguished by the circumstance, that almost all the works of more or less utility respecting the internal history of the papacy belong to its time. It was then that the *Annals of Maffei* were printed ; it was then Bromato made his collection for the life of Paul IV. ; the biographies of Marcellus II. and Benedict XII. were produced in that reign ; and in it too Casimiro Tempesti, a Franciscan, like Sixtus V., undertook to refute Gregorio Leti.

Every desirable opportunity was afforded him to this end. He searched through all the Roman libraries, where he met with the most valuable ac-

quisitions, biographies, letters, memoirs of various kinds, all which he put together and incorporated in his book. Perhaps the most important of them all is the correspondence of Morosini, the nuncio in France, which fills a large part of his work :—for commonly he admits his documents into his text with but slight modifications.

Two things, however, are to be remarked on this head.

In the first place, he puts himself in a peculiar relation to his authorities. He believes them, transcribes them, but at the same time is fully assured the pope must have fallen out with the writers of them ; he must have offended them ; the moment they begin to censure, he washes his hands of them, and labours to give a different interpretation to the proceedings of his hero, which they call in question.

But sometimes he even departs from his authorities, either because they are not sufficiently staunch in the church's cause for him, or because he has really no just conception of the matter in hand. Take, for example, the affair of Mühlhausen, in the year 1537. The MS., designated by Tempesti "Anonimo Capitolino," which he has exactly copied in very many places, relates the affair with much perspicuity : let us see the use he has made of its statements. The Anonimo very appropriately qualifies with the words, "in non so che causa," the dispute that broke out in Mühlhausen, as Laufer (*Helv. Geschichte*, xi. 10) expresses himself, "about a patch of wood valued hardly at twelve crowns." Tempesti turns this into "in urgente lor emergenza" [in their pressing emergency]. The people of Mühlhausen imprisoned some of their councillors, "carceravano parecchi del suo senato." Tempesti says merely "carcerati alcuni," without remarking that the persons imprisoned were of the council. It was feared that the people of Mühlhausen would put themselves under the protection of the catholic districts, and separate from the protestants : "che volesse mutar religione e protettori, passando all' eretica fede con raccomandarsi alli cantoni cattolici, siccome allora era raccomandata alli eretici." This refers to the fact, that Mühlhausen, upon its first entrance into the Swiss confederation, was not acknowledged by Uri, Schwyz, Lucern, and Unterwalden, which cantons also refused it their protection subsequently, when they joined the reformed church. (*Glutz Blotzheim's continuation of Müller's History of Switzerland*, p. 373.) Tempesti had no conception of this peculiar state of things ; he says very drily, "Riputarono che i Milasini volessero dichiararsi cattolici." So it goes on, even where the author shows by his punctuation that he is quoting another's words. The Anonimo Capitolino says, that pope Sixtus had been on the point of sending 100,000 scudi to Switzerland in furtherance of this secession, when he received intelligence that the disputes were all settled. Tempesti, nevertheless, affirms that the pope actually sent the money. For, above all things, he is resolved that his hero shall be magnificent, and even liberal ; though the latter quality was certainly not that for which he was most conspicuous.

I will not accumulate examples. This is his invariable mode of proceeding, compare him where we will with his authorities. He is diligent, careful, furnished with ample materials, but narrow in his views, dry, monotonous, and without real insight

into things ; his collections do not enable us to dispense with his originals. His work was not adapted to cope with and counteract the impression produced by Leti's.

## II. MANUSCRIPTS.

Let us now return to our MSS. : it is to these, after all, we must always have recourse for exact information.

We next meet with a MS. by pope Sixtus V. ; Remarks under his own hand, written whilst still in the convent.

49. *Memorie autografe di papa Sisto V.*—*Bibl. Chigi* n. iii. 70. 158 leaves.

A certain Salvetti found it once in a garret, and presented it to Alexander VII. Its authenticity is certainly beyond question.

"Questo libro sarà per memoria di mie poche faccenduccie, scritto di mia propria mano, dove cio che sarà scritto a laude di dio sarà la ignuda verità, e così priego creda ogn' uno che legge." [This book shall be for a record of my little doings, written with my own hand, wherein what shall be written to the praise of God shall be the naked truth, and this I pray every one who reads it to believe.]

In the first place, it contains accounts, of which one leaf is certainly wanting, if not several.

"E qui sarà scritti," he continues, "tutti crediti, debiti et ogn' altra mia attione di momento. E così sarà la verità come qui si troverà scritto." [And herein shall be written all credits, debts, and every other concern of mine of moment. And every thing shall be truly such as it shall be here set forth.]

I will give one example more, in addition to what I have related in the text :—"Andrea del Apiro, frate di San Francesco conventuale, venne a Venetia, e nel partirse per pagar robe comprate per suo fratello, qual mi disse far botega in Apiro, me domandò in prestito denari, e li prestai, presente fra Girolamo da Lunano e fra Cornelio da Bologna, fiorini 30, e mi promise renderli a Montalto in mano di fra Salvatore per tutto il mese presente d'Augusto, come appar in un scritto da sua propria mano il dì 9 Agosto 1557, quale è nella mia casetta. H. 30." [Andrea del Apiro, friar of the order of St. Francis, came to Venice, and on his departure asked a loan of money of me to pay for goods bought for his brother, who he told me kept a shop in Apiro, and I lent him the same, there being present fra Girolamo da Lunano and fra Cornelio da Bologna, 30 florins, and he promised to pay them back to me at Montalto, into the hands of fra Salvatore, taking all the present month of August, as appears by a writing under his own hand the 9th day of August, 1557, which is in my casket. H. 30.]

Here we have an insight into these little monastic dealings ; we see how one friar lends another money, how the borrower aids his brother in his petty trade ; others are witnesses. Fra Salvatore, too, makes his appearance.

Then follows a list of books\*. "Inventarium omnium librorum tam seorsum quam simul legatorum quos ego Fr. Felix Perettus de Monte alto emi et de licentia superiorum possideo. Qui seor-

\* [The future pope is not quite orthodox in his latinity.—TRANSLATOR.]

sum fuerit legatus, faciat numerum qui non cum aliis minime." [An inventory of all the books, whether bound separately or together, which I, fra Felix Peretto di Montalto, bought and possess, with license of my superiors. Such as are bound by themselves are numbered separately, but not those that are joined with others.] I now regret that I did not make any notes from this catalogue; it seemed to me very insignificant.

At last we find at page 144,

"Memoria degli anni che andai a studio, di officii, prediche e commissioni avute." [A memoir of the years I passed as a student, of my offices, my engagements as a preacher, and the commissions I received.]

I will give this at full length, though Tempesti has made occasional extracts from it; it is important as the only diary of a pope that we possess.

"Col nome di dio 1540 il dì 1 settembre di mercoledì intrai a studio in Ferrara, e vi finii il triennio sotto il rdo mro Barto dalla Pergola. Nel 43 fatto il capitolo in Ancona andai a studio in Bologna sotto il rdo maestro Giovanni da Correggio: intrai in Bologna il dì 8 Jacobo maggior di Luglio, e vi stetti fino al settembre del 44, quando il costacciaro mi mandò baccellier di convento in Rimini col revmo regente m<sup>re</sup> Antonio da città di Penna, e vi finii il tempo sino al capitolo di Venezia del 46. Fatto il capitolo andai baccellier di convento in Siena con mro Alexandro da Montefalco, e qui finii il triennio fino al capitolo d'Assisi del 49. Ma il costacciaro mi diede la licentia del magisterio nel 48 a 22 Luglio, e quattro dì dopo me addottorai a Fermo. Nel capitolo generale di Assisi fui fatto regente di Siena 1549 e vi finii il triennio, fu generale monsr<sup>re</sup> Gia Jacobo da Montefalco. A Napoli: nel capitolo generale di Genova fui fatto regente di Napoli 1553 dal revmo generale m<sup>re</sup> Giulio da Piacenza e vi finii il triennio. A Venezia: nel capitolo generale di Brescia 1556 fui fatto regente di Venezia, e vi finii il triennio, e l'anno primo della mia regeria fui eletto inquisitor in tutto l'illmo dominio 1557 di 17 di Genaro. Nel capitolo generale di Assisi 1559 eletto generale m<sup>re</sup> Giovan Antonio da Cervia, fui confermato regente et inquisitor in Venezia come di sopra. Per la morte di papa Paolo III l'anno detto l'Agosto partii da Venezia per visitare li miei a Montalto, inquisitore apostolico: mosso da gran tumulti; il 22 di Febbraio 1560 tornai in ufficio col brieve di Pio III papa, et vi stetti tutto 'l Giugno, e me chiamò a Roma: il dì 18 Luglio 1560 fui fatto teologo assistente alla inquisitione di Roma e giurai l'officio in mano del card<sup>le</sup> Alessandrino.

"(Prediche.) L'anno 1540 predicai, nè havevo anchor cantato messa, in Montepagano, terra di Abruzzo. L'anno 1541 predicai a Voghiera, villa Ferrarese, mentre ero studente in Ferrara. L'anno 1542 predicai in Grignano, villa del Polesino di Rovigo, e studiavo in Ferrara. L'anno 1543 predicai alla fratta di Badenara (viveva il Diedo e'l Manfrone) e studiavo in Ferrara. L'anno 1544 predicai alla Cana, villa della Badia e studiavo in Bologna. L'anno 1545 predicai le feste in Rimini in convento nostro, perche il mro di studio di Bologna ne preoccupò la predica di Monte Scutolo, et ero bacc<sup>o</sup> di convento di Rimini. L'anno 1546 predicai a Macerata di Montefeltro et ero bacc<sup>o</sup> di convento di Rimini. L'anno 1547 predicai a S. Geminiano in Toscana et ero bacc<sup>o</sup> di convento a Siena. L'anno 1548 predicai a S. Miniato al Te-

deseo in Toscana, et ero bacc<sup>o</sup> di Siena. L'anno 1549 predicai in Ascoli della Marca, partito da Siena per l'ingresso de Spagnoli introdutti da Don Diego Mendoza. L'anno 1550 predicai a Fano et ero regente a Siena. L'anno 1551 predicai nel domo di Camerino condotto dal rmo vescovo et ero regente a Siena. L'anno 1552 predicai a Roma in S. Apostoli, e tre illm cardinali me intrattarono in Roma, e lessi tutto l'anno tre dì della settimana la pistola a Romani di S. Paolo. L'anno 1553 predicai a Genova, e vi se fece il capitolo generale, et andai regente a Napoli. L'anno 1554 predicai a Napoli in S. Lorenzo, e vi ero regente, e lessi tutto l'anno in chiesa l'evangelio di S. Giovanni. L'anno 1555 predicai nel duomo di Perugia ad istanza dell' illmo cardinale della Corgna. L'anno 1556 fu chiamato a Roma al concilio generale, che già principiò la santità di papa Paulo III, però non predicai. L'anno 1557 fui eletto inquisitor di Venezia e del dominio, e bisognandome tre dì della settimana seder al tribunale non predicai ordinariamente, ma 3 (?) dì della settimana a S. Caterina in Venezia. L'anno 1558 predicai a S. Apostoli di Venezia e 4 giorni della settimana a S. Caterina, anchorche exequisse l'officio della 8<sup>a</sup> inquis<sup>oe</sup>. L'anno 1559 non predicai salvo tre dì della settimana a S. Caterina per le molte occupationi del s. officio. L'anno 1560 tornando col brieve di S. Santità a Venezia inquisitore tardi predicai solo a S. Caterina come di sopra.

"(Commissioni.) L'anno 1548 ebbi da revmo m<sup>re</sup> Bartolomeo da Macerata, ministro della Marca, una commissione a Fermo per liberar di prigione del S<sup>re</sup> vicelegato fra Leonardo della Ripa: lo liberai e lo condussi in Macerata. L'anno 1549 ebbi dal sud<sup>o</sup> R. Pre commissioni in tutta la custodia di Ascoli da Febbraio fino a pasqua. L'anno istesso dall' istesso ebbi una commissione nel convento di Fabriano e vi remisii frate Evangelista dell' istesso luogo. L'anno 1550 ebbi dall' istesso padre commissione in Senegaglia: rimisi fra Nicolo in casa e veddi i suoi conti. L'anno 1551 ebbi commissione dal rmo pre generale m<sup>re</sup> Gia Jacobo da Montefalco a visitar tutta la parte de Montefeltro, Cagli et Urbino. L'anno 1552 ebbi dall' illmo cardinale protettor commissione sopra una lite esistente tra il guardiano fra Tommaso da Piacenza et un fra Francesco da Osimo, che aveva fatto la cocchina in Santo Apostolo. L'istesso anno ebbi commissione dal revmo padre generale m<sup>re</sup> Giulio da Piacenza nel cohvento di Fermo, e privai di guardiano mro Domenico da Montesanto, e viddi i conti del procuratore fra Ludovico Pontano, e bandii della provincia fra Ciccone da Monte dell' Olmo per aver dato delle ferite a fra Tommaso dell' istesso luogo. L'anno 1555 ebbi dal sudetto rmo generale commissione di andar in Calabria a far il ministro, perche avea inteso quello esser morto, ma chiarito quello esser vivo non andai. L'anno 1557 ebbi commissione sopra il Gattolino di Capodistria, sopra il Garzoneo da Veglia et altre assai commissioni di fra Giulio di Capodistria. L'anno 1559 fui fatto commissario nella provincia di S. Antonio, tenni il capitolo a Bassano, e fu eletto ministro mro Cornelio Vencso. L'anno 1560 fui fatto inquisitor apostolico in tutto il dominio Veneto, e dell' istesso anno fui fatto teologo assistente alla inquisitione di Roma il dì 16 Luglio 1560.

"Nel capitolo generale di Brescia 1556 fui eletto promotor a magisterii con l'Andria e con mro Gio-

vanni da Bergamo, et otto baccalauri da noi promossi furon dottorati dal revmo generale mro Giulio da Piacenza, cioè Antonio da Montalcino, Ottaviano da Ravenna, Bonaventura da Gabiano, Mare Antonio da Lugo, Ottaviano da Napoli, Antonio Panzetta da Padova, Ottaviano da Padova, Martiale Calabrese. Otto altri promossi ma non adottorati da s. p. rina : Francesco da Sonnino, Antonio da Urbino, Nicolò da Montefalco, Jacobo Appugliese, Antonio Bolletta da Firenze, Constantino da Crema, il Piemontese et il Siciliano. In però con l'autorità di un cavalier di S. Pietro da Brescia addottorai Antonio da Urbino, il Piemontese e Constantino da Crema. Di Maggio 1558 con l'autorità del cavalier Centani addottorai in Venezia fra Paolo da S. Leo, frate Andrea d'Arimino, Giammatteo da Sassocorbaro e fra Tironino da Lunano, tutti miei discepoli."

[In the name of God, on Wednesday, the first of September, 1540, I entered on my studies in Ferrara, and finished by triennium there under the Rev. Master Bartolomeo dalla Pergola. In 43, the chapter having been held in Ancona, I went to study in Bologna under the Rev. Master Giovanni da Correggio : I entered Bologna on the day of St. James the elder in July, and remained there till the end of September, 44, when the examiner sent me as convent bachelor to Rimini with the very reverend regent Master Antonio, of the city of Penna, and there I completed my time till the chapter of Venice in 46. After the chapter I went convent bachelor to Siena with Master Alexandro da Montefalco, and there finished my triennium at the chapter d'Assisi in 49. But the examiner granted me a master's license on the 22nd of July, 48, and four days after I took the degree of doctor at Fermo. In the chapter general of Assisi I was made regent of Siena in 1549, and finished my triennium there, Monsieur Gia Jacobo da Montefalco being general. At Naples : at the chapter general of Genoa, I was made regent of Naples in 1553 by the very reverend general Master Giulio da Piacenza, and there completed the triennium. At Venice : in the chapter general of Brescia, 1550, I was made regent of Venice, and there ended the triennium ; and in the first year of my regency, on the 17th of January, 1557, I was elected inquisitor through the whole of the most illustrious dominion. In the chapter general of Assisi, 1559, Monsieur Giovan Antonio da Cervia being elected general, I was confirmed regent and inquisitor in Venice as before. Upon the death of pope Paul IV. in the August of the same year, I set out from Venice to visit my friends at Montalto, apostolic inquisitor : alarmed by violent disturbances ; on the 22nd of February, 1560, I entered into office by virtue of a brief from pope Paul IV., and remained in it all June, till I was called to Rome : on the 18th of July, 1560, I was made assistant theologian to the inquisition of Rome, and was sworn into office by cardinal Alessandrino.

(Preachings.) I preached in the year 1540, I had not yet celebrated mass, in Montepagano, in the terra di Abruzzo. In the year 1541 I preached at Voghiera, a city of Ferrara, while I was a student in Ferrara. In 1542 I preached in Grignano, a town of the Polesine di Rovigo, and was studying in Ferrara. In the year 1543 I preached to the brotherhood of Badenara (Diedo and Manfrone were living), and studied in Ferrara. In the year

1544 I preached at Canda, a town of Badia, and studied in Bologna. In the year 1545 I preached the festival sermons in Rimini in our convent, because the master of the college of Bologna pre-occupied there the pulpit of Monte Scutolo, and I was convent bachelor in Rimini. In the year 1546 I preached at Macerata di Montefeltro, and was convent bachelor in Rimini. In the year 1547 I preached at St. Geminiano in Tuscany, and was convent bachelor at Siena. In the year 1548 I preached at St. Miniato at Tedesco in Tuscany, and was bachelor of Siena. In 1549 I preached in Ascoli della Marca, having left Siena on the entrance of the Spaniards introduced by Don Diego Mendozza. In 1550 I preached at Fano, and was regent in Siena. In 1551 I preached in the cathedral of Camerino, being conducted by the most reverend bishop, and was regent in Siena. In 1552 I preached in Rome in S. Apostoli, and three most illustrious cardinals entertained me in Rome, and I read thrice every week the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. In 1553 I preached in Genoa, and there the chapter general was held, and I went as regent to Naples. In 1554 I preached in Naples in S. Lorenzo, and was regent there, and read all the year through the gospel of St. John in the church. In the year 1555 I preached in the cathedral of Perugia, at the instance of cardinal della Corgna. In 1556 I was called to Rome to the general council, which his holiness pope Paul IV. now began, but I did not preach. In 1557 I was elected inquisitor of Venice and the dominion ; and as I had to sit three days in the week on the tribunal, I did not usually preach but 3 (?) days of the week in S. Caterina, in Venice. In 1558 I preached at S. Apostoli in Venice, and four days in the week at S. Caterina, while I still discharged the office of inquisitor of the holy inquisition. In 1560, returning to Venice with his holiness's brief, I remained there inquisitor, and preached alone in S. Caterina as before.

(Commissions.) In 1548 I had from the most reverend Mre Bartolomeo da Macerata, minister of la Marca, a commission to Fermo, to liberate from the vice-legat's prison fra Leonarda della Repa : I liberated him and conducted him to Macerata. In 1549 I had from the aforesaid reverend father commissions in all the custody of Ascoli from Feb. to Easter. The same year I had from the same a commission to the convent of Fabriano, and there I replaced frate Evangelista of that place. In 1550, I had from the same father commissions in Senegaglia : I replaced fra Nicolò in the house, and inspected his accounts. In 1551, I had a commission from the most reverend father-general Mre Gia Jacobo da Montefalco to visit all the district of Montefeltro, Cagli, and Urbino. In 1552, I had from the most illustrious cardinal-protector commissions respecting a suit pending between the guardian, fra Tommaso da Piacenza, and one fra Francesco da Orsimo, who had cooked in S. Apostolo. The same year I had a commission from the most reverend father-general Mre Giulio da Piacenza to the convent of Fermo, and I deprived Master Dominico da Montesanto of the guardianship, and inspected the accounts of the procurator fra Ludovico Pontano, and banished from the province fra Ciccone da Monte dell' Olmo for having inflicted wounds on fra Tommaso of that place. In 1555, I had from the aforesaid most reverend

general a commission to go into Calabria to act as minister, because he expected to die; but as by God's mercy he lived I did not go. In 1557, I had a commission respecting Gattolino di Capodistria, respecting Garzoneo da Veglia and various other commissions of fra Giulio di Capodistria. In 1559, I was made commissioner in the province of S. Antonio, I held the chapter in Bassano, and M<sup>re</sup> Cornelio Veneso was elected minister. In 1560, I was made apostolic inquisitor in all the Venetian dominions, and the same year was appointed assistant theologian to the inquisition of Rome the 16th of July, 1560.

In the chapter-general of Brescia, 1556, I was elected promoter to masterships with P<sup>re</sup> Andria and with Master Giovanni da Bergamo, and eight bachelors promoted by us were received doctors by the most reverend general-master Giulio da Piacenza, that is to say, Antonio da Montaleino, Ottaviano da Ravenna, Bonaventura da Gabiano, Marc Antonio da Lugo, Ottaviano da Napoli, Antonio Panzetta da Padova, Ottaviano da Padova, Martiale Calabrese. Eight others promoted but not received doctors: Francesco da Sonmino, Antonio da Urbino, Nicolo da Montefalco, Jacobo Appugliese, Antonio Boletta da Firenze, Constantino da Crema, il Piemontese, and il Sicolino. But I, by the authority of a knight of S. Pietro da Brescia, admitted doctors Antonio da Urbino, il Piemontese, and Constantino da Crema. In May, 1558, by the authority of the knight Centani, I admitted doctors in Venice fra Paolo da S. Leone, frate Andrea d'Arimino, Giammatteo da Sassocorbaro, and fra Tironino da Lunano, all my pupils.]

50. *De vita Sixti V ipsius manu emendata.*—*Bibl. Altieri.* 57 leaves. [Life of Sixtus V. corrected by himself.]

Only a copy, indeed, but the mistakes of the original writer and the pope's corrections are faithfully transcribed. The emendations are seen over words run through with the pen.

He begins with the poverty of this pope's parents, who earned their bread "alieni parvique agri cultura;" he extols in particular, above all the rest of the family, Signora Camilla, who, at least at the time he wrote, was very moderate in her pretensions: "que ita se intra modestie atque humilitatis sue fines continuit semper, ut ex summa et celsissima fortuna fratris, præter innocentie atque frugalitatis famam et in relictis sibi a familia nepotibus pie ac liberaliter educandis diligentie laudem, nihil magnopere eppisse dici possit" [who always so contained herself within the bounds of her natural modesty and humility, that except the renown of innocence and frugality, and the credit acquired by her diligence in piously and liberally educating the nephews left to her care, she cannot be said to have derived any extraordinary advantage from her brother's pre-eminently exalted fortune]. He describes the education of Sixtus, his rise, and the first period of his administration. He is particularly remarkable for crying up the Christian principle prevailing in the architecture of Rome.

This little work must have been composed about the year 1587. It was the author's intention to describe also the succeeding periods. "Tum dicentur nobis plenius, cum acta ejus (Sixti) majori parata ordine prodero memorie experiemur. Quod

et facturi pro viribus nostris, si vita suppetet, omni conatu sumus; et ipse ingentia animo complexus nec ulla mediocri contentus gloria uberem ingenii materiam præbitorus egregie de se condendi volumina videtur." [We shall speak of these more fully when we shall attempt to relate his acts in their grander development. This it is our purpose most earnestly to essay with all our power, if life be granted us; whilst it seems probable from the magnificence of his conceptions, and his disdain of all but the loftiest glory, that he will afford rich materials for many a splendid volume.]

The most important question touching the MS. before us, is whether it was actually revised by Sixtus.

Tempesti, who was not acquainted with the copy in the Altieri library, possessed a little work which was recommended to him as composed by Graziani and revised by pope Sixtus. He makes some objections against it, which may possibly be well-founded. It is not, however, identical with our work. Tempesti among other things points out the fact (p. xxx.) that Graziani makes the pope begin his first procession from S. Apostoli, whereas it set out from Araceli. Truly this is such a mistake as would be more likely to be overlooked by a man who had become pope, and who had the affairs of this world on his shoulders, than by the padre Maestro Tempesti. But it does not exist in our Vita, where it is stated quite correctly: "Verum ut acceptum divinitus honorem ab ipso deo exordiretur, ante omnia supplicationes decrevit, quas ipse cum patribus et frequente populo pedibus eximia cum religione obivit a templo Franciscanorum ad S. Marianum Majorem." [But that he might begin from God himself the honour divinely imparted to him, he appointed in the very first place solemn prayers, to offer which he proceeded most piously on foot with the fathers and a great concourse of people from the church of the Franciscans to S. Mary the elder.]

We have besides a positive evidence for the authenticity of our little work. Another biographer—the next of those we shall mention—states, that Sixtus had remarked in the margin of certain commentaries, "sororum alteram tenera ætate decessisse" [that another sister died in childhood]. This very thing we find to have been done in our work. The first author had written, "Quarum altera nupsit, ex eujus filia Silvestrii profluxisse dicuntur, quos adnumerat suis pontifex, &c." Sixtus struck this and some more out, and wrote, "Quarum altera ætate adhuc tenera decessit."

The second biographer says further: "In illis commentariis ab ipso Sixto, qui ea recognovit, adscriptum reperi, Sixti matrem Marianam non quidem ante conceptum sed paulo ante editum filium de futura ejus magnitudine divinitus fuisse monitam." [I find it stated by Sixtus himself, in those commentaries which he revised, that his mother Mariana, not indeed before her conception, but shortly before the birth of her son, had his future greatness foretold her from heaven.] This also we find in our MS. The author had said that the prediction was received by Peretto in a dream: "nasciturum sibi filium qui aliquando ad summam esset dignitates perventurus." The word father is struck out, and instead of it is inserted: "Ejus uxor partui vicina." [His wife near her delivery.]

Our MS. thus acquires great authenticity; it

connects itself directly with that autograph of the pope which we have mentioned. It would well deserve to be printed in a separate form.

51. *Sixtus V. Pontifex Maximus Bibl. Altieri. 80 leaves.*

The same work by which we were just now enabled to prove the authenticity of the foregoing. I do not find that it was known to Tempesti or any other writer.

The author wrote after the death of Sixtus. Already he complains that his memory was disfigured by many fabulous tales. Sixtus V., he begins, "memorie quibusdam grate, aliquibus invise, omnibus magnæ, cum cura nobis et sine ambitu dicitur: curam expectatio multorum acuit, ambitione senectus nobis imminens præcidit." [The life of Sixtus V., of memory dear to some, hateful to others, great in the estimation of all, shall be related by us carefully and without truckling; the expectation of numbers stimulates our carefulness, (although the MS. was never printed) and impending age cuts off from us all motive for truckling.]

He considers his subject of great importance: "Vix aut rerum moles major aut majoris animi pontifex ullo unquam tempore concurrunt." [Hardly any times have presented events of more vast magnitude, or a pope of grander mind.]

In the first part of his little work he details the entire life of Sixtus V. up to his accession to the papal throne. His authorities were the biographers above mentioned, letters of Sixtus which he frequently cites, and oral communications from cardinal Paleotto, or from one of the pope's confidential domestics named Capeletto. Many notable particulars are mentioned by him.

Chap. I. "Sixti genus, parentes, patria."—Here we have the strange story that Sixtus in his youth wished to be called Crinitus [long or thick-haired], and that he even went by that name for a while in the convent. The meaning he attached to the word was that of a comet, and he chose it in consideration of his hopes of fortune, "propter speratam semper ab se ob ea que mox exsequar portenta nominis et loci claritatem." This is what is alluded to by the star in his armorial bearings. This is certainly no comet. He himself told Paleotto that the pears in his arms designated his father (Peretti), the mountains his native country: the lion carrying the pears was typical at once of magnanimity and beneficence.

II. "Ortus Sixti divinitus ejusque futura magnitudo prænunciatur."—Sixtus himself relates that one night his father heard a voice crying unto him, "Vade, age, Perette, uxori jungere: paritura enim tibi filium est, cui Felicis nomen impones: is enim mortalium olim maximus est futurus." [Up! Peretti, go seek thy wife: for she will bear thee a son, to whom thou shalt give the name of Felix: for he will one day be the greatest of mortals.] A queer sort of fellow this Peretti must have been. His wife was then in the service of the Diana before mentioned in the town. At the instigation of the prophetic voice he stole to her through the fogs of night; for he durst not show himself by day for fear of his creditors.—Singular origin! At a later period Peretti formally reassured his creditors on the strength of his son's luck. He used to say, when he had the child in his arms, that he was

carrying a pope, and he would offer the little foot to his neighbours to kiss.

III. "Nomen."—Peretto said, when objections were made to him against the name of Felix: "Baptismo potius quam Felicis nomine carebit:" [Sooner shall he go without baptism than not be called Felix.] The child's bed once caught fire, from a light left near it: his mother, running to extinguish the flames, found the child unhurt and laughing. Somewhat as it happened to the child of Servius Tullius' female slave,—his future greatness was foretold by the flame that played round his head. After so many centuries, the miracle, or the belief in it, was repeated.

IV. "Studia."—He was not fond of hearing it said that he had tended swine; and he forbade the continuance of the above mentioned commentaries because the fact was stated in them. This chapter relates his first rapid progress in his studies, and how he gave his schoolmaster too much work for his five bajocchi. "Vix mensem alterum operam magistro dederat, cum ille Perettum adit, stare se conventis posse negans: tam enim multa Felicem supra reliquorum captum et morem discere ut sibi, multo plus in uno illo quam in ceteris institutendis omnibus laboranti, non expedit maximam operam minima omnium mercede consumere." [He had hardly attended the schoolmaster two months, when the latter went to Peretti, and told him he could not abide by the terms agreed on: for Felix learned so many things beyond the capacity of the other boys, and out of the usual course, that he gave him more to do than did all his other scholars together; it was not right, therefore, that where he, the teacher, had the most labour, he should have the least pay.] Felix was rather hardly treated by fra Salvatore. He had many a blow because he did not set his meat before him properly. The poor child used to stand on tiptoe, but he was so small that even thus he could hardly reach the top of the table.

V. Monastic life.—What we have related respecting his manner of studying and the disputation at Assisi. The first fame of his preaching. On his journey he was stopped at Belforte, and not allowed to depart till he had thrice preached to an enormous concourse of people.

VI. "Montalti cum Ghislerio Alexandrino jungende familiaritatis occasio."

VII. "Per magnam multorum invidiam ad magnos multosque honores evadit." [In spite of many and vehement enemies, he arrives at great and numerous honours.] He had much to endure, in Venice particularly, where he carried out the printing of the Index.—He was once forced to retire from the city, and was in doubt whether he should return. Cardinal Carpi, his patron ever since the disputation of Assisi, gave the Venetian Franciscans to understand, that if Montalto was not suffered to remain in Venice, not a man of them should stay there. Notwithstanding this, he could not keep his ground in the city. The brethren of his order accused him before the Council of Ten of sowing sedition in the republic, inasmuch as he would not give absolution to those who were in possession of forbidden books (qui damnatos libros domi retineant). He was obliged to go back to Rome, where he became consultor to the Inquisition.

VIII. "Romane inquisitionis consultor, sui

ordinis procurator, inter theologos congregationis Tridentini concilii adscribitur." [Consultor to the Roman inquisition, proctor of his order, he is enrolled among the theologians of the congregation of the council of Trent.]—By the Franciscans of Rome, too, Montalto was received only upon the express recommendation of cardinal Carpi, who sent him his meals. He supported him in every post, and on his death-bed recommended him to cardinal Ghislieri.

IX. "Iter in Hispaniam." [Journey to Spain.]—He accompanied Buoncompagno, afterwards Gregory XIII. Even then there was but a bad understanding between them. Montalto was sometimes obliged to travel in the baggage-wagon. "Accedit nonnunquam ut quasi per injuriam aut necessitatem jumento destitutus vehiculis quibus impedimenta comportabantur deferri necesse fuerit." Many other slights were added to this.

X. "Post honorifice delatum episcopatum per iniquorum hominum calumnias cardinalatus Montalto maturatur." [After an honourable discharge of the duties of his bishopric, Montalto's advancement to the rank of cardinal was hastened by the calumnies of wicked men.]—The nephew of Pius V. was also against him, "alium veterem contubernalem evehendi cupidus" [desirous of promoting some old tavern companion of his]. Among other things it was told the pope that four carefully closed chests had been seen carried into Montalto's chamber, where he lived in gross luxury and splendour. Pius went himself unexpectedly to the convent. He saw bare walls, and asked at last what was in the chests, which were still there. "Books, holy father," said Montalto, "which I intend to take with me to S. Agatha,"—that was his bishopric,—and he opened one of them. Pius was highly pleased, and shortly after nominated him a cardinal.

XI. "Montalti dum cardinalis fuit vita et mores." [The life and habits of Montalto while he was a cardinal.]—Gregory withdrew his pension, which was very ominous of his future pontificate. "Levis enim aulicorum quorundam superstitione diu credidit, pontificum animis occultam quandam in futuros successores obtreccationem insidere." [For there has long been an idle superstition held by some persons about the court, that a certain secret aversion creeps into the minds of the popes against those who will one day succeed them.]

XII. "Francisci Peretti cædes incredibili animi requitate tolerata."

XIII. "Pontifex M. magna patrum consensione declaratur."

Then follows the second part.

"Hactenus Sixti vitam per tempora digessimus: jam hinc per species rerum et capita, ut justa hominis æstimatione cuique in promptu sit, exequar." [Hitherto we have treated of the life of Sixtus in the order of time; henceforth I will arrange his actions under general heads, so as to afford a ready means of forming a just estimate of the man.]

There exist, however, only three chapters of this part: "Gratia in beneficis;—pietas in Franciscanorum ordinem;—publica securitas."

The last is by far the most important, on account of the description of the times of Gregory, and since I did not make a complete transcript of it, I will at least give an extract.

"Initio quidem nonnisi qui ob cædes et latrocinia proscripti erant, ut vin magistratum effugerent, genus hoc vitæ instituerant ut aqua et igne prohibiti latebris silvarum conditi avisiue montium ferarum ritu vagantes miseram anxiamque vitam furtis propemodum necessariis sustentarent. Verum ubi rapine dulcedo et impunitæ nequitiæ spes alios atque alios extrema improbitatis homines eodem expulit, cepit quasi legitimum aliquod vel mercimoniæ vel artificii genus latrocinium frequentari. Itaque certis sub ducibus, quos facinora et sævitia nobilitassent, societates proscriptorum et sicariorum ad vin, cædes, latrocinia coibant. Eorum duces ex audacia vel scelere singulos æstimabant: facinorosissimæ et sævissimæ ausi maxime extollebantur ac decurionum centurionumque nominibus militari prope more donabantur. Illi agros et itinera non jam vago maleficio sed justo pene imperio infesta habebant. . . .

Denique operam ad eadem inimicorum, stupra virginum et alia a quibus mens refugit, factionis hominibus et scelere alieno ad suam exaturandam libidinem egentibus presente pretio leare: coque res jam devenerat ut nemo se impune peccare posse crederet nisi cui proscriptorum aliquis et exulum periculum præstaret. His fiebat rebus ut non modo improbi ad scelera, verum etiam minime mali homines ad incoliuitatem ejusmodi feras bestias sibi necessarias putarent. . . . Id proceribus et principibus viris perpetuo palam usurpanti. . . .

Et vero graves Jacobo Buoncompagno susceptæ cum primariis viris inimiciæ ob violatam suarum sedium immunitatem diu fortunam concussere. Procerum plerique, sive quos res alienum exhauserat, sive quorum ambitio et luxus supra opes erat, sive quos odia et ulciscendi libido ad cruenta consilia rejecerant, non modo patrociniū latronum susceperunt, sed fœdus cum illis certis conditionibus sancire ut operam illi ad eadem locarent mercede impunitatis et perfugii. Quum quo quisque sicariorum patrono uretur notum esset, si cui quid surreptum aut per vim ablatum foret, ad patronum deprecato rem confugiebatur, qui sequestrum simulans, utrinque raptor, tum prædæ partem a sicariis tum operæ mercedem a supplicibus, aliquando recusantis specie, quod sævissimum est rapinæ genus, extorquebat. Nec defuere qui ultro adversus mercatores atque pecuniosos eorumque filios, agros etiam et bona ex destinato immitterent, iisque deinde redimendis ad seque confugientibus operam venderent, easum adeo miserantes ut ex animo misereri credi possent. . . . Lites sicariorum arbitrio privatis intendebantur, summittebantur vi adacti testes, metu alii a testimonio dicendo detrahebantur. . . . Per urbes factiones exoriri, distincte coma et capillitia, ut hi in levam, illi in dexteram partem vel villos alerent comarum vel comam a fronte demitterent. Multi, ut fidem partium alicui addictam firmarent, uxores necabant, ut filias, sorores, affines eorum inter quos censi vellent ducerent, alii consanguinearum viros clam seu palam trucidabant, ut illas iis quos in suas partes adlegerant collocarent. Vulgare ea tempestate fuit ut cuique sive forma seu opes mulieris ejuscunque placuissent, cum procerum aliquo interpretæ vel invitæ cognatis uxorem duceret: neque raro accidit ut prædivites nobilesque homines exulum alijctissimis et rapto viventibus grandi cum dote filias collocare vel earum indotatas filias ipsi sibi jussu matrimonio jungere cogerentur.



... Sceleratissimi homines tribunalia constituere, forum indicere, judicia exercere, soutes apud se accusare, testibus urgere, tormentis veritatem extorquere, denique solenni formula damnare: alios vero a legitimis magistratibus in vincula conjectos, causa per prœorem (procuratorem) apud se dicta, absolvere, eorum accusatores ac iudices poena talionis condemnare. Coram damnatos præsens poena sequebatur: si quid statutum in absentes foret, tantisper mora erat dum sceleris ministri interdum cum mandatis perscriptis ritoque obsignatis circummitterentur, qui per veram vim agerent quod legum ludibrio agebatur. . . . Dominos et reges se cuius collibuisse provincie, ne sollemnibus quidem inaugurationum parcentes, dixerunt multi et scripsere. . . . Non semel sacra suppellectile e templis direpta, augustissimam et sacratissimam eucharistiam in silvas ac latibula asportarunt, qua ad magica flagitia et execramenta abuterentur. . . . Multitudo Gregoriani imperii malum in pejus convertit. Sicariorum multitudo infinita, quæ facile ex rapto cupiditatibus conviventium vel in speciem tantum irascientium ministrorum largitiones sufficeret. Publica fide securitas vel petentibus concessa vel sponte ablata: arcibus, oppidis, militibus præferebantur. Eos, velut ab egregio facinore reduces, multitudo, quocumque irent, spectando effusa mirabatur, laudabat. . . ."

[Originally, indeed, none but those who were proscribed for murder and robbery adopted this kind of life, to escape from the hands of justice; forbidden fire and water, lurking in the shades of the forests, prowling like wild beasts in the mountain wildernesses, and sustaining a miserable and anxious existence by almost necessary thefts. But when, by and by, numbers of depraved men were allured to the same course by the lust of rapine and the hope of impunity, highway robbery began to be followed as though it were a legitimate profession or trade. Thus companies of bandits and assassins combined for purposes of violence, bloodshed, and plunder, under leaders noted for their crimes and cruelty. By these leaders their followers were esteemed in proportion to their several degrees of daring or guilt; the most criminal, and those who had perpetrated the greatest atrocities, were held in the highest honour, and endowed with titles of command almost in military style. They infested the rural districts and the roads, not as mere desultory marauders, but almost as regular conquerors. . . . Finally, they hired out their services for the assassination of enemies, the pollution of virgins, and other loathsome iniquities, which they were ready to perform for a sum in hand on behalf of those whose villainy needed the help of desperate hands: and things had come to such a pass, that no one thought he could transgress the law with impunity unless he had the protection of some of the outlaws. The consequence was, that such savage beasts were thought necessary,—not merely by bad men, as agents of their crimes, but even by men by no means depraved,—as guardians and defenders. . . . This became an open and established custom with the nobles. . . . Giacompo Buoncompagno was long harassed by the violent hostilities he brought upon himself at the hands of great men, the immunities of whose houses he had violated. Numbers of the nobility,—such as were laden with debt, or whose ambition

and luxury went beyond their means, or who were driven to deeds of bloodshed by their feuds and their vengeful passions,—not only became the patrons of banditti, but entered into regular compacts with them, bargaining that they should do murder for them in consideration of impunity and shelter. When it was known who was the special patron of the several outlaws, those who had been pilfered or openly robbed, addressed themselves to the patron, who, pretending to interest himself for the injured party, became doubly a plunderer, receiving a part of the booty from the robbers, and extorting a fee for his pains from those who besought his aid; the cruellest of all forms of plunder, sometimes made still more atrocious by a hypocritical show of refusal. Some there were even who, after preconcerting attacks on merchants and men of wealth, their sons, their estates and their goods, made a profit of their services in negotiating a ransom, affecting all the while such pity for the sufferers, one would have thought they sympathized with them in their hearts. . . . Lawsuits were brought against individuals, the decision of which lay with banditti; witnesses were brought forward and compelled to swear what was dictated to them; others were terrified from appearing. . . . Factions arose in the cities, distinguished by their head-dresses and way of wearing the hair, whether combed to the right side or the left, whether gathered up into knots or let fall down in front. Many, to prove themselves staunch to the party they had adopted, killed their wives that they might marry the daughters, sisters, or kinswomen of those among whom they wished to be enrolled; others murdered the husbands of their female relations privately or openly, that they might have them united to members of their own faction. It was a common thing at that period for a man to procure for his wife, through the instrumentality of some nobleman, any woman whose beauty or wealth attracted him, even in opposition to the wishes of his family; nor did it seldom happen that men of great wealth and high birth were obliged to give their daughters in marriage with large dowries to the lowest outlaws and thieves, or themselves to take in marriage the penniless daughters of those miscreants. The worst criminals constituted themselves judges, held courts, heard pleadings, summoned accused parties before them, called witnesses against them, put them to the torture, and finally passed sentence on them in judicial form: on the other hand they would try by attorney persons committed to prison by the lawful magistrates, acquit them, and sentence their judges and accusers to punishment according to the *lex talionis*. Sentence was forthwith executed upon such as were tried in person; whatever was decreed against absent parties suffered no longer delay than was necessary for sending out the ministers of crime with warrants duly made out and sealed, to finish the legal farce with tragic reality. . . .

Many called and subscribed themselves lords and kings of such and such provinces, not even omitting the ceremonies of inauguration. . . . Upon more than one occasion they carried the holy utensils plundered from the churches, and the most revered and sacred eucharist into the forests and caves, to desecrate them to the use of magical abominations. . . . The weakness of Gregory's government aggravated the mischief. The immense numbers of the

bandits contributed too tempting an amount of bribes to the public servants who connived at their doings, or only made a show of discountenancing them. Amnesty was granted to some and assumed by others; they were put in command of fortresses, towns, and soldiers. Wherever they went they were extolled by admiring crowds, like men returning from the achievement of some grand exploit.]

52. *Memorie del pontificato di Sisto V.*—Altieri xiv. a iv. fol. 480 leaves. [Memoirs of the Pontificate of Sixtus V.]

This circumstantial work is not quite new and unknown. Tempesti had a copy of it taken from the archives of the capitol, and names as its author the Anonimo Capitolino.

But Tempesti is highly unjust to the work. He copies from it in numberless places, and yet in the general judgment pronounced at the beginning of his book he denies it all credibility.

It is nevertheless unquestionably the best work on the history of Sixtus V.

The author was in possession of the most important documents. This is self-evident from his narrative: he also says as much himself (e. g. as to German affairs): "mi risolvo di narrar minutamente quanto ne trovo in lettere e relationi autentiche."

He gives the most exact information respecting the financial measures of Sixtus V., going through them one by one. Yet he goes to work with much discretion in this matter. "Gli venivano," he says, "proposte inventioni stravagantissime ed horrende, ma tutte sotto faccia molto humana di raccor danari, le quali per esser tali non ardisco di metter in carta tutte, ma sole alcune poche vedute da me nelle lettere originali degl' inventori." [The most extravagant and startling devices were proposed to him, but all under the very plausible pretext of raising money: such being their character, I do not venture to commit them all to paper, but only some few of them which I have seen detailed in the original letters of the inventors.]

He had written a life of Gregory XIII. which may have been the reason that he was taken for Maffei, though in other respects I can find no grounds for identifying him with that Jesuit.

It is a pity that this work is but a fragment. The earlier events are wanting from the beginning. They had been written, but the work, at least our MS. copy, breaks off in the middle of a sentence. The measures of the first years of the pope's reign are next gone through, but the author gets no further than 1587.

We might put up with the first deficiency, since we have so much other and good information; but the want of the latter part of the work is very sorely felt. It is a kind of European history, which the author compiled from really trustworthy accounts. No doubt we should have had from him much valuable intelligence respecting the year 1588, the *annus obumbraticus* of the world.

Observe how rationally he expresses himself in the beginning of his work.

"Non ho lasciata via per cui potessi trar lume di vero che non abbia con molta diligenza et arte apertami et indefessamente camminata, come si

vedrà nel racconto che faccio delle scritture e relationi delle quali mi son servito nella tessitura di questa istoria. Prego dio, autore e padre d'ogni verità, sicome mi ha dato ferma volontà di non dir mai bugia per ingannare, così mi conceda lume di non dir mai il falso con essere ingannato." [There was no way by which I could come at the light of truth that I failed to enter upon with much diligence and scrutiny, and to pursue indefatigably, as will be seen from the account I give of the writings and reports of which I have made use in the texture of this history. I pray God, the Author and Father of all truth, that as He has given me the determined desire never to set down a lie with a view to deceive others, so in like manner He may grant me light never to say what is false through being myself deceived.]

A prayer quite worthy of a historian.

He concludes at the election of cardinals in 1587 with the words: "E le speranze spesso contrarie alle proprie apparenze."

I have adopted a great number of his statements after comparing them with other authorities: to set down what may yet remain would lead too far for the compass of this work.

53. *Sisti V Pontificis Maximì cita a Guido Gualterio Sangenesino descripta.* MS. der Bibl. Altieri VIII. F. 1. 54 leaves. [Life of pope Sixtus V. by Guido Gualterio Sangenesino.]

Tempesti speaks of a diary relating to the times of Sixtus V. by an author of this name. He is the same who wrote the biography before us, in which he mentions the former work. He was specially rewarded by Sixtus for his exertions.

The copy in the Altieri palace is very authentic and perhaps unique. It contains annotations in the author's own hand. He says in it, "Me puero cum in patria mea Sangeno," &c., so that there can be no doubt.

He wrote it shortly after the death of Sixtus, in the beginning of the reign of Clement VIII. whom he often alludes to. He mentions that the news of Henry IV.'s conversion to catholicism had just arrived as he wrote, so that we may confidently assign the composition of the work to the year 1593.

The author is particularly worthy of credit. He was intimately connected with the Peretti family: Maria Felice, the daughter of Signora Camilla, was brought up in Sangeno; the author's wife was her familiar friend; he himself was intimately acquainted with Antonio Bosio, the secretary of cardinal Carpi, Montalto's first patron: "summa mihi cum eo necessitudo intercedebat."

Accordingly his information respecting the earlier circumstances of the pope's life is particularly good.

He devotes to them the first part of his book.

He acquaints us how fra Felice first became known to Paul IV. When a minorite church in the March took fire, the host escaped uninjured. Some special circumstances must have been connected with the fact; at any rate a grand consultation was held on the subject, at which were present the cardinal inquisitors, the generals of orders, and many other prelates. Cardinal Carpi brought Montalto with him, and insisted upon it that his favourite should also be allowed to state his opinion.

Montalto gave one that every body thought the best: Carpi left the assembly in great satisfaction. "In ejus sententiam ab omnibus item est. Surgens cardinalis Carpensis dixit: Probe noram quem virum huc adduxissem."

The account of his Aristotelian labours is interesting.

The edition of Posius, who was in fact a pupil of Montalto's, is directly ascribed by Gualterius to the latter. "Aristotelis Averroisique opera ex pluribus antiquis bibliothecis exemplaria nactus emendavit, expurgavit, aptoque ordine in tomos, ut vocant, undecim digessit. Mediam et magnam Averrois in libros posteriore expositionem apta distributione Aristotelis textui accommodavit: mediam Averrois expositionem in 7 metaphysicorum libros invenit, exposuit, ejusdem Averrois epitomata quesita et epistolas suis restituit locis, solutionibus contradictionum a doctissimo Zunara editis contum addidit." [Having procured copies of Aristotle and Averrhoes in several ancient libraries, he amended their text, and arranged the works in due order in eleven volumes. He fitly adapted the commentary of Averrhoes to the text of Aristotle: he discovered the commentary of Averrhoes on seven books of metaphysics, edited them, and restored to their places the epitomata quesita and the epistles of the said Averrhoes; and he added one hundred solutions of contradictions to those published by the very learned Zunara, in which the contradictions between Aristotle and Averrhoes were reconciled.

He then paints the character of his hero. "Magnanimus dignoscebat, ad iram tamen pronus. Somni potens: cibi parvissimus: in otio nunquam visus nisi aut de studiis aut de negotiis meditans." [Magnanimous, but prone to anger. Not a slave to sleep: very frugal in food: he was never seen to pass a leisure moment unoccupied with thoughts of study or business.]

So he arrives at the conclave. Thereupon he begins to describe the acts of Sixtus under the categories of his several virtues: "Religio, Pietas, Justitia, Fortitudo, Magnificentia, Providentia."

Singular as is this classification, we nevertheless meet with many fine passages as we proceed.

Gualterius labours earnestly to defend the pope from the accusations made against him on account of his taxes. But let us hear how he does it. "Imprimis ignorare videntur, pontificem Romanum non in nostras solum facultates sed in nos etiam ipsos imperium habere." [In the first place they seemed not to know that the pope of Rome's sovereign authority extends not only over our means but over our very selves.] What would the present age say to such a doctrine of political rights?

He devotes his attention particularly to the architectural works of Sixtus, and is very interesting in his remarks on the subject.

He describes the condition of the old Lateran. "Erat aula permagna quam concilii aulam vocabant; erant porticus tractusque cum sacellis nonnullis et cubiculis ab aula usque ad S. Sabæ quam S. Salvatoris capellam vocant. Erant s. scalarum gradus et porticus vetustissima e qua veteres pontifices, qui Lateranum incolebant, populo benedicebant. Ades illæ veteres maxima populi veneratione celebrari solebant, cum in illis non pauca monumenta esse crederentur Hierosolymis usque deportata. Sed fortasse res in superstitionem

abierat: itaque Sixtus, justis de causis ut credere par est, servatis quibusdam probatoribus monumentis, sanctis scilicet alio translatis, omnia demolitus est." [There was a very large hall called the hall of the council (no doubt on account of the Lateran councils down to the time of Leo X.): there were porticoes and galleries with some shrines and cells from the hall to the chapel of S. Saba, called the chapel of S. Salvatore. There were steps of holy stairs and a very ancient portico from which the pontiffs of old, who inhabited the Lateran, used to bless the people. This ancient edifice used to be held in the highest veneration by the people, since it contained no few monumental relics supposed to have been brought from Jerusalem. Possibly, however, the matter had degenerated into superstition; Sixtus, therefore, upon good grounds, as we are bound to believe, preserving the more authentic monuments, and transferring the holy stairs elsewhere, destroyed all the rest.]

The author, we see, submits, but he feels the wrong.

His description of St. Peter's as it then stood (1593) is no less remarkable.

"In Vaticano tholum maximum tholosque minores atque adeo sacellum majus quod majorem capellam vocant aliaque minora sacella et edificationem totam novi templi Petro Apostolo dicati penitus absolvit. At plumbeis tegere laminis, ornamentaque que animo destinarat adhibere, templique pavimenta sternere non potuit, morte sublatus. At que supersunt Clemens VIII persequutus perfecturusque creditur, qui tholum ipsum plumbeis jam contexit laminis, sanctissimæ crucis vexillum teneum inauratum imposuit, templi illius pavimentum jam implevit, æquavit, stravit pulcherrime, totique templo aptando et exornando diligentissimam dat operam: cum vero ex Michaelis Angeli forma erit absolutum, antiquitatem omnem cito superabit." [He completely finished the great roof of the Vatican and the lesser roofs, and likewise the larger chapel, besides other lesser chapels, and the whole building of the new church dedicated to St. Peter the Apostle. But death prevented his covering the roof with lead as he had intended, and laying down the floor of the church. It is believed, however, that Clement VIII. will carry out what is wanting to the completion of the work: he has clothed the dome with lead, raised above it the blessed cross in gilded brass, and filled up, levelled, and very beautifully covered the floor of the church, and he is diligently pursuing the finishing and decoration of the whole edifice: when it shall have been fully executed after the plan of Michael Angelo, its superiority to all the productions of antiquity will be readily admitted.]

There was still, we see, nothing more intended than to carry out Michael Angelo's plan, and it would seem that all had been already actually accomplished (positus absolvit).

We had above a remarkable notice of the colossal statues. I will here add another.

The author is speaking of the piazza on the monte Quirinale. He says of the improvements made there by Sixtus V.: "Ornavit perenni fonte et marmoreis Praxitelis et Phidias equis, quos vestustate cum eorum rectoribus deformatos una cum basi marmorea in pristinam formam concinnavit et

e vetere sede ante Constantini thermas in alteram arceæ partem prope S. Pauli monachorum aedes transtulit." [He adorned the piazza with a perennial fountain, and with the marble horses of Praxiteles and Phidias. The horses and their managers having been disfigured by age, he restored them with their marble bases to their original form, and removed them from their old site opposite the baths of Constantine to another part of the piazza near the monastery of St. Paul.] In the older copies also, one of which is reproduced by Mier (*Geschichte der Kunst*, ii. 299, and copies annexed, plate xv.), the colossal statues appear in a very mutilated form; pretty much as they are described by our Venetians (see page 343). It is manifest they first acquired their present shape under Sixtus V.

54. *Galesini Vita Sixti V. Vatic. 5436. (122 leaves.)*

A MS. with no particular title; the first leaf contains the following dedication.

"Sanctissimo patri Sixto V pontifici maximo, vigilantissimo ecclesie dei pastori, providissimo principi, sapientissimo universæ republice christianæ moderatori et rectori, commentarium hoc de vita rebusque ab eo in singulos annos diesque publice et pontificie actis gestisque distributum ac luculenter scriptum Petrus Galesinus magno et summo benignissimoque patrono singularis in illum pietatis atque observantiæ ergo in perpetuum dicavit."

These words show that it is rather an eulogium, than a biography, we have before us.

The author thinks it worthy of note that Sixtus was the fourth child born to his parents: "sol enim quarto die creatus est;" [for the sun was created on the fourth day:]—and that he was elected pope on the day of the founding of Rome.

The narrative of the pope's earlier years is very fragmentary. It affords another instance in proof that the character of a young man of talents attains its best growth under poverty and rigid discipline. In the Peretti family the mother's rule was severe. "Matris metu, cum aliquid mali se commisisse videret, in omnes partes corporis se excitavit." [Whenever he had committed a fault, he shook in every limb, for fear of his mother.]

His labours in his villa are mentioned. "Opus manu faciebat, ita ut vel hortos coleret, vel arbores sereret, aut aliquæ ratione, instar diligentissimi agricoltæ, egregiæ insitionis opera consereret, interloaret." [He wrought with his hands, cultivating his garden, planting his trees, and practising all the most ingenious arts of the most diligent husbandmen.]

In all the acts of his pontificate, the strict religious spirit to which Sixtus V. surrendered himself was conspicuously displayed, as for instance in his buildings: "ut urbis opera et idolatriæ simulacra, inanis et falsæ gloriolæ insanarumque superstitionum monumenta, adhuc in urbe jam diu nimis inveterata quadam rerum olim Romanarum a christianæ cultu abhorrentium curiositate, . . . . ad christianæ pietatis ornamentum petraheret;" [converting into ornaments of Christian piety the works of the city, and the idolatrous images, monuments of a vain and false glory, and of insane superstitions, hitherto preserved by a too long

inveterate idle admiration of ancient Roman things abhorrent to Christian worship.]

The origin of the Lateran palace. "Pontifex cum vix cubiculum inveniret quo se reciperet, continuo jussit aedes pontificia majestate dignas in Laterano extrui: valde enim absurdum absolumque duxit basilicam Lateranensem, omnium ecclesiarum matrem, proprium pontificis Romani episcopatum, aedes non habere quæ cum tanta episcopatus dignitate convenirent." [The pope finding hardly a chamber to lodge in, immediately ordered a palace to be built on the Lateran worthy of the papal majesty: for he thought it very absurd and inconsistent, that the Lateran basilica, the mother of all the churches, the special episcopate of the Roman pontiff, should not have a palace befitting such high episcopal dignity.]

On the whole, he considers Rome very religious. "Dat magna pietatis et integritatis indicia. Clericorum disciplina fere est ad pristinos sanctissimos mores restituta, ratio divini cultus administratioque sacrarum adium ad probatum veterem morem plane perducta. . . . Ubique in ipsis ecclesiis genuflexiones: ubique in omni fere urbis regione fideles qui sacra illa sexta feria (Good Friday) infinitis verberibus miserandum in modum propria terga ita lacerabant ut sanguis in terram usque deflueret." [It gives great proofs of piety and integrity. The discipline of the clergy is nearly restored to the primitive holy standard; divine worship and the administration of the holy edifices are conducted in full accordance with the ancient approved ways. . . . Everywhere, in the churches themselves, there are genuflexions; everywhere, in almost every quarter of the city, there are numbers of the faithful, who on Good Friday piteously lacerate their own backs with such severe floggings, that the blood runs down to the ground.]

55. *Vita Sixti V anonyma. Vaticana n. 5563.*

Only a few leaves on the youth of Sixtus V. His name Felix is traced to a dream his father had.

56. *Relazione al papa Sisto V. 41 leaves. [Report to Sixtus V.]*

By a member of the curia who did not visit the palace, and who learned no more than was known to every one. It was originally addressed to a friend who wished to be informed respecting the acts of Sixtus, and afterwards to that pope himself.

In works like this, written by ordinary people, who only accidentally step out from among the multitude, it is interesting to observe the general influence exercised by a government on the great body of the public.

In the little work before us,—written throughout in the stricter religious spirit that began to prevail towards the close of the sixteenth century,—we are struck by the powerful impression produced by the transformation of the heathen monuments into Christian.

"Le croci santissime in cima delle guglie e le statue delli prencipi apostolici sopra le colonne sennocellano la memoria delle antiche idolatrie, . . . come anco che la croce posta in mano della statua sopra la torre di Campidoglio significante

Roma ci mostra che hoggi Roma cioè il papa non opra la spada per soggiogare il mondo a guisa d'infideli imperatori Romani ma la croce per salutarlo giorno dell'universo." [The holy crosses on the tops of the obelisks, and the statues of the apostolic leaders upon the columns, cancel the memory of the ancient idolatry. . . . So too the cross placed in the hand of the statue over the torre di Campidoglio, signifying Rome, shows that now-a-days Rome—that is, the pope—does not wield the sword to subjugate the world in the manner of the infidel emperors of Rome, but the cross, for the blessing and light of all mankind.] It is striking how popular were these notions of the spiritual dominion even among people of little consideration. The author denies, further on, that the pope thought of giving himself importance in the eyes of sovereigns by means of his treasure, as some said in order to appear very wise,—“per esser savione;” he had no need of this: his intention was rather to have the means of rewarding obedient princes, and chastising the disobedient. “Col tesoro castigherà i principi ribelli di santa chiesa, et ajuterà i principi obbedienti nelle imprese cattoliche.” He applauds Sixtus for his excommunication of Henry IV. “Subito fatto papa ricorse a dio per ajuto, e poi privò del regno di Navarra quello scellerato re eretico, . . . e con queste armi spirituali principalmente i papi hanno disfatti e fatti imperatori e re.” [Immediately on becoming pope he besought God’s aid, and then deprived that vile heretic king of the kingdom of Navarre, . . . and with these spiritual arms principally the popes have unmade and made emperors and kings.] That priests and monks are to be regarded as the pope’s soldiery, is here for once stated on the catholic side, “Il papa tiene grossi presidii in tutti regni, che sono frati monaci e preti, in tanto numero e così bene stipendiati e provisti in tempo di pace e di guerra. . . . Nelle cose della religione vuole esser patrono solo et assoluto, siccome dio vuole: . . . e beati quei popoli che avranno principi obbedientissimi. . . . Se i principi manterranno il pensiero di trattar le cose delli stati prima con li sacerdoti che con i lor consiglieri secolari, ereditati che manterranno i sudditi obbedienti e fedeli.” [The pope keeps large garrisons in all kingdoms, namely monks and priests, as numerous and as well paid and provided in time of peace as of war. . . . In matters of religion he is resolved to be sole and absolute master, as it is God’s will he should be: . . . and blessed are those nations who shall have the most obedient sovereigns. . . . If sovereigns would adhere to the principle of discussing matters of state with priests, in preference to their secular advisers, believe me they would keep their subjects obedient and faithful.] All the assertions of the ecclesiastico-political doctrine are here put forth in a popular shape. But what is this worldly power of the pope compared with the authority he has to exalt a poor mortal to be one of God’s saints? Our author cannot sufficiently praise the canonizations renewed by Sixtus. “A maggior gloria di dio, ha dedicato alcuni giorni festivi a santi che non erano nel calendario, sì per dare occasioni a’ christiani di spendere tanto più tempo in honor di dio per salute delle anime loro con l’intercessione de’ santi astenendosi dell’ opere servili, sì perché siano onorati gli amici di dio.” [For the greater glory

of God he has dedicated some holidays to saints who were not in the calendar, both to the end that Christians may have opportunity of spending so much the more time in honour of God for the weal of their own souls,—beseeching the intercession of the saints, and abstaining from servile works,—and also to the honour of the friends of God.] Among other motives, he adduces the following also: “per far vedere gli infedeli e falsi christiani che solo i veri servi di Christo salvatore fanno camminare i zoppi, parlare i muti, vedere i ciechi, e resuscitare i morti:” [to prove to the infidels and to false Christians that the true servants of Christ our Saviour are alone able to make the lame walk, the dumb speak, the blind see, and the dead come to life again].

57. *Relazione presentata nell’ eccmo collegio dal cmo Sig Lorenzo Priuli, ritornato di Roma l’anno 1586, 2 Luglio.* [Lorenzo Priuli’s report of his embassy to Rome, &c.]

We pass from the Roman documents to the Venetian.

Lorenzo Priuli saw the latter part of the reign of Gregory XIII. and the beginning of that of Sixtus V.: he is full of their mutual contrasts.

We must not let ourselves be carried away by him. The early times of a pope were generally looked on with more favour than the last; whether it was because increasing years necessarily impair the talent for administration, or because we gradually discover in every one much that we should wish away.

But Priuli is not unjust. He thinks that Gregory’s administration was also very useful to the church. “Nella bontà della vita, nel procurare il culto ecclesiastico, l’osservanza del concilio, la residenza dei vescovi, nell’ eccellenza della dottrina, l’uno legale l’altro teologico, si possono dire assai simili.” [In goodness of life, in providing for public worship, the observance of the council and the residence of bishops, in excellency of doctrine,—the one as a legislator, the other as a theologian,—they may be said to be very much alike.] He thanks God that he had given such excellent rulers to his church.

We observe then even foreign ambassadors caught the spirit that swayed the court.

Priuli considers the election as altogether miraculous,—a direct interposition of the Holy Spirit. He reminds his native city that it had risen to prosperity through its good understanding with the popes, which he counsels it above all things to maintain.

58. *Relazione del cmo sig Gio: Gritti ritornato ambasciatore da Roma anno 1589.* [Report of Gio: Gritti’s embassy to Rome.]

There is only an imperfect copy in the Venetian archives.

I caught with great eagerness at another I saw in the Ambrosian library in Milan; but that too I found contains just as much as the other, and not a word more.

This is the more to be lamented, as the author goes very systematically to work. He proposes to speak first of the states of the church, then of the person of the pope, of whom he professes himself a

great admirer, thirdly of his views, and lastly of the cardinals and the court.

A small portion only of the first division is extant. The MS. breaks off at the very point where the author is proceeding to speak of the manner in which the revenue increased under Sixtus. Still I cannot doubt but that the work was completed. What we possess is by no means a sketch, but a fragment of the whole.

It is a curious fact, however, that none but a defective copy is to be found even in the archives.

59. *Relazione di Roma dell' ambasciatore Badoer* "K" *relata in senato anno 1589.* [Badoer's report of his embassy to Rome.]

The report is wanting in the Venetian archives. It is to be found in the collection of the Quirini family, but only in a fragmentary form.

There are eight leaves which contain nothing but a few remarks relating to the provinces.

Badoer remarks that Venice estranged her dependents in the March by surrendering too many of them to the pope, or destroying them at his request.

The increase of trade in Ancona had been talked of, but the ambassador was not afraid that it would be prejudicial to the Venetians.

"Essendo state imposte allora da Sisto V doi per cento sopra tutte le mercantie, le quali a quarelle d'Anconitani furono poi levate, non era giunta in 14 mesi alcuna nave in quel porto." [Two per cent. having been imposed at that time (on his journey from home) on all merchandize by Sixtus, which was afterwards taken off upon the remonstrances of the people of Ancona, not one vessel entered that port during a space of fourteen months.]

We see that the two imposts of Gregory and of Sixtus V., though they were afterwards repealed, nevertheless contributed greatly to the decline of the trade of Ancona, through the uncertainty of profit they occasioned suddenly to the merchants. The chief trade at that time was in camlets and furs, yet the Jews found no fitting opportunity for exchange in cloth or other goods. The customs were farmed out at only 14,000 scudi, and even this sum was never realized.

Badoer wishes that the example of Spain were copied, and that Venice would bestow salaries on such friends as it had in the March. He breaks off just as he is about to enumerate those friends.

60. *Dispacci Veneti 1573—1590.* [Venetian Dispatches.]

No one would suppose that amidst such a profusion of documents there should be felt any want of information: yet this was very near being the case here. We see what an evil star presided over the Venetian reports; the Roman memoirs elucidate only the first part of this pontificate in some detail. I should, after all, have been forced to put up with Tempesti for the latter part—the most important period—had not the dispatches of the Venetian ambassadors come to my aid.

I had already in Vienna made extracts from the whole series of Venetian dispatches from 1573 to 1590, which were preserved there for the benefit

of the government, partly in authentic copies, partly in rubricaries.

There was really some difficulty in the task of mastering the former: a monthly part sometimes extends to 100 leaves; they have been damaged in their transport by sea; they crumble as one opens them, and the breathing is assailed by an offensive dust. The rubricaries are easier to deal with; they are protected by binding, and their abridged form facilitates the gleaning of what is essential from amongst the thousand insignificant affairs that might have passed between two Italian states, and which have no claim to be recorded in history.

Among these documents we find the reports of Paul Tiepolo down to 1576, of Antonio Tiepolo to 1578, of Zuanne Correr to 1581, of Lunardo Donato to 1583, of Lorenzo Priuli to 1586, of Zuanne Gritti to 1589, and of Alberto Badoer to 1591.

Besides these regular embassies we find now and then extraordinary ones; that of Zuanne Soranzo, from October 1581 to February 1582, which was dispatched on account of the disputes respecting the patriarchate of Aquileja; the congratulatory embassy of the year 1585 to Sixtus V., discharged by Giacomo Foscarini, Marino Grimani, and Lunardo Donato, whose common report was drawn up by their secretary Padavino; lastly, another embassy of Lunardo Donato, in the year 1589, occasioned by the political complications of the times. The dispatches of this last envoy are by far the most important: upon this occasion, the mutual relations of the pope and the republic were for once of importance to the history of the world; fortunately they are to be found set forth in full under the title, "Registro delle lettere dell' ilmo signor Lunardo Donato K<sup>a</sup> ambasciatore straordinario al sommo pontefice: cominea a 13 ottobre 1589 e finisce a 19 dicembre 1589."

We have not even yet mentioned all the materials for becoming acquainted with the transactions of the ambassador. There was besides a special privy correspondence of the ambassador with the Council of Ten, which is to be seen very neatly written on parchment; the first volume under the title, "Libro primo da Roma, secreto del consiglio di X sotto il serenissimo D. Aluise Mocenigo inclito duca di Venetia;" the succeeding volumes have corresponding titles.

I know very well the objections that may be urged against the use of ambassadors' dispatches. It is true they are written under the influence of the impressions of the moment; they are seldom quite impartial, often bearing only on special circumstances, and by no means to be always implicitly followed. But can any records or writings be named that are worthy of complete and indiscriminating confidence? On all hands the grain of salt is indispensable. At any rate the ambassadors were contemporaneous witnesses, present on the spot, and bound to observe; they must indeed have been wholly destitute of talent if their reports, read to some extent, do not realize to us the events they describe, and make us feel as though we actually beheld them.

Now the Venetian ambassadors were men of great practical experience and ability: I consider these dispatches of theirs very instructive.

But how far would it carry us were I to think of making extracts from this long series of volumes?

I must be permitted to adhere to the rule I have

laid down of avoiding extracts from dispatches in this Appendix. It would require a lengthened series of them to give some notion of the contents of the originals.

On the other hand, I will touch upon two important missions belonging to the times of Sixtus V.

61. *Relazione all' illustre e reverendo cardinale Rusticoni segretario di N. S. S. papa Sisto V delle cose di Polonia intorno alla religione e delle azioni del cardinale Bolognetto in quattro anni ch' egli è stato nuntio in quella provincia, divisa in due parti: nella prima si tratta de' danni che fanno le eresie in tutto quel regno, del termine in che si trova il misero stato eccles., e delle difficoltà e speranze che si possono avere intorno a rimedii: nella seconda si narrano li modi tenuti dal cardinale Bolognetto per superare quelle difficoltà, et il profitto che fece, et il suo negoziare in tutto il tempo della sua nuntiatura: di Horatio Spannocchi, già segretario del detto sig. card. Bolognetto.* [Report of Horatio Spannocchi, formerly secretary to cardinal Bolognetto, four years nuncio in Poland, on the ecclesiastical affairs of that kingdom, addressed to the secretary of Sixtus V., &c.]

Bolognetto's secretary, who had been with him in Poland, employed the leisure of a winter's residence in Bologna in drawing up this report, which is not only circumstantial but very instructive.

He first describes the extraordinary propagation of protestantism in Poland, "non lasciando pure una minima città o castello libero" [not leaving untouched the smallest town or castle]. He attributes this phenomenon, as will readily be anticipated, chiefly to secular considerations; he asserts that the nobles inflicted fines on their subjects if they did not attend the protestant churches.

Moreover, here too, as in the rest of Europe, a state of indifference had begun to manifest itself. "La differenza d'esser cattolico o di altra setta si piglia in burla o in riso, come cosa di pochissima importanza." [The difference between being a catholic or of a different sect is made a mock of, as a thing of the most trifling importance.]

The Germans, who settled even in the smallest places, and married there, had a large share in the diffusion of the protestant doctrines: but still more formidable in the author's opinion were the Italians, who uttered the assertion that in Italy, under the cloak of catholicism, people even doubted the immortality of the soul, and that only an opportunity was waited for, to declare openly against the pope.

He next depicts the condition into which the clergy had fallen under these circumstances.

"Infiniti de' poveri ecclesiastici si trovano privi degli alimenti, sì perche i padroni delle ville, eretici per il più, se non tutti, hanno occupato le possessioni ed altri beni delle chiese o per ampliarne il proprio patrimonio o per gratificarne ministri delle lor sette ovvero per alienarne in varj modi a persone profane, sì ancora perche negano di pagar le decime, quantunque siano loro dovute oltre alle leggi divine e canoniche anco per costituzione particolare di quel regno. Onde i miseri preti in molti luoghi non avendo con che sostentarsi lasciano le chiese in abbandono. La terza è rispetto

alla giurisdizione ecclesiastica, la quale insieme con i privilegj del clero è andata mancando, che oggidì altro non si fa di differenza tra' beni sottoposti alle chiese o monasterj e gli altri di persone profane, le citazioni e sentenze per niente. . . . Io medesimo ho udito da principalissimi senatori che vogliono lasciarsi tagliare più presto a pezzi che acconsentire a legge alcuna per la quale si debbano pagar le decime a qualsivoglia cattolico come cosa debita. Fu costituito ne' comizj già sei anni sono per pubblico decreto che nessuno potesse esser gravato a pagar le medesime decime da qualsivoglia tribunale nè ecclesiastico nè secolare. Tuttavia perche ne' prossimi comizj per varj impedimenti non si fece detta composizione, negano sempre di pagare, nè vogliono i capitani de' luoghi eseguire alcuna sentenza sopra dette decime."

[Multitudes of the poor clergy, destitute of food, as well because the magistrates of the cities, heretics for the most part if not wholly so, have seized the possessions and goods of the churches, either to augment their own patrimony, or to bestow them on ministers of their own sects, or to alienate them in various ways in favour of profane persons, as also because they refuse to pay tithes, though due not only in accordance with divine and canonical laws, but also by virtue of the particular constitution of this kingdom. Hence the unfortunate priests in many places, not having wherewith to sustain existence, abandon the churches. The third is in respect to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which is fallen into decay along with the privileges of the clergy, that now-a-days there is no difference made between property subjected to the churches or monasteries and that of profane persons; citations and sentences are set at nought. . . . I myself have heard very eminent senators declare, that they would rather suffer themselves to be cut to pieces than submit to any law enjoining them to pay tithe as of right due to any catholic whatever. It was publicly decreed in the diet, six years ago, that no one should be forced to pay the said tithes by any tribunal, whether ecclesiastical or secular. Nevertheless, as in the next diet the ratification of the said composition was prevented by various impediments, they continue to refuse payment, nor will the ducal officers execute any sentence for the said tithes.]

He thinks it a difficult matter for a nuncio to effect any thing in the existing state of things. It would be impossible to introduce the inquisition, or even a stricter law of marriage. The very name of the pope was abhorred; the clergy deemed it their duty to maintain the interests of the country in opposition to Rome; the king alone was to be counted upon.

The palatine Radziwill of Wilna had communicated to the king a call to arms against the Turks, composed by a follower of Zwingle. The author had enjoined the nation in the very first place to mend their ways, and to get rid of the images, the adoration of which he regarded as idolatrous. The king would not suffer the address to be published in this form. He wrote with his own hand the following words in the margin:—"Præstat hoc omittere quam falso imputare et orationem monitoriam religionis antiquissimæ sugillatione infamem reddere. O utinam faciant novæ sectæ nos tam diuturna pace florentes atque fecit sancta religio catholica veros secutores suos!" [It is better to



omit this than to make false imputations, and render a monitory address infamous by the slander of the most ancient religion. O would that the new sects could bless us with such lasting peace as the holy catholic religion bestowed on its true followers.] A declaration on which our reporter built great hopes.

He then proceeds to an examination of Bolognetto's undertakings, which he classes under seven heads:—

1. Restoration of the papal authority.
2. Persecution of the heretics.
3. Reform of the clergy ("modi per moderare la licentious vita di sacerdoti scandalosi").
4. Restoration of divine worship.
5. Union of the clergy.
6. Defence of their rights.
7. Considerations respecting the Christian community in general.

I have already described in general terms the efficiency of Bolognetto, with respect to these problems. I subjoin, as an example, a more accurate account of his interference in the negotiations with England.

"La reina d'Inghilterra domandava al re di Polonia un' indulto per i suoi mercanti Inglesi di poter portar le loro mercanzie o vendere per tutto il regno liberamente, dove ora non possono venderle se non i mercanti del regno in Danzica, domandando insieme che fosse loro concesso aprire un fondaco pubblico in Torogno, ch'è il più celebre porto della Prussia dopo quello di Danzica, e di là poi portar le loro mercanzie egliino stessi a tutte le fiere che si fanno per la Polonia, dove non possono portarle ordinariamente se non mercanti del paese, che per il più sono o Tedeschi o Pruteni o Italiani. Domandava dunque con quest' occasione quella pretesa reina che nel decreto di tal concessione si esprimesse, che a questi suoi mercanti non potesse mai esser fatta molestia per conto di religione, ma che potessero esercitarla liberamente a modo loro ovunque andassero per il regno. Piaceva questo partito universalmente a tutta la nobiltà Polacca: solo i Danzicani ostavano gagliardamente, mostrando che da questo indulto saria seguito l'ultimo danno al porto loro, tanto celebre e tanto famoso per tutto il mondo, e che la speranza del minor prezzo era fallace, massimamente perche i mercanti forastieri quando fossero stati in possesso di poter vendere ad arbitrio loro e poter servir la mercanzia loro lungo tempo nelle mani, l'avrebbon venduta molto più cara di quello che la vendono oggi i mercanti del paese. Tuttavia il contraccambio che offeriva la regina a' mercanti di Polonia, di poter fare lo stesso loro in Inghilterra, pareva che già l'avesse persuaso il re a concedere tutto quello che domandava. Il che non prima venne agli orecchi del Bolognetto, che andò a trovare S. M<sup>te</sup>, e con efficacissime ragioni le mostrò quanto esorbitante cosa sarebbe stata che avesse concesso per publico decreto una tanto obbrobriosa setta, e come non senza nascosto inganno e speranza d'importantissime conseguenze quella scellerata donna voleva che si dichiarasse eggi per decreto potersi esercitar la setta Anglicana in quel regno, dove tutto il mondo pur troppo sa che si permetta il credere in materia di religione quel che piace a chi si sia: con questa ed altre efficacissime ragioni il re Stefano rimase talmente persuaso che promesse non

voler mai far menzione alcuna di religione in qualunque accordo avesse fatto con quella regina o suoi mercanti."

[The queen of England demanded of the king of Poland license for her English merchants freely to import and sell their merchandise every where in his dominions, where at present it is only permitted the merchants of the kingdom in Dantzic to sell them, demanding at the same time that leave should be granted them to open a public warehouse in Torogno, which is the most celebrated port of Prussia after that of Dantzic, and thence themselves to carry their merchandise to all the fairs held in Poland, where commonly this can be done only by the merchants of the country, who are for the most part Germans, or Prussians, or Italians. Furthermore, this pretended queen took the opportunity of demanding, that in the decree establishing this concession, it should be expressed that no molestation was ever to be offered to her merchants on account of their religion, but that they should be at liberty to practise it without hindrance in their own way wherever they went throughout the kingdom. This arrangement gave universal satisfaction to all the nobility of Poland: only the Dantzickers opposed it with spirit, showing that the consequences of the proposed concession would be in the last degree injurious to their port, so renowned throughout the whole world; and that the hope of reduced prices was fallacious, above all because the foreign merchants, when they should have it in their power to sell at their own pleasure, and to keep their goods long on hand, would exact a much higher price for them than that now required by the merchants of the country. Nevertheless, the reciprocal advantage offered by the queen to the merchants of Poland, of enjoying the same privilege in England, seemed to have quite determined the king to grant all that was required. This no sooner came to the ears of Bolognetto, than he went to his majesty, and pointed out to him, with the most cogent arguments, what a monstrous thing it would be were he by public decree to acknowledge so scandalous a sect, and that it was not without some lurking trickery, and hope of most important consequences, that nefarious woman sought to have him proclaim permission for the exercise of the English sect in that kingdom, where it is but too universally notorious that every one is at liberty to believe in matters of religion just what he pleases. These and other most impressive arguments so prevailed with king Stephen, that he promised he would never make any mention of religion in whatever compact he should enter into with that queen or her merchants.]

The reader will perceive that this report contains also matters of a purely political nature.

At the end the author enters more specially into this field.

He finds the Poles divided into a variety of factions; differences subsisting between the several provinces, and again in each province between the clergy and the laity; between the senators and the provincial delegates; between the ancient high nobility and the inferior.

The high chancellor Zamoisky is represented as possessing immense power: all appointments depended on him; particularly since a vice-chancellor and a king's secretary were wholly in his interests. ("Da che è stato fatto il Bavanosky vicecancelliere

et il Tolisky segretario del re, persone poco fa incognite.”)

The appointments made by Stephen Bathory had by no means given general satisfaction. Attention was already directed to his successor Sigismund, “amatissimo di tutti i Polacchi” [exceedingly beloved by all the Poles].

62. *Discorso del molto illustre e reverendo monsignor Minuccio Minucci sopra il modo di restituire la religione cattolica in Alemagna. 1588.* [Discourse by Minuccio Minucci on the means of re-establishing the catholic religion in Germany.]

A very important paper, of which I made extensive use, particularly at page 164.

Minucci served a long while under Gregory in Germany; he is pretty frequently mentioned by Maffei. In the paper before us he endeavours to explain the existing state of things, in order, as he says, that Rome might refuse to send the patient dangerous remedies.

He complains, in the outset, that so little pains were taken on the catholic side to gain over the protestant princes; then he examines the attacks of the protestants on catholicism,—for his mission fell upon the period of the hot and yet undecided struggle: “ho pensato di raccontare le pratiche che muovono gli eretici ogni dì per far seccare o sveltare tutta la radice del cattolicesimo:” lastly, he considers the means by which they were to be withstood.

He shows himself unusually well versed in German affairs; still he cannot suppress a certain astonishment when he compares the state of the country, such as it had become, with the quiet and order of Italy or Spain. We have already adverted to the restless movements of Casimir of the Palatinate. Let us observe the amazement into which they threw a foreigner.

“Il Casimiro dopo aver sprezzata l'autorità dell' imperatore in mille cose, ma principalmente in abbruciare le munitioni presso Spira che si conducevano in Fiandra con salvocondotto imperiale, dopo aver offeso il re di Spagna non solo con quell' atto, ma anco con tanti ajuti dati a ribelli suoi di Fiandra e con l'haver concesso spatio alli medesimi ribelli Fiamenghi per edificare una città (Franchendal) nelli stati suoi, con l'haver portato tante ruine in Francia, tante desolazioni in Lorena hor in propria persona, hora mandando genti sue, con l'haver fatto affronto notabile all' arciduca Ferdinando impedendo il card' suo figliuolo con minaccie e con viva forza nel camino di Colonia, con l'istesso dichiarato nemico alla casa di Baviera, e passato in propria persona contra l'elettore di Colonia, pur se ne sta sicuro in un stato aperto nel mezzo di quelli c'hanno ricevute da lui tante ingiurie: nè ha forze o militia che li dia confidenza nè amici o parenti che siano per soccorrerlo e difenderlo, ma gode frutto della troppa pazienza de' cattolici, che li potriano d'improvviso et a mano salva portare altre tante ruine quante egli ha tante volte causate nelli stati d'altri, perche si risolvessero et havessero cuor di farlo.”

[Casimir, after having set at nought the authority of the emperor in a thousand matters, but chiefly in burning the munitions near Spire, which were on their way to Flanders under imperial safe conduct, after having offended the king of Spain,

not only by this act but also by the manifold aid bestowed on his rebel subjects in Flanders, and by his granting ground to the said rebels to build a city (Franchendal) in his dominions; after having carried such havoc into France, such desolation into Lorraine, sometimes in person, sometimes by his servants; after having grossly insulted the archduke Ferdinand by stopping his son the cardinal on his road to Cologne with threats and actual violence; after having been the declared enemy of the house of Bavaria, and having withstood in his own person the elector of Cologne; notwithstanding all this, he remains safe in an open territory, in the midst of those who have received such injuries at his hands: yet neither has he fortresses or soldiery to inspire him with confidence, nor friends nor relations to succour or defend him; but he reaps the benefit of the inordinate patience of the catholics, who could suddenly and certainly visit him with such ruin as he has so often inflicted on the territories of others, if they had but the resolution and the courage to do it.]

## SECTION V.

### SECOND EPOCH OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL RESTORATION.

#### 63. *Conclaves.*

I HAVE little fear of incurring censure if I do not set down in this place every fugitive pamphlet, every insignificant essay, that has come before me in manuscript in the course of my multifarious preliminary researches; rather is it possible that I have done too much. Many a reader who still grants me his attention will doubtless be dissatisfied with an unfashioned work, made up of a mixture of various languages; and yet it would not be expedient to translate the original documents; they would thereby suffer as to their utility and authenticity. Hence I could not venture to empty the whole contents of my collectanea indiscriminately into this Appendix.

Of the conclaves, for instance, on which there exists a great multitude of MSS., I will only give a summary notice.

After every papal election, especially from the latter half of the sixteenth century down to the beginning of the eighteenth, a report of it appeared; only a written one indeed, but so contrived as to be widely diffused, and often even to call forth counter-statements. Occasionally these accounts were composed by cardinals, but commonly by their secretaries, who attended the conclaves under the name of *conclavisti*, and made it their particular business, with a view to their masters' interests, to observe the course of the various intrigues, which the cardinals themselves could not so easily do, consistently with what was required of them by the dignity of their station. At times others also assumed the pen. “Con quella maggior diligenza che ho potuto,” says the author of the Conclave of Gregory XIII., “ho raccolto così dalli signori conclavisti come da cardinali che sono stati partecipi del negotio, tutto l'ordine e la verità di questo conclave.” [I have collected with my utmost possible diligence

from the conclavists, and from the cardinals who took part in the transactions, the whole course and the truth of this conclave.] We see he was not present himself. Sometimes they are diaries that come into our hands, sometimes letters, sometimes, too, regular narratives. Each little work is complete in itself; now and then the universally known formalities are repeated. Their value, as may be supposed, is very various. Sometimes every thing is frittered into rambling detail; sometimes, though rarely, the author rises to a real apprehension of the leading points; but at bottom there is instruction to be found in all these productions, if the reader has only courage and does not grow weary.

How many works of this kind exist may be learned, among other sources, from the Marsand catalogue of the Parisian library. They have likewise found their way to Germany. The 33rd, 35th, and several other volumes of the Berlin *Informazioni*, contain copies in great abundance. In Joh. Gottfr. Geissler's *Programm de Bibliotheca Mili-chiana iv. Görlitz 1767*, there is a list of the conclaves to be found in the 32nd, 33rd, and 34th codex of the collection of that place. The most detailed list that I know of is to be met with in Novæus, *Introduzione alle vite de' sommi pontefici*, 1822, i. p. 272. He had access to the library of the Jesuits, in which there was a tolerably complete collection of these writings.

It followed from the nature of the case that they should very soon, at least in part, come before the public in another shape. First they were incorporated into the histories of the popes. The conclave of pope Pius V.,—that is to say, if not the whole of it, at least the beginning and end,—was inserted in the history of Panvinus. Cicarella translated the greater part of the conclaves of Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V.; the latter with all the by-reflexions occurring in the Italian. The passage which Shröckh, *N. Kirchengesch. iii. 288*, produces from Cicarella is taken verbatim from the conclave. Thuanus too has given a place to these accounts; borrowing them, however, as appears upon closer inspection, not from the originals, but from Cicarella (lib. 82, p. 27). The last named conclave is also inserted in the *Tesoro Politico*, but very imperfectly, and in snatches of extracts. The same has been the case with the other conclaves.

Gradually, however, and first of all in the seventeenth century, the idea was conceived of making collections of these conclaves. The first printed collection has for its title, "*Conclavi de' pontefici Romani quali si sono potuto trovare fin a questo giorno*," 1677. It begins with Clement V., but there is a hiatus in it up to Urban VI., another up to Nicholas V., thenceforth it proceeds regularly to Alexander VII. In the publication of this series the view was entertained, at least ostensibly, that the world might learn from these examples how little human wisdom could avail against the overruling hand of Heaven. "Si tocca con mano che le negotiationi più segrete, dissimulate et accorte . . . per opra arcana del cielo svaniti sortiscono fin tanto difformi." [It is palpable that the most secret, disguised, and crafty negotiations . . . are frustrated and brought to confusion by the mysterious agency of Heaven.] But this was not the view taken by the world at large, which rather caught eagerly at the curious, and at times objectionable, matter contained in the work. A French

edition appeared in Lyons, and this being quickly bought up, a reprint, revised from the original, was produced in Holland, dated Cologne, 1694, not as Novæus relates, 1594. It has often been re-edited with further additions.

In this way the conclaves have undergone numerous alterations. On comparing the French collections with the originals, we find them the same on the whole; but we meet with considerable alterations in particular details. As far as I can learn, they arise rather from misunderstanding, than from wilful perversion.

But there are likewise other collections which have not been printed. I am in possession of such an one, which supplies the omissions in the printed collections, and is at the same time not inferior to any in authenticity. For any detailed use, an examination of the originals must certainly in all cases be desirable.

#### 64. *Vita e successi del card. di Santasercarina.* [Life and fortunes of cardinal Santasercarina.]

An autobiography of this influential cardinal, of whom it has been necessary to make frequent mention.

It is somewhat prolix, and often wanders into trifles; the judgments pronounced in it on persons, and the accounts it gives of things, are shaped entirely by the personal disposition of the writer; nevertheless, it communicates very peculiar and characteristic particulars.

It only remains for us to give here verbatim a few of those to which occasional reference has been made in the body of the work.

#### 1. *Protestants in Naples.*

"Crescendo tuttavia la setta de' Lutherani nel regno di Napoli, mi armai contro di quella spina del zelo della religione cattolica: e con ogni mio potere e con l'autorità del officio, con le prediche pubbliche, scritte da me in un libro detto *Quadragesimale*, e con le dispute pubbliche e private in ogni occasione e con l'orazione cereai d'abbattere et estermiare peste sì crudele da i nostri paesi: onde patii acerbissima persecutione dagl' eretici, che per tutte le strade cercavano d'offendermi e d'ammazzarmi, come ne ho fatto un libretto, distintamente intitolato *Persecutione eccitata contro di me Giulio Antonio Santorio servo di Gesù Christo per la verità della cattolica fede*. Era nel nostro giardino in un cantone una cappelletta con l'immagine di Maria <sup>ama</sup> con il bambino in braccio, et ivi avanti era nata una pianta d'olivo, che assai presto con maraviglia d'ogn'uno crebbe in arbore grande, essendo in luogo chiuso et ombreggiato da alberi: mi ritiravo ivi a far oratione con disciplinarmi ogni volta che dovevo predicare e disputare contro Lutherani, e mi sentivo mirabilmente infiammare ed avvalorare senza tema di male alcuno e di pericolo, ancorche di sicuro mi fosse minacciato da quelli inimici della croce, e sentivo in me tanta gioia et allegrezza che bramavo d'essere ucciso per la fede cattolica. . . . Intanto vedendo crescere contro di me maggiormente la rabbia di quelli eretici quali io avevo processati, fui costretto nel 1563 al fine di Agosto o principio di Settembre passarvene in Napoli alli servitii d'Alfonso Caraffa card<sup>le</sup> del titolo di S. Giovanni o

Paolo arcivescovo di Napoli, ove servii per luogotenente sotto Luigi Campagna di Rossano vescovo di Montepeloso, che esercitava il vicariato in Napoli: e poiche egli partì per evitare il tumulto popolare concitato contro di noi per l'abbrugiamento di Gio. Bernardo Gargano e di Gio. Francesco d'Aloys detto il Caserta, seguito alla quattro di Marzo di sabbato circa le 20 hore, rimasi solo nel governo di detta chiesa: ove doppo molti pericoli scorsi e doppo molte minacce, sassi et archibugiate tirate, mi si ordiseo una congiura molto crudele et arrabbiata da Hortensio da Battichio con fra Fiano (?) di Terra d'Otranto, heretico sacramentario e relapso che io insieme col card<sup>l</sup> di Napoli e monsr Campagna l'haveva[ssi] richiesto, di distillare un veleno di tanta forza che poteva infettare l'aria per estinguere papa Pio IV come nemico de' Carafeschi: e non dubitava l'heretico di far intendere tutto cio al pontefice per mezzo del signor Pompeo Colonna."

[The sect of the Lutherans still increasing in Naples, I armed myself against that thorn with the zeal of the catholic religion: and with all my might, and with the authority of the office, by public preachings, written by me in a book named Quadragesimale, and by public and private disputations on all occasions, and by prayer, I sought to abate and exterminate from our lands so grievous a plague. Hence I suffered most virulent persecution at the hands of the heretics, who in every street sought to insult and murder me: whereof I have written a tract distinctly entitled, "Persecution excited against me, Giulio Antonio Santorio, servant of Jesus Christ, for the truth of the catholic faith." There was in a corner in our garden a shrine with an image of the most holy Mary with the babe in her arms, and before it sprang up an olive twig, which to the admiration of every one grew up very quickly into a large tree, being in a close place, and shaded by trees: thither I used to retire to pray and discipline myself every time I was to preach and dispute with the Lutherans, and I felt myself marvelously kindled and invigorated without fear of any evil and danger, though it had been assuredly threatened me by those enemies of the cross, and I felt within me such joy and cheerfulness, that I longed to be slain for the catholic faith. . . . Seeing thus augment against me more and more the rage of those heretics whom I had proceeded against by law, I was constrained, in 1566, at the end of August or the beginning of September, to betake myself to Naples, to the service of Alfonso Caraffa, cardinal of the title of S. Giovanni e Paolo, archbishop of Naples, where I served as deputy under Luigi Campagna di Rossano, bishop of Montepeloso, who filled the office of vicar in Naples. And when he departed, to avoid the popular tumult excited against us by the incendiary proceedings of Gio. Bernardo Gargano and Gio. Francesco d'Aloys, surnamed il Caserta, which took place on Sunday, the 4th of March, about the twentieth hour, I remained alone in the government of the said church: where, after many perils encountered, and many threats, and after many stones thrown and arquebus-shots fired, a most cruel and venomous plot was hatched against me by Hortensio da Battichio, with fra Fiano (?) di Terra d'Otranto, a sacrilegious and relapsed heretic,

purporting that I, along with the cardinal di Napoli and Mons. Campagna, had required him to distil a poison of such force that it could infect the air, in order to put to death pope Pius V., as an enemy of the Carafeschi; and the heretic doubted not of conveying all this to the pope's ears through the medium of signor Pompeo Colonna.]

## II. Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V.

"Appena egli credeva di morire non ostante la longa età, essendo sempre vissuto con molta moderatione e caminato per tutti i gradi della corte. Dopoche lasciò la lettura di Bologna vegne in Roma, fu fatto collaterale di Campidoglio, esercitò l'ufficio di luogotenente di monsr<sup>e</sup> auditore della camera, fu fatto referendario, e la prima volta che propose in segnatura, venne meno: onde tutto pieno di vergogna e di confusione voleva abbandonare la corte, ma fu ritenuto dal card<sup>l</sup> Crescentio a non partire. Da Giulio III nell' auditorato di rota li fu anteposto l'alleotto: onde di nuovo confuso di doppio scorno determinò partirsi di Roma, ma dall'istesso card<sup>l</sup> Crescentio fu rincorato e trattenuto. Fu da Paolo IV fatto vescovo di Vieste, fu fatto consultore del sant' officio, fu al concilio di Trento e da Pio IV fu fatto card<sup>le</sup> e mandato in Spagna per la causa Toletana: e dopo la morte della santa memoria di Pio V con ammirabil consenso fu assunto al pontificato. Il quale visse con molta carità, liberalità e modestia, e saria stato ammirabile o senza pari, se in lui fossero concorsi valore e grandezza d'animo senza l'affetto del figlio, che oscurò in gran parte tutte le attioni dignissime di carità che egli usò verso li stranieri e verso tutte le nationi che veramente padre di tutti. Dalli signori cardinali nepoti S. Sisto e Guastavillano fu fatto subito intendere la sua morte al sacro collegio, e doppo celebrare l'esequie e tutte quelle funtioni che porta seco la sede vacante, s'entrò in conclave: ove fu eletto papa il sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>le</sup> Montalto, già nostro collega e nella causa Toletana e nell' assunzione al cardinalato, per opera speciale del sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>l</sup> Alessandrino e sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>l</sup> Rusticucci, che tirarono in favore di lui il sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>l</sup> d'Este e sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>l</sup> de Medici, con non poco disgusto del sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>l</sup> Farnese, essendoli mancato di parola il sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>l</sup> San Sisto, sul quale egli haveva fatto molto fondamento per ostare alli suoi emoli e nemici, essendosi adoprato contro di lui valorosamente il sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>l</sup> Riario, ma con pentimento poi grande, non havendo trovato quella gratitudine che egli si haveva presupposta, sicome anco intervenne al sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>le</sup> Alessandrino, che tutto festante si credeva di maneggiare il pontificato a modo suo: escendendo in San Pietro lo pregai che dovesse far officio con S. B<sup>ne</sup> in favore di monsr Carlo Broglia, rettore del collegio Greco, per un beneficio che egli dimandava: mi rispose tutto gratio: 'Non diamo fastidio a questo povero vecchio, perche noi saremo infallibilmente li padroni: ' al quale sorridendo, io all' hora risposi segretamento all' orecchie: 'Faccia dio che subito che sarà passata questa sera, ella non se ne penta: ' come appunto in effetto fu, poiche non stette mai di cuore allegro in tutto quel pontificato, sentendo sempre rannarichi, angustie, travagli, affanni, pene et angosci. E ben vero che esso medesimo se l'andava nella maggior parte procurando o per trascuraggine, inavvertenza o altro o pure per la

troppa superbia con esprobare sempre esso assiduamente li beneficii, servitii et honorevolezze che haveva fatti a S. Bue. Nelli primi ragionamenti che io potei havere con S. S<sup>ta</sup> fu il rallegrarmi dell' assunzione sua al pontificato, con dirli che era stata volontà di dio, poiche in quel tempo e punto che fu assunto erano finite le 40 hore : quivi ella si dolse della malignità de tempi con molta humiltà e piansse : l'essortai che cominciasse il pontificato con un giubileo generale, che tenesse parimente cura del sant' officio e delle cose sue, sapendo bene che da quello haveva havuto origine la sua grandezza."

[He hardly counted on dying, notwithstanding his great age, having always lived with great temperance, and having passed through all the grades of the court. After he ceased to lecture at Bologna he came to Rome, and was made collateral of Campidoglio, filled the office of deputy to the auditor of the chamber, was made referendary, and the first time he spoke in the segnatura he broke down : whereat, covered with shame and confusion, he was of a mind to abandon the court, but was withheld from doing so by cardinal Crescen- centio. Palleotto was preferred to him by Julius III. for the auditorship, which fell to him by turn: upon which, again abashed at his double disgrace, he determined to quit Rome, but was re-encouraged and retained by the same cardinal Crescen- centio. He was made bishop of Vieste by Paul IV., counsellor of the holy office, was a member of the council of Trent, was made cardinal by Pius IV., and sent to Spain about the Toledo business ; and after the death of Pius V. of blessed memory he was elected pope with wonderful unanimity. His life was one of much charity, liberality, and modesty ; and he would have been admirable and unequalled, if his worth and greatness of mind had not been tainted by his affection for his son, which greatly tarnished his excellent acts of Christian charity towards strangers, and towards all nations, as being truly the father of all. His death was immediately announced to the sacred college by the cardinal nephews, S. Sisto and Guastavillano ; and after the performance of the obsequies, and of all the necessary functions incident to an inter- regnum, the conclave was begun. The pope elected was cardinal Montalto, formerly our col- league both in the Toledan affair and in admission to the cardinalate ; his election was effected by the special exertions of cardinal Alessandrino and cardinal Rusticucci, who gained over to his interest cardinals d'Este and de Medici, to the no small displeasure of Cardinal Farnese ; cardinal San Sisto, on whom he had largely relied in opposition to his rivals and enemies, having broken his word with him, and cardinal Riario having acted vigor- ously against him,—though he (Riario) afterwards repented sorely of this, for he did not meet with the gratitude he expected ; the same was also the case with cardinal Alessandrino, who confidently believed that he would be able to manage the ponti- ficate in his own way. Coming out of St. Peter's I requested him to intercede with his holiness in favor of monsignor Carlo Broglia, rector of the Collegio Greco, for an advantage he was soliciting : he answered me very graciously, "Let us not tease this poor old man, for we shall be infallibly masters ;" upon which I smiling whispered in his

ear, "God send that, as soon as this evening is over, you may not have reason to repent." And so it actually turned out : for he never had a light heart through the whole of that pontificate, being incessantly beset with troubles, annoyances, and vexations. It is very true he brought the greater part of them on himself by his heedlessness, inad- vertency, or otherwise ; or else by his too great arrogance in always casting up to his holiness the benefits, services, and acts of honour he had done him. The first conversation I was able to have with his holiness was to congratulate him on his accession, telling him that it had been the will of God ; for precisely at the moment he was elected the forty hours were ended. Thereupon he be- wailed the malignity of the times with much humi- lity, and wept. I exhorted him to begin his ponti- ficate with a general jubilee, that he should take equal care of the holy office as of his own affairs, knowing well that to it he owed the origin of his greatness.]

### III. *Affairs of Ferrara.*

"Venuto il duca di Ferrara in Roma per l'in- vestitura, della quale pretendeva che li fosse data buona intenzione, vi furono di molti garbugli : et avendomi io opposto gagliardamente nelli pubblici e privati ragionamenti et in concistorio, mi persi affatto la gratia del papa con procurarmi il sdegno del card<sup>l</sup> Sfondrato, quale andava parlando per Roma che io sentivo malamente dell' autorità del papa : come anco haveva imputato il cardinale di Camerino, che si mostrava molto ardente in servi- tio della sede apostolica. Sentendomi pungere in cosa tanto lontana dalla mente mia, io che ero andato incontrando tutti li pericoli per la difen- sione dell' autorità del papa e della sede apostolica, non potei fare di non alterarmene gravemente : e come si conveniva, feci una apologia pro Cardinale Sancta Severina contra cardinalem Sfondratum, ove si tratta qual sia la carica e qual sia l'officio di cardinale : benche il papa, che si era mostrato in concistorio molto turbato e collerico in camera, poi nel palazzo di S. Marco mi domandò perdono con lagrime e con humiltà e con havermi anco ringra- tiato, pentendosi del decreto che egli haveva fatto in pregiudicio della bolla di Pio V de non alienan- dis feudis. Partendosi il duca da Roma senza haver fatto effetto alcuno, da quel tempo in poi mi si mostrò sempre nemico, dicendo che io ero stato cagione precippa che egli non avesse ottenuto l'investitura di Ferrara per persona nominanda, et che io come antico suo amico dovevo parlare più mitamente, senza intraprendere l'impresa con tanta ardenza, come che io fossi più obligato agli huo- mini che a dio et alla santa chiesa."

[The duke of Ferrara having come to Rome about the investiture,—strong hopes of which he pretended were held out to him,—there was a great stir and confusion. Having vigorously op- posed the measure, both publicly and privately, and in consistory, I entirely lost the pope's favour, and brought upon myself too the displeasure of cardinal Sfondrato, who told it about in Rome that I thought badly of the pope's authority ; the same thing had also been imputed to me by cardinal Camerino, who showed great ardour in the service of the apostolic see. Piqued at having a charge

brought against me so foreign to my disposition,—I who had braved every danger in defence of the authority of the pope and the holy see,—I could not but feel deeply indignant; and as it was fitting I composed an apology for cardinal Santa Severina against cardinal Sfondrato, wherein is discussed what is the office and duty of a cardinal. The pope, who had shown great perturbation and choler in the consistory, afterwards in the palace of S. Marco, begged pardon of me humbly and with tears, and even thanked me, repenting him of the decree he had made to the prejudice of the bull of Pius V. “*de non alienandis feudis.*” The duke left Rome without in any respect accomplishing his purpose, and from that time forth he always showed himself my enemy, saying that I had been the chief cause of his not having obtained the investiture of Ferrara “*pro persona nominanda,*” and that as an old friend of his I ought to have spoken more indulgent, without setting myself so vehemently against the measure,—just as though I had been more bound to men than to God and the holy church.]

iv. *Conclave after the death of Innocent IX.*

“Entrato l'anno 1592 si entrò in conclave, essendosi raddoppiata contro di me la malignità de' miei nemici, mostrandosi il card<sup>le</sup> Sfondrato ardentissimo contro la persona mia, non solamente per tema delle cose sue, ma anco più irato delle parole del card<sup>le</sup> Acquaviva, che timoroso et invidioso per l'arcivescovo d'Otranto suo parente et altri signori regnicoli amici miei, moveva ogni pietra contro di me: e s'erano uniti insieme li card<sup>li</sup> Aragona, Colonna, Altamps e Sforza, capitali nemici tra essi, ma contro di me concordissimi: Aragona per la continua osservanza et ossequio che io havevo usati, ma pigliava proteste dell'abbazia che havevo tolta all'abbate Simone Sellarolo; Colonna per li molti servitii che gli havevo fatto in ogni tempo, ma si raccordava del Talmud impedito da me contro li Giudei, repetendo la morte di Don Pompeo de Monti, con taccia anco di sua sorella; Altamps per li favori che gli havevo fatti appresso papa Sisto e mons<sup>r</sup> Pellicano senatore per conto del figlio ratore della Giulietta, onde ne venne quel gulant'huomo in disgratia di Sisto, ma così voleva Galleotto Belardo suo padrone; Sforza per haverlo favorito nel caso del Massaino, quando papa Sisto fulminava contro di lui, havendomi ringratiato con baciarmi la mano in presenza del buon card<sup>le</sup> Farnese vecchio, a cui ancora si era mostrato ingrato havendo avuta da quel buon sig<sup>r</sup> l'abbazia di S. Lorenzo extra moenia, ma egli diceva che non poteva mancare alli amici suoi, ma in effetto egli temeva sapendo bene la sua coscienza. Palleotto m'usò quell'ingratitude che ogn' un sa. Venne la notte del 20 Gennaro: quivi si rappresentò una tragedia de' fatti miei, mentre Madrucci, già mio caro amico e collega nel sant' officio, consentì tacitamente cogli emoli miei in danno mio, oprando per questa via di conseguire il pontificato, ma egli senti di quelli bocconi amari che non potendo poscia digerire se ne morì miseramente. Lascio da parte gli andamenti fraudolenti del card<sup>l</sup> Gesualdo, che come Napoletano non poteva patire che io gli fossi anteposto, et anche mosso da invidia contro i suoi patriotti: poichè questo e gli altri sig<sup>ri</sup> card<sup>li</sup> Napoletani Aragona et Acquaviva havevano questo

senso di non voler nessun compagno de' patriotti nel cardinalato. L'atto poi che fece il card<sup>le</sup> Colonna, fu il più brutto che s'havesse sentito già mai, et improbatissimo etiam da suoi più cari, e malissimo inteso nella corte di Spagna. Canano solca prima havermi in tanta riverenza che nullo più, e dovunque m'incontrava, mi voleva baciare la mano: ma all' hora scordato d'ogni amicitia obbediva al suo duca di Ferrara; Borromico, ajutato da me nella sua promotione per la memoria di quel santo cardinale di S. Prassede et havendo fatta professione di sempre mio caro amico, invischiato dall' interesse d'alcune abbazie che haveva rassegnato Altamps, furiva a guisa di forsennato, quel che non professava altro che purità, devotione, spiritualità e coscienza. Alessandrino, autore di tutte le trame, non mancò di fare il suo solito in perseguitare i suoi più cari amici e creature con haversele tutte alienate, e massime dopo l'assunzione di Sisto sentì in conclave quel che non volse per bocca del sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>l</sup> di Sens che esclamava pubblicamente contro di lui. Il fervore all'incontro de' miei amici e fautori non fu mediocre, essendosi mostrato ardente più d'ogni altro il sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>l</sup> Giustiniano: quel suo spirito vivace e coraggioso fu in quella notte et in quel giorno in gravi affanni, essendomi anche stata saccheggiata la cella. Ma la notte appresso mi fu dolorosissima sopra ogn' altra cosa funesta: onde per il grave affanno dell'animo e dell'intima angoscia sudai sangue, cosa incredibile a credere: e ricorrendo con molta umiltà e devotione al sig<sup>r</sup>, mi sentii affatto liberato da ogni passione di animo, da ogni senso delle cose mondane, venendo in me stesso e considerandole quanto sono fragili, quanto caduche e quanto miserabili, e che solo in dio e nella contemplazione di lui sono le vere felicità e veri contenti e gaudii.”

[At the beginning of the year 1592 the conclave met, whilst the malice of my enemies was redoubled against me; Cardinal Sfondrato displayed the utmost animosity against me, not only for fear of his own interests, but still more from the anger, with which he was inspired by the words of cardinal Acquaviva, who, fearful and jealous for the archbishop of Otranto, his relation, and other fellow-countymen and friends of mine, left no stone unturned against me. There were united together cardinals Aragona, Colonna, Altamps, and Sforza, bitter enemies to each other, but all cordially agreeing in hostility to me: Aragona, notwithstanding the continual courtesy and obsequiousness I had practised, alleged, as a pretext, the abbey I had taken from the abbot Simone Sellarolo; Colonna, for all I had rendered him many services at all times, nevertheless called to mind the Talmud I hindered against the Jews, bringing up the death of Don Pompeo de Monte, with the disgrace too of his sister; Altamps, notwithstanding the services I had done him with Sixtus and monsieur Pellicano, the senator, on account of his son, the ravisher of Giulietta, in consequence of which that worthy fell into disgrace with Sixtus,—but such was the will of Galleotto Belardo, his master; Sforza, though I had favoured him in the mischance of Massaino, when pope Sixtus fulminated against him, for which he thanked me and kissed my hand in the presence of the good old cardinal Farnese,—to whom also he proved ungrateful, having received from that good signor



the abbey of S. Lorenzo extra mœnia, but he said he could not disappoint his friends,—whereas the truth was he was frightened by his conscience. Pallcottio treated me with the ingratitude that is notorious. The night of the 20th of January arrived, a tragical night for my interests, inasmuch as Madrucci, once my dear friend and colleague in the holy office, consented tacitly with my rivals to my injury\*, scheming in this way to obtain the popedom; but he had to swallow some bitter morsels, which being unable to digest, he died miserably in consequence. I pass over the fraudulent proceedings of cardinal Gesualdo, who, as a Neapolitan, could not bear that I should be preferred before him, and who was even moved by envy against his own countrymen, for he and the other Neapolitan cardinals, Aragona and Acquaviva, had made up their minds not to have any fellow countryman their colleague in the cardinalate. The act which was then done by cardinal Colonna was the vilest ever heard of, disapproved of even by his dearest friends, and taken in the worst part by the court of Spain. Canano had before been used to treat me with the utmost possible respect, and wherever he met me he sought to kiss my hand; but now, forgetting all friendship, he obeyed his duke of Ferrara. Borromeo, aided by me in his promotion, in regard to the memory of the holy cardinal of S. Prassede, and who had always professed to be my dear friend, entrapped by some abbey resigned to him by Altemps, raved like a madman; he who used to profess nothing but purity, devotion, spirituality, and conscience. Alessandrino, the author of all the plots, failed not to act in his usual way, persecuting his dearest friends and creatures, having alienated them all from him, and particularly since the accession of Sixtus, he heard in the conclave what he could not refute by the mouth of cardinal di Sens, who exclaimed publicly against him. The ardour of my friends and supporters on the other hand was not little; the most earnest of them all was cardinal Giustiniano; that quick and brave soul was all that night and day deeply distressed, my cell having been actually already despoiled. But the following night was surpassingly grievous: such was my intense anguish of mind that I sweated blood, incredible as it may appear. But recurring with much humility and devotion to the Lord, I felt wholly freed from every human passion, and from all feeling for worldly things, collecting my thoughts and considering how frail they are, how transient and miserable, and that in God alone and in contemplation of Him consist true felicity and true contentment and joy.]

65. *Vita et Gesta Clementis VIII.* — *Informatt. Polit.* xxix. [Life and acts of Clement VIII.]

Originally intended as a continuation of Ciacconi, where however I do not find it.

A narrative of the rise of the pope and of his first acts: "Exulum turmas coereuit, quorum insolens furor non solum in continentem sed in ipsa

litora et subvecta Tiberis alveo navigia hostiliter insultabat." [He put down the bands of outlaws, whose audacity overspread not only the main land, but even assailed the coasts and the vessels that floated on the Tiber]; so little had Sixtus succeeded in extirpating them. The absolution of Henry IV., the resistance offered by Clement to the king, and the severity with which he pursued it, are put prominently forward: lastly, the conquest of Ferrara. "A me jam latius cœpta scribi opportuniore tempore immortalitati nominis tui consecrabo." [Other things I have begun to write, I will at a more fitting opportunity consecrate to the immortality of thy name.] But of this there is nothing to be found. As the work stands it is but insignificant.

66. *Istruzione al Sr Bartolommeo Powsinsky alla Ma del re di Polonia e Suetia.* 1 Aug. 1593. Cinthio Aldobrandini. [Instruction to Sr Bart. Powsinsky, nuncio to the king of Poland and Sweden.]

*Ragguaglio della andata del re di Polonia in Suetia.* 1594. [Report of the entry of the king of Poland into Sweden.]

I have nothing to add to what I have borrowed from these papers in the text, except it be the assertion in the second that duke Charles was in reality hated: "perche egli avea ridotto in se stesso quasi tutte l'incette e mercantie e tutte le cave di metalli e sopra tutto dell' oro e dell' argento" [because he had monopolized almost all purchases and merchandise, and all mines of metal, especially silver and gold].

67. *Relatione di Polonia.* 1598. [Report respecting Poland.]

Composed by a nuncio, who complains vehemently of the inordinate love of liberty of the Poles.

They desired a feeble king, not one of a warlike spirit. They say: "che coloro che hanno spirito di gloria, gli hanno vehementi e non moderati e però non diuturni, e che la madre della diuturnità degli imperii è la moderazione" [that those who are possessed with the spirit of glory are of a vehement and not moderated spirit, consequently not of an enduring one, and that the mother of the duration of empires is moderation].

Nor will they have any alliances with foreigners. They assert that they can never find it difficult to defend their kingdom. They could always bring forward 50,000 horse, and in the worst case they would recover in winter what they lost in summer. They relied on the example of their forefathers.

The nuncio reminds them: "che gli antichi Poloni non sapevano che cosa fosse smaltire il grano nel mar Baltico in Danzig o in Elbing, nè erano intenti a tagliar selve per seminare, nè asciugavano paludi per il medesimo effetto" [that the ancient Poles did not know what it was to sell grain in the Baltic sea, or in Dantzic, or in Elbing, nor were they intent on cutting down forests to sow corn, nor did they drain marshes for the same purpose].

Furthermore the nuncio describes the progress of catholicism, which was just then in the most hopeful train. I have made use of the most important points.

\* The Venetian ambassador, Moro, also observes, that S. Severina was not elected "per mancamento di Gesualdo decano e Madrucci" (being disappointed by Gesualdo the dean, and Madrucci).



68. *Relazione dello stato spirituale e politico del regno di Svezia 1598.* [Report of the spiritual and political condition of the kingdom of Sweden.

Remarks on the enterprises of Sigismund against Sweden immediately before his second journey. This also I have used as far as was essential.

There are, however, some interesting observations besides upon previous matters.

Erich is reputed as a downright tyrant. "Per impresa faceva un asino carico di sale a piedi d'una montagna eria e senza via per salirvi sopra, et egli era dipinto con un bastone in mano, che batteva il detto asino." [He was figured forcing an ass laden with salt to jump over a steep and pathless mountain, and he was represented with a cudgel in his hand beating the ass.] The author expounds this sufficiently intelligible symbol as signifying that the king would compel the people by force to do what was impossible.

John is looked on as a decided catholic. "Perche era in secreto cattolico, siccome al nuntio ha affirmato il re suo figliuolo, usò ogni industria perche il figliuolo ritornasse mentre esso viveva in Suetia a fine di dichiararsi apertamente cattolico e ridurre il regno ad abbracciar essa fede." [Because he was in secret a catholic, as the king, his son, averred to the nuncio, he used his utmost endeavours to have his son return to Sweden during his lifetime, and declare himself openly a catholic, and reduce that kingdom to embrace the catholic faith.]

I am not however disposed to subscribe to this. It is probable that the worthy Sigismund fancied it, that he might have the comfort of thinking himself sprung from a catholic father.

On the other hand, Sigismund's first enterprise is described in a manner stamped with all the veracity of one thoroughly acquainted with the subject. The hopes founded on the second journey are set forth in their bearing on Europe in general.

#### INSERTION.

#### *Remarks on Bentivoglio's Memoirs.*

In his sixty-third year, not in 1640, as stated in the edition belonging to the *Classici Italiani*, but in 1642, as Mazzuchelli also states, cardinal Guido Bentivoglio (born 1579) after having composed many other memoirs on public matters, sat down to write his own personal memoirs.

His original intention was to include his first residence at the court of Rome, his nunciatures in France and in the Netherlands, and the times of his cardinalate. Had he accomplished this, the history of the seventeenth century would be the richer by one excellent work full of discernment and observation.

But he died before he had completed the first part. His work—*Memorie del cardinal Guido Bentivoglio*—comes down only to the year 1600.

It gives us the idea of the quiet and comfort enjoyed by an aged prelate, living at ease in his palace, remote from the cares of business. It is very pleasant reading, at once amusing and instructive; but of course his position imposed certain obligations on the cardinal, and it may be observed that he does not speak out roundly.

The tolerably detailed portraiture, for instance, that he gives of the cardinals whom he found about Clement VIII. agrees but very generally with the accounts of them given us by others.

The very first, the dean Gesualdo, is depicted by Bentivoglio as "a distinguished man of amiable manners, who does not seek, though neither does he avoid public affairs;" but of what others tell, and what Bentivoglio no doubt knew, how he prevented the election of Sanseverino from personal dislike,—what pretensions to paramount rank he enforced over the other cardinals, who complied very reluctantly,—how all his subsequent efforts were directed to win friends, that he might reach the papal chair,—how he adhered in particular to Spain,—of all this we are not told a word.

Of the second, Aragona, Bentivoglio remarks, "that in former conclaves he had been a leader particularly of the younger cardinals;" he had admirably governed Rome during an absence of the pope; he was fond of handsome furniture; he had a beautiful chapel, and frequently changed the altarpiece." But all this does not make us acquainted with the man. He was, as we learn from Delfino, an old man plagued with the gout, whose death was speedily to be looked for, but who clung but the faster on that account to his hopes of the papedom. He was by no means held in such consideration as he could have wished by the Spanish court. He was not able to get admission into the congregation on French affairs, and it was notorious that he bore this very ill: but notwithstanding this he endeavoured to maintain the closest connexion with the Spanish ambassador on account of his ulterior views.

The idea of calm and quiet suggested by the book proceeds in fact from the circumstance that the lights are designedly very much softened, that life is not portrayed in the actual truth of its phenomena.

69. *Relazione fatta all' ultimo sig<sup>ro</sup> card<sup>le</sup> d'Este al tempo della sua promotione che dovera andar in Roma.*—(Bibl. Vindob. Codd. Foscari, n. 169. 46 leaves.) [Report made to cardinal d'Este upon his approaching journey to Rome on the occasion of his promotion.]

In consequence of the compromise made with the Este family by Clement VIII, on the escheat of Ferrara, he included a prince of that house, Alexander, in the promotion of the 3rd of March, 1599.

It was this prince whom the instruction before us was intended to prepare for his entry to the court. Although it bears no date, there is no doubt it belongs to the year 1599.

Its purpose is enough to distinguish it strongly from a Venetian report. Its object was to place the prince in a condition to steer like a dexterous pilot,—"*per potere come prudente nocchiero prendere meglio l'aura propitia della corte.*" It contains nothing relating to politics; even the misfortune that had so recently fallen upon the house of Este is passed over in silence; the author's intention is only to define the personal qualities of the most important individuals.

The pope, his nephews, and the cardinals, are delineated.

Clement VIII. "Di vita incolpabile, di mento retta, di conditione universale. Si può dir ch'abbia in se stesso tutta la theoria e la pratica della politica e ragion di stato." [Of blameless life, upright mind, universal erudition (?) It may be asserted that he possesses in their whole range the theory and the practice of politics and statesmanship.] We find it stated here, that Salvestro Aldobrandino had incited Paul IV. to war against Naples; that nevertheless attempts had been made to reconcile that house at least with the Medici. "Dicosi che Pio V volendo promuovere il cardl Giovanni, fratello di questo pontefice, assicurò il GD Cosimo che tutta questa famiglia gli sarebbe fidelissima sempre, e che mandò l'istesso Ippolito Aldobrandino, hora papa, a render testimonio a S. Altezza, della quale fu molto ben visto." [It is said that Pius V, wishing to promote cardinal Giovanni, the brother of that pontiff, assured the grand duke Cosmo, that all that family would always be most faithful to him, and that he sent the same Ippolito Aldobrandino, who is now pope, to testify this to his highness, by whom he was very well received.] At that time John Bardi was in most favour with pope Clement. "Fra i servitori di Clemente il più intimo e favorito è il sigr Giov. Bardi dei conti di Vernio, luogotenente delle guardie, di molta bontà, virtù e nobiltà." [Among the servants of Clement, the most intimate and the favourite is Signor Giov. Bardi of the house of Vernio, lieutenant of the guards, a man of much goodness, virtue, and nobility.] The new cardinal might rely on him the more, as he was well disposed to the house of Este.

The nephews. The preference of Pietro Aldobrandino before San Giorgio was decided. "San Giorgio, accomodato l'animo alla fortuna sua, mortificate le sue pretensioni, non gareggia, non contrasta più, ma o lo seconda o non s'impaccia seco, e si mostra soddisfatto dell' ottenuta segnatura di giustizia." [San Giorgio, adjusting his mind to his fortunes, and mortifying his aspirations, no longer strives against his cousin, or counteracts him, but either seconds him or does not thwart him, and appears satisfied with having obtained the segnatura of justice.]

The cardinals were divided into two factions, the Spanish, to which Montalto was already attached, and the Aldobrandinist. The strength of the former was twenty five, that of the latter only fourteen decided members. The author correctly points out as the most likely successor to the pope, him who was afterwards actually chosen, Alexander Medici. It was not known how he stood with the grand duke of Tuscany, but he was plainly high in favour with Clement, "per patria e conformità di humore" [from community of country and humour,] as much as if he were the pope's own creature.

Baronius, the historian of the church, is not unfavourably portrayed: "molto amato per la dottrina bontà e semplicità sua: si dimostra tutto spirito, tutto risegnato in dio: si burla del mondo e della propria esaltatione di se stesso" [much beloved for his learning, goodness, and simplicity: he appears all spirit, wholly resigned to God: he mocks at the world and all self-exaltation].

70. *Relatione di Roma dell' Illmo Sigr Giovan Delfino K<sup>r</sup> e Pro<sup>r</sup> ritornato ambasciatore sotto il ponti-*

*ficato di Clemente VIII. (1600.)* [Report by Delfino, ambassador to Rome during the pontificate of Clement VIII.]

This is another of the reports that have got into more general circulation; it is very circumstantial (my copy consists of ninety-four quarto leaves) and very instructive.

I. Delfino begins with describing the pope (il nascimento, la natura e la vita del papa) and his nephews.

"Delli due cardinali (Aldobrandino e S. Giorgio) reputo quasi necessario parlarne unitamente. Questo di età d'anni 45, di gran spirito, altiero, vivace, e di buona cognizione nelli affari del mondo: ma temo assai che sia di mala natura, overo che gli accidenti nel mondo occorsi, che l'hanno levato dalle gran speranze in che si è posto nel principio del pontificato, le fanno esser tale, cioè dimostrarsi con tutti non solo severo ma quasi disperato. Questo era grandemente amato o grandemente stimato dal papa avanti che fosse salito al pontificato, e doppo per gran pezzo ebbe la cura principale de' negotii, e si credeva da ogn' uno che egli avesse da esser il primo nipote, perche l'altro era più giovane, assai di poca prosperità e di pochissima cognizione: ma o sia stato la sua poca prudenza nel non essersi saputo governare come averrebbe bisogno, sendosi rotto con l'ambasciatore di Spagna quando gittò la beretta, con l'ambasciatore di Toscana quando li disse che il papa doveria cacciarlo di corte, oltre i disgusti che ha dato a tutti in mille occasioni, o pur la gran prudenza e destrezza dell' altro, o la forza natural del sangue, questo ha perduto ogni giorno tanto di autorità e credito che non ha chi lo seguiti e non ottiene cosa alcuna che dimandi. Ha però il carico di tutti li negotii d'Italia e Germania, se bene li ministri publici trattino li medesimi con Aldobrandino, o nelle cose brusche tutti ricorrono a lui. Io con esso sigr cardl di S. Giorgio nel principio ho passato qualche borasca, anzi nella prima audienza fui astretto a dolermi apertamente per dignità della republica, e doi o tre volte mi sono lasciato intendere liberamente, in modo tale che so che è stato frutto appresso di lui, et il papa l'ha avuto a carro, e particolarmente nell' ultima occasione di Ferrara: ma doppo sempre è passato tra noi ogni sorte di dimostratione d'amore, et io l'ho onorato sempre come si conveniva. Credo veramente che sia mal affetto alla Serenità Vostra per natura e per accidente: la sua natura l'ho descritta, ma dirò solo delli accidenti. Prima sappia che da un pezzo in qua s'è buttato affatto in braccio de' Spagnuoli, e si è dimostrato poco amico di quelli che sono uniti con Francesi: ha cresciuto ancora quel mal animo suo il vedere che il cardinal Aldobrandino habbi in tutte le occasioni protetto li affari dell' EE. VV., quasi che non sia possibile che concorrino ambidue in alcuna operatione, per giusta e ragionevole che sia. Da che si può conoscere la miseria de' poveri ambasciatori et rappresentanti publici." [Of the two cardinals (Aldobrandino and S. Giorgio) I think it almost necessary to speak collectively. The latter is aged forty-five, of a great and lofty spirit, of a sanguine disposition, and well versed in worldly matters; but I rather fear he is a man of evil nature, or that the course of events, which swept from him the great hopes he enjoyed in the commencement of the

pontificate, has made him such, so that he bears himself towards all men not only with severity, but as it were with desperate harshness. He was greatly beloved and greatly esteemed by the pope before his accession, and since then he had in a great measure the principal share in the management of business, and it was universally believed that it was his lot to be the first nephew, because the other was younger, but moderately prosperous, and of very scanty knowledge. But whether it was his own want of prudence to govern himself as he ought, having broken with the ambassador of Spain when he flung the cap, and with the Tuscan ambassador when he told him that the pope ought to expel him from court, besides the offence he gave to all persons on a thousand occasions, or else from the great prudence and dexterity of the other, or from the natural force of blood, he has day by day so much declined in influence and credit that no one follows him, and he obtains not one thing he demands. Still he has charge of all the affairs of Italy and Germany, although the public functionaries treat of them with Aldobrandino, and in all trying matters every one has recourse to him. I had some sharp passages with this cardinal di S. Giorgio at first, and in my first audience I was constrained by my regard for the dignity of the republic to express my displeasure openly, and two or three times I spoke so freely, that I know it wrought to some purpose with him, and the pope took him to task, particularly on the last occasion of Ferrara: but subsequently every demonstration of regard has been interchanged between us, and I have always honoured him as was befitting. I verily believe he is ill-disposed to your Serenity by nature and by circumstances; his nature I have already described, and will now only speak of circumstances. In the first place you must know, that for some time past he has thrown himself wholly into the hands of the Spaniards, and shown himself little in favour of those who are joined with the French: this his unfriendly disposition has been still more increased by seeing that cardinal Aldobrandino has on all occasions protected the affairs of your excellencies, for it would almost seem impossible that these two should concur in any proceeding, however just and reasonable it may be. This may serve to show the pitiable sufferings of poor ambassadors and public representatives.]

The second chapter, at least that which is formally distinguished as such in our copies, relates to the form of government, the finances, and the military forces. Delfino is surprised, as well he might be, at some points in the financial administration. "Mentre l'entrate della chiesa sono impegnate all'ingrosso ordinariamente e straordinariamente; e quello ch'è peggio, si comprano castelli e giurisdizioni de' sudditi a 1½ o 2 per cento e si pagano censi a 9 o 10 per cento, parendo strano agli uomini savj che in tante strettezze si fanno queste compre, e più è che se si vogliono far certe spese, non si facciano per vita delli danari del castello, per non ci andar debitando e consumando del tutto." [Meanwhile the revenues of the church are pledged in the mass ordinarily and extraordinarily: and what is worse, boroughs and jurisdictions are bought of subjects at a rate returning 1½ or 2 per cent. (I take this to mean, the proceeds of which are so much), and mortgages are

paid at the rate of 9 or 10 per cent. It seems strange to wise men that these purchases should be made under the pressure of such embarrassments, and it is still more strange that if they will incur certain expenses, they do not defray them with the moneys in the castle, and not go on thus contracting debt and exhausting every resource.] Even at that time we see there were persons who were startled by the idea of hoarding borrowed money. Much dissatisfaction had ensued upon the first short-lived contentment in Ferrara. "Nobili e popolo si darebbero volentieri a qual principe si voglia, per uscir dalle mani dove si trovano." [Nobles and people would gladly cast themselves upon any sovereign whatever, to escape the hands into which they have fallen.]

III. Intelligence.—We are told on what bad terms the pope stood with the emperor and Philip II.: he awaited the king's death with a kind of painful longing; how ill with Florence, for it was well remembered that the house of the Aldobrandini belonged to the emigrant families, "(le cose passano peggio che con ogn' altro, ricordandosi d'esser andato il papa e la sua casa ramingo per il mondo); how much better, on the other hand, with France and Poland, especially with the latter, with which he had a community of interests and plans ("concorrendo e dall' una e dall' altra parte interessi nel presente e disegni nel tempo a venire"). But for no one was Clement more interested than for the sovereign of Transylvania. "Col principe di Transilvania ha trattato il papa con tanto amore, e con tener un nuntio apostolico appresso di lui e con averli dato in mio tempo 60 m. scudi in tre volte e con infiniti officii fatti fare con l'imperatore per servizio, che quasi poteva dirsi interressato et obligato alla continua sua protezione: e credo che'l povero principe la meritava, perche s'è risoluto alla guerra con fondamento principale del consiglio et delle promesse di S. S.<sup>ta</sup>: quanto nel principio già tre anni e già due ancora esaltava la virtù e valor di questo principe fino al cielo, avendo detto a me più volte ch'egli solo faceva la guerra al Turco, tanto più ultimamente con la cessione che gli fece de' suoi stati restava molto chiarito, et il predicava un gran da poco: onde si vede che se bene aveva promesso all'imperatore di farlo cardinale et a lui ancora, non averebbe però osservato cosa alcuna, e perciò credo che essendo tornato al governo de' suoi stati abbia sentito S. S.<sup>ta</sup> gran consolazione."

[The pope has dealt towards the prince of Transylvania with so much love, keeping an apostolic nuncio at his court, thrice in my time bestowing on him 60,000 scudi, and rendering him immense services with the emperor, that he might be said almost to be interested, and pledged to afford him continual protection. And I believe that the poor prince deserved it, because he resolved on war principally on the strength of the advice and the promises of his holiness: this was evident, both from the way in which in the beginning he lauded this prince's virtue and worth to the skies three years, and again two years ago, having told me several times that he made war singly against the Turks, and still more so recently from the cession he made him of his states, when he made a great talk of little; whence it appears that if even he had promised the emperor, and himself too, that he would make him a cardinal, he still would not have kept any such promise, and therefore I believe that

his holiness was greatly rejoiced when he returned to the government of his dominions.]

IV. Cardinali.—They are all gone through in succession, and judged more or less favourably.

V. "De' soggetti che cascano in maggior considerazione per lo pontificato."

VI. "Interessi con Venetia."—A thousand disputes were already on foot. "Quando non si provveda alle pretensioni et ai disordini, un giorno si entrerà in qualche travaglio di gran momento, massimamente di questi novi acquisti che sempre vi penso per cognitione che ho della natura de' preti e della chiesa mi fa temere." [If measures be not taken to check these pretensions and disorders, there will one day be some very serious trouble, particularly about these new acquisitions (concerning the navigation of the Po); and as often as I think on the subject I am alarmed, from the knowledge I possess of the nature of priests and of the church.]

This anticipation was but too soon fulfilled.

71. *Venier : Relatione di Roma. 1601. [Report on Rome.]*

The disputes between the pope and Venice had by this time risen to a high pitch. The Venetians refused to send their patriarch to Rome for examination. Rancorous quarrels had begun about the Goro mouth of the Po. It was on account of these dispatches that Venier was dispatched to Rome.

He remained there but a short while; nevertheless, the sketch he gives of Clement is most useful.

"Della natura et pensieri del pontefice, per quello che a me tocca di considerare nella presente congiuntura per li negotii che giornalmente tratta V. Serenità con S. Beatitudine, dirò che il papa in questa età sua di 65 anni è più sano e più gagliardo di quello che sia stato negli anni adietro, non havendo indisposizione alcuna fuorché quella della chiragra o gotta, che però li serve, come vogliono li medici, a tenerlo preservato da altre indisposizioni, e questa molto più di rado e molto meno che per l'innanzi le da molestia al presente, per la bona regola particolarmente del viver, nel quale da certo tempo in qua procede con grandissima riserva e con notabile astinenza nel bere: che le giova anco grandemente a non dar fomento alla grassezza, alla quale è molto inclinata la sua complessione, usando anco per questo di frequentare l'esercizio di camminar longamente sempre che senza sconcio de negotii conosce di poterlo fare, ai quali nondimeno per la sua gran capacità supplisce, intanto che le resta comoda parte di tempo che dispensa admettendo persone private et altri che secondo il solito ricorrono a S. S<sup>ta</sup>. A negotii gravi si applica con ogni suo spirito, et persiste in essi senza mostrarne mai alcuna fiacchezza, et quando li succede di vederli conclusi, gode et fruisce mirabilmente il contento che ne riceve. Nè di cosa maggiormente si compiace che di esser stimato, et che sia rispettata la sua reputatione, della quale è gelosissimo. Et quanto per la complessione sua molto sanguigna e colerica è facile ad accendersi, prorompendo con grandissima vehementia in esagerationi piene di escandescenza et acerbità, tanto anco mentre vede che altri tace con la lingua se ben s'attrista nel sembiante, si ravede per se stesso et procura con gran benignità di raddolcire ogni amaritudine: la qual cosa è così nota horamai a tutti li cardinali che

ne danno cortese avvertimento agli amici loro, siccome lo diede anco a me nel primo congresso l'illustrissimo sig<sup>r</sup> cardie di Verona per mia da lui stimata molto utile conformatione. Ha Sua S<sup>ta</sup> volti li pensieri suoi alla gloria, nè si può immaginare quanto acquisto facciano li principi della gratia sua, mentre secondano la sua inclinatione. Onde Spagnoli in particolare, che sempre mirano a conservarsi et ad aumentar la gran parte che hanno nella corte di Roma, non trascurano punto l'occasione: et però con tanto maggior prontezza hanno applicato l'animo a far qualche impresa contra Turchi, come hora si vede, et con andar sofferendo non mediocri durezza, che provano ancor loro nelli negotii importanti, particolarmente per causa di giurisdizione, che vivono alla corte di Roma, si vanno sempre più avanzando nel riportare in molte cose non piccole soddisfattioni. E tenuto generalmente il pontefice persona di gran virtù, bontà et religione: di che egli si compiace far che del continuo se ne veggano segni et importanti effetti. Et se ben li cardinali si vedono nel presente pontefice scemata molto quella autorità che ne' tempi passati sono stati soliti d'haver, restando quasiche del tutto esclusi dalla partecipazione de negotii più importanti, poichè ben spesso fino all'ultima conclusione di essi non hanno delle trattationi la già solita notizia, mostrano nondimeno di stimare il pontefice, lodano la S<sup>ta</sup> S. con termini di somma riverenza, celebrando la prudenza et l'altre virtù sue con grand' esageratione, afirmando che se fosse occasione hora di elegere pontefice, non elegerebbono altro che questo medesimo, se ben son molto reconditi et profondi i loro pensieri, et le parole et le apparenze sono volte ai proprj disegni forse a Roma più che altrove."

[As to the character and disposition of the pope, as far as my attention has been called thereto in the present conjuncture, in the course of the daily transactions between your serenity and his holiness, I will mention that the pope, at his present age of 65, is in better health and strength than he enjoyed in past years, having no indisposition except the chiragra or gout, which however is of use to him, as the physicians allege, in keeping him from other disorders: its attacks are now much less frequent and troublesome than formerly, particularly in consequence of his very regular living, in which he has persisted for a certain time with extreme reserve and with notable abstinence in his drink: moreover, he gladly avoids encouraging corpulence, to which his constitution is very prone, wherefore he makes it a practice to take long walks whenever he finds he can do so without interruption to business, though he readily makes up for any lost time by his extraordinary capacity, so that he has a convenient share of leisure, which he employs in receiving private persons and others who habitually wait upon his holiness. He applies with all his soul to serious business, and persists in it without displaying any signs of flagging; and when he sees it brought to an issue, he wonderfully enjoys the pleasure thence afforded him. There is nothing he is so fond of, as being esteemed and having his reputation respected, of which he is most jealous. And whereas, by reason of his very sanguine and choleric temperament, he is easily exasperated, breaking out with huge vehemence into angry and bitter tirades; yet if he perceives that the person he addresses keeps silence with his tongue, though his

countenance displays vexation, he checks himself, and endeavours with great kindness to remove all feeling of bitterness. This circumstance is now so well known to all the cardinals that they courteously warn their friends of it, as was done to myself on my first audience by the cardinal di Verona, by way of giving me what he thought a very useful hint for my conduct. His holiness has his thoughts turned upon glory, nor can it be conceived how much sovereigns gain in his favour by seconding his inclination. Hence the Spaniards in particular, who are always on the watch to preserve and augment the great interest they possess at the court of Rome, fail not in the least point to act accordingly; and so they have the more promptly applied themselves to effect some enterprise against the Turks, as at present seen: and though they are obliged to put up with no slight hardships, which they too experience who live at the court of Rome on account of important business, especially judicial matters, still they are continually gaining ground, and obtaining in many things no slight satisfactions. The pope is generally esteemed a person of great virtue, goodness, and piety, of which he delights continually to give striking proof. And though the cardinals find themselves in the present pontificate curtailed of much of that authority they were used to possess in times past, being almost totally excluded from participating in the more important matters, for very often it is not till these are concluded that they receive notice of their being under consideration, nevertheless they appear to esteem the pope, praise his holiness in the most reverential terms, celebrate his prudence and other virtues in the largest style, affirming that if they had now to choose a pope they would choose none other than this same: their thoughts though are very secret and deep, and words and appearances are shaped to fit private designs oftener perhaps in Rome than elsewhere.]

The ambassador succeeded in once more allaying the disputes, though the pope already talked of excommunication. On the whole, however, Venier considered him well disposed. Venice consented to send the patriarch to Rome.

72. *Istruzione all' illmo et eccmo marchese di Viglienna ambasciatore cattolico in Roma 1603.* (*Informatt. politt. n. 26.*) [Instruction to the marchese di Viglienna, catholic ambassador to Rome.]

Viglienna was Sessa's successor. Our author reasonably enough leaves it to the departing ambassador to give information respecting the pope and those immediately belonging to him. He himself gives us accounts of the cardinals. His object is to point out the faction to which each belonged. We can perceive that the state of things was very much altered since 1599. But ten cardinals are enumerated as decidedly Spanish. Formerly there had been but little mention of French cardinals: there were now nine of them; the others belonged to no party.

This author is also deeply impressed with the importance of the curia. "Qui le differenze, le pretensioni, le paci, le guerre si maneggiano. . . . Le conditioni invitano i più vivaci e cupidi di grandezza, di maniera che non è meraviglia che qui fioriscano i più acuti ingegni." [In it are disposed of disputes, pretensions, peace and war. . . . Its

circumstances invite the most spirited and the most covetous of greatness, so that it is no wonder that the most acute intellects flourish there.]

73. *Dialogo di mons<sup>r</sup> Malaspina sopra lo stato spirituale e politico dell' imperio e delle provincie infette d'heresia.* (*Vallie. n. 17. 142 leaves.*) [Dialogue by monsignor Malaspina, on the spiritual and political state of the empire and the provinces infested with heresy.]

A dialogue between monsieur Malaspina, the archbishop of Prague, and the bishops of Lyons and Cordova, churchmen belonging severally to the four principal nations, somewhere about the year 1600. Mention is made in it of the escheat of Ferrara.

Its object is specially to compare what had been done by former popes and by Clement VIII. respectively, for the advancement of catholicism.

Under the former popes: "1. La reductione delle Indie, 2. la celebratione del concilio, 3. la lega santa e la vittoria navale, 4. Perettione de' collegii, 5. l'offerta dagli heretici del primato di Pietro al patriarcha Constantinopolitano . . . (?) 5. la constanzia del re cattolico in non concedere agli heretici nei paesi bassi cose in pregiudicio della religione." [1. The reduction of the Indies; 2. The celebration of the council; 3. The holy league and the naval victory; 4. The erection of the colleges; 5. The offer by the heretics of the primacy of Peter to the patriarch of Constantinople . . . (?) 5. The firmness of the catholic king in not yielding to the heretics in the Low Countries things prejudicial to religion.]

By pope Clement VIII.: "1. Il governo pastorale et universale, 2. il governo particolare dei domini dello stato ecclesiastico, 3. la vita di S. Beatitudine, 4. il Turca hora per opera di S. Beatitudine fatto apparire di potersi vincere, 5. Ferrara occupata, 6. l'essersi fatto cattolico il christianissimo re di Francia." [1. The pastoral and universal government; 2. The particular government of the dominions of the ecclesiastical states; 3. The life of his holiness; 4. The Turk now, by means of his holiness, shown to be vanquishable; 5. Ferrara occupied; 6. The most Christian king of France become catholic.]

Malaspina concludes that this is of more importance than all that the others had effected. Quite natural. The work is dedicated to the pope's nephews.

I have only been able to find one solitary passage worthy of note in this long paper.

The author was present at the electoral diet of Ratisbon in the year 1575, where he conferred with the elector Augustus of Saxony. This prince was still far from exciting the hopes of the catholics that he would recant. On the contrary, he declared he made no account of the pope, whether as pope or as sovereign of Rome, nor yet in consideration of his wealth; the papal treasury was rather a cistern than a living spring; the only thing that gave him concern was, that a monk like Pius V. should have united such mighty sovereigns in a war against the Turks; he might repeat the same thing against the protestants. In fact, Gregory XIII. actually conceived such a scheme. Seeing that France withdrew from any share in the Turkish war from its fear of the Huguenots, he deemed a general confederacy at once against the Turks

and the protestants to be necessary. Negotiations were immediately set on foot on the subject with the emperor and with the archduke Charles of Styria.

74. *Relazione delle chiese di Sassonia. Felicibus auspiciis illius comitis Frid. Borromei. 1603. (Bibl. Ambros. H. 179.)* [Report on the churches of Saxony.]

Another of the numerous schemes of catholicism to recover possession of Germany.

The author is persuaded that Germany is gradually becoming weary of protestantism. Already parents took little interest in having their children educated in their own faith. "Li lasciano in abbandono, perché dio gl'inspira, come essi dicono, a quel che sia per salute dell' anime loro." [They leave them alone, in order, as they say, that God may inspire them with what may be for the good of their souls.]

Under this persuasion, he forms projects against two leading protestant countries, Saxony and the Palatinate.

In Saxony the administrator had already extirpated Calvinism. He must be gained over by the hopes of recovering the electorate. ("Mettergli innanzi speranza di poter per la via della conversione farsi assoluto patrone dell' elettorato.") The provincial nobility too would be well pleased if they had a prospect of again getting hold of the bishoprics.

He expresses himself in the following way respecting the Palatinate. "Il Casimiro aveva una sorella vedova, che fu moglie d'un landgraviò d'Hessia, la quale suol vivere in Braubach, terra sopra il Rheno, e si dimostra piena di molte virtù morali e di qualche lume del cielo: suol esercitare l'opere di carità per molto zelo, facendo molte elemosine e consolando gl' infermi di quei contorni con provederli di medicine: conversa volentieri con alcuni padri del Gesù e con l'arcivescovo di Treveri. . . . E opinione di molti che mediante una più diligenza o di qualche padro del Gesù amato da lei o di qualche principe cattolico o vescovo saria facil cosa di ridurla totalmente alla vera fede: . . . di che se dio benedetto desse la gratia e che la cosa passasse con conveniente segretezza, sarebbe ella ottimo instrumento per convertire poi il nipote con la sorella di lui et un'altra figlia che resta del Casimiro." [Casimir had a widowed sister, who had been the wife of a landgrave of Hesse; she resides in Braubach, a country on the Rhine, and she appears possessed of many moral virtues, and of some illumination from heaven: she is wont to perform works of charity with much zeal, distributing many alms, and comforting the infirm of those regions by procuring them medicines. She is fond of conversing with some Jesuit fathers and with the archbishop of Trier. . . . It is supposed that with somewhat more diligence on the part of some Jesuit father liked by her, or of some catholic prince or bishop, it would be easy to bring her over wholly to the true faith: . . . which if God in his grace would vouchsafe to grant, it would be the best means towards afterwards converting her nephew and his sister, and another surviving daughter of Casimir.]

The author alludes in this to Anna Elizabeth of the Palatinate, the wife of Philip of Hesse Rheinfels,

who died in the year 1583. She had previously incurred suspicion of Calvinism, and had even been wounded in consequence in a riot. We see that subsequently, when living in Braubach, her widow's estate, which she beautified, she was suspected of an opposite leaning to catholicism.

It is upon this combination of circumstances that our author builds. He is of opinion, that were the young count palatine to be married to a Bavarian princess, the whole country would become catholic. And what an advantage would it be to gain over an electorate!

75. *Istruzione a V. S.<sup>ra</sup> Mons<sup>r</sup> Barberino arcivescovo di Nazaret destinato nuncio ordinario di N. S.<sup>re</sup> al re christianissimo in Francia 1603. (M.S. Rom.)* [Instruction to monsignor Barberini, archbishop of Nazareth, on his going as nuncio to France.]

Drawn up by cardinal P. Aldobrandino, who makes frequent mention of his own former embassy to the French court: it has in view the furthering of the impulse already given to catholicism in France by the conversion of Henry IV.

Let us observe some of the charges given to the nuncio, afterwards pope Urban VIII.

"Ella farà sì con il re ch' egli mostri non solamente di desiderare che gli eretici si convertino, ma che dopo che si sono convertiti, gli ajuti e favorisca. . . . Il pensare a bilanciare le cose in maniera che si tenghi amiche ambedue le parti è una propositione vana, falsa ed erronea, e non potrà esser suggerita a S. M.<sup>a</sup> che da politici e mal intentionati e da chi non ama la suprema autorità del re nel regno. . . . N. S.<sup>re</sup> non vuol lasciar di porli (the king) in considerazione una strada facile e senza che possa partorir tumulto e che si eseguisca facilmente e fa il suo effetto senza coltivazione, et è quella che altre volte ha S. S.<sup>a</sup> ricordato alla M.<sup>a</sup> S. et addotto l'esempio di Polonia cioè di non dar gradi ad eretici: . . . ricorda a S. M.<sup>a</sup> di dar qualche sbarbetezza alle volte a costoro (the Huguenots), perché è turba ribelle et insolente. . . . V. S.<sup>ra</sup> dovrà dire liberamente al re che deve fuggire gli economati et il dar vescovati e badie a soldati et a donne." [He will so proceed with the king that his majesty shall not only manifest his desire for the conversion of the heretics, but also countenance and favour them after their conversion. . . . The thought of balancing matters so that the two parties shall remain friends, is a vain, false, and erroneous proposition, and can only be suggested to his majesty by crafty and evil intentioned persons, and by those who do not like the king's supreme authority in the kingdom. . . . His holiness would by all means have an easy course submitted to the king's consideration (for getting rid of the protestants) one that cannot produce any commotion, is easy of execution, and will produce its effect spontaneously and without any special exertion: it is the same which his holiness has on other occasions suggested to his majesty, adducing the example of Poland, and that is, not to give promotion to heretics: . . . let him put his majesty in mind to give the Huguenots some smart rap or another on all occasions, for they are a rebellious and insolent pack. . . . Your excellency must tell the king plainly that he ought to abolish the economati (stewardships) and the practice of



bestowing bishoprics and abbeys on soldiers and women.]

In these *economi* consisted the origin of the *regale*, which at a later period caused such serious disputes. "Il re nomina l'economo, il quale in virtù d'un arresto, inanzi sia fatta la spedizione apostolica, amministra lo spirituale e temporale, conferisce beneficii, costituisce vicarii che giudicano, assolvono, dispensano." [The king nominates the economo, who by virtue of an arrêt, without waiting for the determination of the apostolic see, administers spiritualities and temporalities, confers benefices, and appoints vicars, who judge, absolve, and dispense.]

The nuncio was also to strive to confirm the king himself in the catholic faith; during the war his majesty had not had an opportunity of receiving sound instruction; he should insist on the nomination of good bishops, see to the reform of the clergy, and as far as possible effect the publication of the decrees of the council of Trent, which the king had promised the cardinal on his departure to set on foot within two months, but which he still, after the lapse of several years, delayed to do; he was to counsel the destruction of Geneva " (di tor via il nido che hanno gli eretici in Ginevra, come quella che è asilo di quanti apostati fuggono d'Italia)" [to sweep away that nest the heretics have in Geneva, as being the asylum of all the fugitive apostates of Italy.]

Italy was above all the subject that lay nearest the pope's heart: he declares it past endurance that a Huguenot commander should be sent to Castel Delfino on the Italian side of the Alps; the example was deadly.

Clement was full of the idea of a Turkish war. Each sovereign should attack the Turks at a separate point; the king of Spain was ready to do his part, and only required the assurance that the king of France would not in the meanwhile molest him in any quarter.

76. *Pauli V pontificis maxima vita compendiose scripta.*—(Bibl. Barb.) [An epitome of the life of pope Paul V.]

A panegyric of no great value.

The judicial functions, administration, and architectural schemes of this pope are praised at length.

"Tacitus plerumque et in se receptus; ubique locorum et temporum vel in mensa meditabatur, scribebat, plurima transigebat.

"Nullus dabatur facinorosis receptui locus. Ex aulis primariis Romæ, ex ædium nobilissimarum non dicam atris sed penetralibus nocentis ad supplicium armato satellitio educebantur.

"Cum principatus initio rerum singularum, præcipue pecuniarum difficultate premeretur, cum jugiter annis XVI tantum auri tot largitionibus, substructionibus, ex integro ædificationibus, præsidis exteriorumque subsidiis insumpserit, rem frumentariam tanta impensa expediverit, . . . nihil de arcis Eliæ thesauro ad publicum tutamen congesto detraxerit, subjectas provincias sublevaverit: tot immensis tamen operibus non modo æs alienum denuo non contraxit, sed vetus imminuit; non modo ad inopiam non est redactus, sed præter publicum undequaque locupletatum privato ærario novies centena millia nummum aureorum congestit."

[He was generally silent and engrossed with his

own thoughts, in all times and places; even at table he used to meditate, write, and transact a multitude of things.

[No asylum was granted to malefactors. From the foremost palaces of Rome, not merely from the halls but from the very inmost receptacles of the noblest mansions in Rome, culprits were brought out by armed force for punishment.

[Whereas in the beginning he was embarrassed in every respect, above all by want of money; and whereas, during a space of sixteen years, he expended so much in presents, repairs, or entire construction of buildings, military charges, and subsidies of foreign states, was at such cost for supplies of corn, . . . took nothing from the fund accumulated in St. Angelo for the public safeguard, and relieved the subject provinces; with all these vast sources of expenditure still he contracted no new debt, but diminished the old; and so far from being reduced to penury, besides enriching the public treasury from all quarters, he added to the private treasury 900,000 scudi.]

Apparently this panegyrist did not regard the creation of so many new luoghi di monte in the light of a loan.

77. *Relazione dello stato infelice della Germania con propositione delli rimedii opportuni, mandata dal nuntio Ferrero rescritto di Vercelli alla S<sup>ta</sup> di N. Sig<sup>ra</sup> papa Paolo V.*—(Bibl. Barb.) [Report of the unhappy state of Germany, with a proposal of the proper remedies, addressed by the nuncio Ferrero, bishop of Vercelli, to his holiness pope Paul V.]

Probably one of the first circumstantial reports that came into the hands of Paul V. The nuncio mentions the revolt of the imperial troops against their general Basta in May 1605, as an event that had just occurred.

The unfortunate course taken by the war under these circumstances, and the progress of the Turks and the rebels in arms against the emperor, were doubtless his chief grounds for calling Germany unhappy.

For in other respects he did not fail to perceive the numerous conquests made by the catholic church in Germany.

"Di questi frutti ne sono stati prossima causa gli alunni così di Roma come delle varie città e luoghi della Germania dove la pietà di Gregorio XIII alle spese della camera apostolica gl' institui, giunti li collegii e scuole delli padri Gesuiti, alli quali vanno misti cattolici ed heretici; perche li alunni sudetti si fanno prelati o canonici."

[The proximate cause of these results are the pupils both of Rome and of the various cities and places of Germany, where the piety of Gregory XIII, afforded them the means of education at the charge of the apostolic treasury, added to the schools and colleges of the Jesuit fathers, which are attended by catholics and heretics promiscuously; because the aforesaid pupils become prelates or canons.]

He repeatedly asserts that the Jesuit schools had gained over a great multitude of young people to catholicism. Only he finds in Bohemia in particular an extraordinary dearth of catholic parish clergy.

He enters also into the political state of Ger-



many: he considers the danger to be apprehended from the Turks very alarming, seeing the ill-prepared condition of the emperor, and the internal dissensions of the house of Austria. The Archdukes Matthias and Maximilian had made up their quarrels and united against the emperor. "Hora l'arciduca Mattia e Massimiliano si sono uniti in amore, vedendo che con la loro disunione facevano il gioco che l'imperatore desidera, essendosi risoluto il secondo a cedere al primo conte a quello che per ragione di primogenitura toceva il regno d'Ungheria, Boemia o stati d'Austria, et Alberto ha promesso di star a quello che se ne farà, e di comun concerto sollecitano l'imperatore con lettera a prendere resolutione al stabilimento della casa: ma egli è caduto in tanta malinconia, o sia per questa lor unione, e gelosia che non siano per valersi di queste sedizioni, o per altro, che non prevede alla casa nè agli stati nè a se stesso." [The archdukes Matthias and Maximilian are now united and friendly, for they saw that their disunion was playing the emperor's game. Maximilian has resolved to give way to Matthias, since to him by right of primogeniture belong the kingdom of Hungary, Bohemia, and the states of Austria; and Albert has promised to acquiesce in whatever shall be done, and they have written in concert to the emperor, requesting him to adopt measures for the stability of the house. But the emperor is fallen into such melancholy, whether in consequence of their union, and from jealous apprehension that they intend to avail themselves of these seditions, or for some other cause, that he takes no thought either for his house, or for his dominions, or for himself.]

Many other remarkable facts are also brought to light, e.g. the designs even then entertained by the house of Brandenburg against Silesia. "Il Brandeburgh non dispera con gli stati che ha in Slesia e le sue proprie forze in tempo di revolutione tirar a se quella provincia." [Brandenburg does not despair, with the states he has in Silesia and his own forces, to be able to appropriate that province to himself in time of revolution.]

78. *Relatione dell' illmo S<sup>ro</sup> Franc. Molino cav<sup>o</sup> e pro-ritornuto da Roma con l'illmi signi<sup>ori</sup> Giovanni Mocenigo cav<sup>o</sup>, Piero Duodo cav<sup>o</sup> e Francesco Contarini cav<sup>o</sup>, mandati a Roma a congratularsi con papa Paolo V. della sua assunzione al ponteficato, letta in senato 25 Genn. 1605 (1606).* [Report by Francesco Molino of his joint embassy with Giov. Mocenigo, &c., to congratulate pope Paul V. on his accession.]

The outbreak of the troubles was already foreseen. The ambassador observed Paul V. as closely as possibly.

"Siccome pronuntiato Leone XI penarono doi hore a vestirlo pontificalmente, così il presente pontefice fu quasi creduto prima vestito ch'eleto et pur da altri cardinali: che non fu così presto dichiarato che in momento dimostrò continenza et gravità pontificia tanta nell' aspetto, nel moto, nelle parole et negli fatti, che restarono tutti pieni di stupore et meraviglia et molti forse pentiti, ma tardi et senza giovamento: perche diversissimo dalli altri precessori, che in quel calore hanno tutti assentito alle richieste così de' cardinali come d'altri et fatte infinite gratie, così il presente stette

continentissimo et sul serio, tanto che si dichiarò risoluto a non voler assentire et promettere pur minima cosa, dicendo ch'era conveniente aver prima sopra le richieste et gratie che le erano dimandate ogni debita et matura consideratione: onde pochissimi furono quelli che dopo qualche giorno restassero in qualche parte gratiati. Nè tuttavia si va punto allargando, anzi per la sua sempre maggior riservatezza dubitando la corte di veder anco sempre poche gratie et maggior strettezza in tutte le cose, se ne sta molto mesta. Fra li cardinali non v'è alcuno che si possi gloriare di aver avuto tanto d'intrensichezza o familiarità seco che di certo si possi promettere di ottenere prontamente alcuna cosa da lui, e tutti procedono con tanto rispetto che si smarriscono quando sono per andarli a parlar et negoziar seco: perche oltre che lo trovano star sempre sul serio et dar le risposte con poche parole, si vedono incontrar in resolutioni fondate quasi sempre sopra il rigor dei termini legali: perche non admettendo consuetudini, ch'egli chiama abusi, nè esempi di consenso de' pontefici passati, ai quali non solamente dice che non sapria accomodar la sua conscientia, ma che possono aver fatto male et potranno render conto a dio o che saranno stati ingannati, o che la cosa sarà stata diversa da quella che a lui viene portata, li lascia per il più malcontenti. Non ha caro che si parli seco lungo per via di contesa o di disputatione, et se ascolta pur una o doi repliche, quelle stimando di aver risoluto con le decisioni de' leggi o dei canoni o de' concilj che lor porta per risposta, si toce se passano inanzi, ovvero egli entra in altro, volendo che sappino che per le fatiche fatte da lui il spatio di trenta cinque anni continuo nel studio delle leggi et praticate con perpetui esercitii nelli officii di corte in Roma et fuori, possi ragionevolmente pretendere, se bene questo non dice tanto espressamente, ni aver così esatta cognitione di questa professione che non metti il piede a fallo nelle resolutioni che da et nelle determinazioni che fa, dicendo bene che nelle cose dubbie deve l'arbitrio et interpretatione particolarmente nelle materie ecclesiastiche esser di lui solo come pontefice. Et per questo li cardinali, che per l'ordinario da certo tempo in qua non contradicono, come solevano, anzi quasi non consigliano, et se sono ricercati et comandati di parlar liberamente, lo fanno conforme a quell' intentione che vedono esser nelli pontefici, se ben non la sentono, col presente se ne astengono più di quello che habbino fatto con alcun dei suoi precessori: et averanno ogni di tanto maggior occasione di star in silenzio, quanto che manco delli altri ricerca il parere di loro o di alcuno a parte, come soleva pur far papa Clemente et altri: fa fra se stesso solo le resolutioni et quelle di improvviso pubblica nel concistorio: in cui hora si duole dei tempi presenti, hora si querela de' principi con parole pungenti come fece ultimamente in tempo nostro per la deditione di Strigonia, condolendosi et attribuendo la colpa all' imperatore et ad altri principi con parole aculeate et pungenti; hora rappresentando a' cardinali li loro obblighi, li sfodra protesti senza alcun precedente ordine o comandamento, con che li mette in grandissima confusione, come fece significandoli l'obbligo della residenza et, come ho detto, non per via di comando, come facevano li altri pontefici, li quali prefigevano loro ancor stretto tempo di andar alle lor chiese, ma con solamente dirli che non

excusarebbe li absenti da esso da peccato mortalo et da ricevere i frutti, fondando la sudetta conclusione sopra li canoni et sopra il concilio di Trento : col qual termine solo così stretto et inaspettatamente con molta flamma pronunciato mette tanta confusione nelli cardinali vescovi che conoscendo loro non potersi fermare in Roma più lungamente senza scrupolo et rimorso grandissimo della conscientia, senza dar scandalo et senza incorrer in particolar concetto presso il papa di poco curanti li avvertimenti della S<sup>a</sup> Sua, di poco timorati di dio et di poco honore ancor presso il mondo, hanno preso resolutione chi di andar alla residenza, et già se ne sono partiti alquanti, chi di rinunciare, et chi di aver dispensa fin che passi la furia dell' inverno per andarvi alla primavera : nè ha adpresso per difesa che salvino le legationi della provincie e delle città del stato ecclesiastico : solo doi poteano essere ecceutati, il card<sup>i</sup> Tarasio arcivescovo di Siena vecchissimo et sordo, che non sarà perciò salvato da restar astretto alla renoncia, et il sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>i</sup> di Verona, medesimamente per l'età grandissima et per aver già molti anni mon<sup>s</sup> suo nipote ch' esercita la coadjutoria et ottimamente supplisce per il zio." [Whereas on Leo XI. being pronounced elected, they delayed two hours to clothe him in the pontifical vestments ; the present pope, on the other hand, was thought to have been robed almost before his election, and while on a footing with the other cardinals. For no sooner was he declared, than he instantly displayed the reserve and gravity of a pope in his countenance, gestures, words, and actions, so that all were filled with amazement and wonder, and some perhaps repented, though too late to help themselves : for quite differently from his predecessors, who all in the first flush of their success consented to the requests of the cardinals and others and granted favours, the present pope was for his part most reserved and grave, insomuch that he declared his resolution not to grant the most trifling request, saying that it was expedient he should first duly and maturely consider all the requests that were addressed to him ; hence they were extremely few who at the end of a few days received favours of some kind. Nor does his liberality enlarge a jot ; on the contrary, his increasing reserve makes the court apprehend a continued restriction of favours and augmented straitness in all things, whereat it is very sad. Among the cardinals, there is not one that can boast of having had so much intimacy or familiarity with him as to make sure of promptly obtaining anything of him ; and they all stand in such awe of him, that they are disconcerted when they have to wait upon him and transact business with him : for besides that they find he always stands upon his dignity and gives his answers in few words, they are met by him with conclusions founded almost always on the strict letter of the law ; for making no allowance for customs which he calls abuses, nor precedents of past popes, saying, not only that he cannot accommodate his conscience to their dictates, but also that they may have done ill, and perhaps have to render an account to God, or that they may have been deceived, or that the case shall have been different from that set before him, he leaves them in the utmost discontent. He does not like being talked to long in the way of contention and argument, and if he does listen to one or two replies, after having as he thinks refuted them by decisions

of law, or of the canons or of the councils, he winces if they are pushed any further, or he changes the subject, for he would have them to know, that in consequence of his continual study of the laws for the space of five and thirty years, and his practice of them in offices pertaining to the court of Rome and abroad, he may reasonably pretend, though he does not say so much expressly, to be so accurately versed in that profession as not to make any false step in the judgments he forms and the decisions he takes ; alleging, that to him alone as pope it should belong to judge and interpret in doubtful matters, particularly ecclesiastical. Hence, customary as it has been with the cardinals for a certain time past not to contradict as they used to do, not even to advise, and when requested and commanded to speak freely, to do so only in accordance with what they know to be the sentiments of the pope for the time being, whether they really agree with them or not, with the present pope they are more guarded than ever they were with any of his predecessors : and every day they will have more and more occasion to keep silence, inasmuch as less than other popes he inquires after their opinions, as pope Clement and others used to do : he adopts all resolutions of himself, and suddenly divulges them in the consistory, where sometimes he complains of the present times, sometimes inveighs against sovereigns with bitter words, as he did recently in our time on the surrender of Strigonia, lamenting and attributing the blame to the emperor and the sovereigns with pointed and caustic language ; sometimes he represents to the cardinals their duties to him, and makes protests against them without any precedent, order, or commandment, whereby he throws them into great confusion, as he did when he signified to them their obligation to residence, and that, as I have said, not by way of command, as the other popes did, who assigned them a specified time, and short too, to go to their churches, but telling them merely that he would not excuse the absentees from mortal sin, nor permit them to receive the revenues, founding the said determination on the canons and on the council of Trent : by which so strict decision, unexpectedly pronounced with much heat, he caused such dismay among the cardinal bishops, that knowing they could not remain longer in Rome without extreme scruples and remorse of conscience, without causing scandal, and without in particular incurring suspicion on the pope's part of being careless of the warnings of his holiness, regardless of God's fear and of their own honour in the eyes of the world, they took the resolution, some of going to reside on their preferments, and a few of them have already set out, some of resigning, and some of procuring a dispensation to remain till the rigour of the winter is past, and then setting out in the spring. Nor has he allowed them in recompense to keep the legations of the provinces or of the cities of the ecclesiastical states : two only have been able to procure exception in their favour, namely cardinal Tarasio, archbishop of Siena, who is very old and deaf, but even he will not be exempted from the necessity of resigning ; and cardinal di Verona, likewise on account of his great age, and because for many years his nephew has acted as his coadjutor, and has extremely well filled his uncle's place.]

Notwithstanding this severity, the ambassadors

in reality got on remarkably well with Paul V. He dismissed them in the most friendly manner, nor could the best disposed pope have expressed himself more favourably. They were themselves astonished that things should so soon after have taken such a contrary and so formidable a turn.

79. *Istruzione a mons<sup>re</sup> il rescoro di Rimini (C. Gessi) destinato nuncio alla repubblica di Venetia dalla Santità di N. S. P. Paolo V. 1607 4 Giugno. (Bibl. Alb.)* [Instruction to cardinal Gessi, appointed nuncio to Venice from pope Paul V.]

Immediately following the termination of the disputes, yet not very pacific.

The pope complains that the Venetians endeavour to conceal the act of absolution; in a declaration to their clergy a hint was thrown out that the pope had revoked the censures, because he recognized the purity of their intentions " (che S. Beat<sup>ne</sup> per haver conosciuta la sincerità negli animi e delle operationi loro avesse levate le censure)."

Nevertheless Paul V. goes so far as to conceive hopes that the consultants and even fra Paolo would be given up to the inquisition. The passage is very remarkable. "Delle persone di fra Paolo Servita e Gio. Marsilio e degli altri seduttori che passano sotto nome di theologi s'è discorso con Vra Sig<sup>ria</sup> in voce: la quale doveria non aver difficoltà in ottenere che fossero consignati al sant' officio, non che abbandonati dalla repubblica e privati dello stipendio che s'è loro costituito con tanto scandalo." [Your excellency has been discoursed with orally respecting fra Paolo Servita and Gio. Marsilia, and the other seducers who pass under the name of theologians; and you ought not to meet with any difficulty in having them given up to the holy office, not to say abandoned by the republic, and deprived of the stipend which has been so scandalously conferred on them.] Such proposals could not but exasperate the animosity of fra Paolo and make it implacable. The pope knew not what a foe he had in him. All his monsignori and illustrissimi are forgotten: the spirit of fra Paolo survives to this day in a part at least of the opposition within the catholic church.

The resistance the pope had encountered on the part of Venice had made the deepest impression on him. "Vuole N. sig<sup>re</sup> che l'autorità e giurisdizione ecclesiastica sia difesa virilmente da V. S<sup>ria</sup>, la quale avverte non dimeno di non abbracciar causa che possa venire in contesa dove non abbia ragione, perche forse è minor male il non contendere che il perdere." [It is the desire of his holiness that the ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction be manfully defied by your excellency, and you shall at the same time be no less cautious to avoid taking up any matter that may end in an unnecessary contest; for perhaps there is less mischief in not contending, than in being defeated.]

80. *Ragguaglio della dieta imperiale fatta in Ratisbona l'anno del S<sup>o</sup> 1608, nella quale in luogo dell' ecc<sup>mo</sup> e rev<sup>mo</sup> mons<sup>re</sup> Antonio Gaetano, arcivescovo di Capua, nuncio apostolico, rimasto in Praga appresso la M<sup>te</sup> Cesarea, fu residente il padre Filippo Milensio maestro Agustino vicario generale sopra le provincie aquilonarie. All' ecc<sup>mo</sup> e rev<sup>mo</sup> sig<sup>re</sup> e principe il sig<sup>re</sup> card<sup>ale</sup> Fran-*

*cesco Barberini.*—[Account of the imperial diet at Ratisbon, at which padre Filippo Milensio, vicar-general of the Augustines, &c., filled the place of monsignor Gaetano, nuncio, &c., who remained at Prague with the emperor. Addressed to cardinal Francesco Barberini.]

At the time the emperor summoned a diet in the year 1607, Antonio Gaetano was nuncio at his court.

Gaetano was charged with the task of more fully introducing the decrees of the council of Trent, effecting the adoption of the Gregorian calendar (to which the temporal electors were already inclined, especially Saxony, who had already given instructions to his ambassador to that effect,) and protecting the catholic interests in the Kammergericht. The interruption caused in the proceedings of that court was accounted for in the instruction in the following manner.

"Di questo tribunal essendo presidente supremo l'intruso Magdeburgese heretico, e volendo egli esercitare il suo officio, non fu ammesso, e da quel tempo in qua non essendo state reviste le cause et essendo moltiplicati gli aggravi fatti particolarmente alli catholici, protestando li heretici di volere avere luogo nella detta camera indifferentemente, come hanno li catholici, hanno atteso continuamente ad usurpare i beni ecclesiastici." [The supreme president of that tribunal being the Magdeburg heretic intruder, and he desiring to exercise his functions, he was not admitted, and from that time till now no causes having been heard, and the grievances particularly against the catholics having become multiplied, the heretics protesting that they would have admission to the said chamber precisely as have the catholics, they have aimed continually at usurping the ecclesiastical possessions.]

It was to be foreseen that this matter would be warmly discussed at the diet: nevertheless the nuncio could not attend that assembly. The emperor sent the archduke Ferdinand thither as his commissioner, and would have regarded it as an affront if the nuncio had left him.

Gaetano sent in his stead the vicar of the Augustines, fra Milensio. As the latter had passed several years in Germany, he must have been in some degree acquainted with the mutual bearings of parties. But furthermore the nuncio referred him to Matthew Welser—"per esatta cognitione delle cose dell' imperio"—and to that same bishop of Ratisbon, a letter from whom just then produced such great excitement among the protestants. He was also to put himself in connexion with father Willer, the emperor's confessor.

Unfortunately, it was not till many years afterwards, that this Augustinian recorded his own proceedings in this matter. Still what he mentions of his own personal operations is in the highest degree deserving of attention: we have already inserted it in the text.

He refers all the disorders which had then broken out in the empire to the doubtful succession: "essendo fama che Rodolfo volesse adottarsi per figliuolo Leopoldo arciduca, minor fratello di Ferdinando, e che poi a Ferdinando stesso inchinasse" [there being a report that Rodolf was disposed to adopt the archduke Leopold, the younger brother of Ferdinando, and that he afterwards inclined to Ferdinamd]. Matthias was ex-

ceedingly displeased at this. But he found faithful and influential adherents in Klesel and prince Lichtenstein, who was so powerful in Moravia.

According to this account, Dietrichstein and Gaetano had a great share in the conclusion of the treaty between the brothers.

81. *Relatione di Roma dell' illustrissimo S<sup>r</sup> Giovan Mocenigo Kar<sup>o</sup> Amb<sup>o</sup> a quella corte l'anno 1612.* *Inf. Polit.* tom. xv.—[Report of the embassy of Giovan. Mocenigo to Rome.]

The first ambassador after the settlement of the disputes was Francesco Contarini, 1607—1609. Mocenigo speaks in high commendation of the advantage he derived from Contarini's sensible conduct. He himself having been already eighteen years engaged in embassies, remained in Rome from 1609 to 1611. The quiet tone of his report is the best proof that he too was successful in maintaining a good understanding at that court.

It is not his purpose in this report to repeat generalities or well known matters, but merely to set forth the personal qualities of the pope, and his disposition towards Venice. "la qualità, volontà, disposizione del papa e della republica verso questa republica. Tratterò il tutto con ogni brevità tralasciando le cose più tosto curiose che necessarie."

1. Pope Paul V.—"Maestoso, grande, di poche parole: nientedimeno corre voce che in Roma non sia alcuno che lo possa agguagliare nelli termini di creanza o buoni officii: veridico, innocente, di costumi esemplari." [Sombre, tall, of few words; nevertheless it is currently stated in Rome, that there is no one can compare with him in point of civility and good offices: he is veracious, pure, and of exemplary habits.]

2. Cardinal Borghese: "di bella presenza, cortese, benigno: porta gran riverenza al papa: rende ciascuno soddisfatto almeno di buone parole: è stimatissimo e rispettato da ogn'uno." [Of fine presence, courteous, kind; he entertains great reverence for the pope; he makes every one contented, as far at least as good words go; he is highly esteemed and respected by every one.] His income already amounted in the year 1611 to 150,000 scudi.

3. Spiritual power.—He remarked that former popes had made it their glory to confer favours; those of that day rather to retract those that had already been granted: "(rigorosamente studiano d'annullare et abbassare le già ottenute gratie)" Nevertheless sovereigns sought to stand well with them, believing that the obedience of the people was built on religion.

4. Temporal power.—He finds the people of the ecclesiastical states still very warlike in their inclinations; "prontissimi alle fattioni, alli disagi, alle battaglie, all' assalto et a qualunque azione militare;" the papal forces nevertheless in complete decay. Formerly there had been 650 light horse maintained, chiefly against the banditti; but these having been vanquished, the cavalry had been sent to serve in the Hungarian war, and its place had not been supplied.

5. Form of government, absolute.—The cardinal nephew, the datario, and Lanfranco had some influence: otherwise the cardinals were only consulted when the pope wished to secure their acquiescence. Even when they were consulted, they

answered rather in accordance with the pope's inclination than as their own judgment dictated. "(Se pure dimanda consiglio, non è alcuno che ardisca proferir altra parola che d'applauso e di laude, sicché tutto viene terminato dalla prudenza del papa)." And after all this was best, since the factions of the court had made it a mere assemblage of partisans.

6. Relation to Spain and France.—The pope endeavoured to maintain a neutral position. "Quando da qualcheuno dipendente da Spagnoli è stato tenuto proposto intorno alla validità et invalidità del matrimonio della regina, si è stato mostrato risoluto a sostenere le ragioni della regina. Li poco buoni Francesi nel medesimo regno di Francia non hanno mancato d'offerirsi pronti a prender l'armi, purché havessero avuto qualche favore del papa e del re di Spagna."

"Il re di Spagna è più rispettato di qualsivoglia altro principe dalla corte Romana. Cardinali e principi sono consolatissimi, quando possono havere da lui danari et essere suoi dependenti.—Il papa fu già stipendiato da lui, e dall' autorità di S. M., come soggetto confidente, favorito all' assunzione del pontificato con singolare et incomparabile beneficio.—Procura di dar sodisfazione al duca di Lerma, acciò questo le serva per instrumento principalissimo di suoi pensieri presso S. M<sup>ta</sup> catolica." [When the validity or invalidity of the queen's marriage was mooted by some dependent of the Spaniards, he showed his determination to uphold the queen's cause. The few good Frenchmen in the realm itself of France failed not to evince their readiness to take up arms, had they received any favour from the pope and the king of Spain.]

[The king of Spain is more respected by the court of Rome than any other sovereign. Cardinals and princes are delighted when they can have money from him and become his dependents. The pope was formerly pensioned by him, and was singularly and with unprecedented favour aided by him, as a favourite candidate, towards obtaining the papedom.—He strives to give satisfaction to the duke of Lerma, accordingly the latter serves as his chiefest intermediary with his majesty.]

7. His council: "temporeggiare e dissimulare alcune volte con li pontefici.—Vincitori essercitano le vittorie a modo loro, vinti conseguiscono che conditioni vogliono" [to temporize and dissemble occasionally with the popes. Victors, they exercise the victory after their own way; vanquished, they submit to any conditions].

82. *Relatione della nunziatura de' Svizzeri.* *Informazioni Polit.* tom. ix. fol. 1.—137. [Report of the nunciature in Switzerland.]

*Informatione mandata dal S<sup>r</sup> C<sup>o</sup> d'Aquino a Mons<sup>r</sup> Feliciano Silva vescovo di Foligno per il paese di Svizzeri e Grisoni.* *Ibid.* fol. 145.—212. [Information sent by cardinal d'Aquino to Mons<sup>r</sup> Feliciano Silva, bishop of Foligno, as to the country of the Swiss and the Grisons.]

In Lebre's *Magazin zum Gebrauch der Staaten- und Kirchengeschichte*, Bd. vii. p. 445, there are extracts from the letters dispatched from the court of Rome in the years 1609 and 1614 to the nuncios in Switzerland. It cannot be said they are very interesting; standing alone, as they do, without answer or explanation, they are not very intelligible.

The first of these nuncios was the bishop of Venafrò, the same whose report on Switzerland is mentioned by Haller (*Bibliothek der Schweizer-geschichte*, Bd. v. nr. 783.) "The papal nuncio," he says, "Lud. Gr. of Aquino, bishop of Venafrò, has in this work given a proof of his discernment and his ability, and it highly deserves to be printed." Haller copied it in Paris with his own hand, and deposited it in the library of Zurich.

This report is identical with ours; but we have it in a more complete form than that in which it was known to Haller.

When the bishop of Venafrò retired from the nunciature which he had filled from 1608 to 1612, he not only communicated to his successor, the bishop of Fuligno, the instruction he had received from cardinal Borghese, but he also made known to him in a circumstantial instruction how he had himself conducted the office ("di quanto si è escoguito sino al giorno d'hoggi nelli negotii in essa raccomandati"). This is the second of the above-named MSS. It begins with a description of the internal dissensions in Switzerland.

"E seguitando l'istesso ordine dell' istruzione sopradetta, dico che da molti anni in qua si è fatta gran mutatione ne' cantoni cattolici e particolarmente nella buona amicitia e concordia che anticamente passava fra di loro: perche hoggi non solo per causa delle fattioni Spagnuole e Francesi e delle pensioni, ma ancora per altri interessi, emolumenti e gare vi è fra alcuni tanto poca amicitia che col tempo potrebbe partorire molti danni se tosto non si prende buon rimedio con procurare una dieta particolare non ad altro effetto che a rinnovare le leghe antiche, l'amicitia, fratellanza et amorevolezza, come io molte volte ho proposto con grandissimo applauso, se bene sin'hora non ho potuto vederne l'effetto. Altorfo è antico emulo di Lucerna, e tira seco gli altri due cantoni Schwitz et Undervald, e vede mal volentieri preminenza e primo luogo de' signori Lucernesi, e però spesso volte contradice in azioni publiche non ad altro fine che di gara e di poca intelligenza: Lucerna tira seco Friburgo e Soluturno e ancora Zug, e fa un'altra partita. Zug è diviso fra se stesso, essendo in gravi controversie li cittadini con li contadini, volendo ancora essi essere conosciuti per patroni: e così in ogni cantone cattolico vi sono molte publiche e private dissension con pregiudicio delle deliberationi e con pericolo di danni assai maggiori se non vi si rimedia, come io procuro con ogni diligenza."

[And following the same order as in the aforesaid instruction, I say that for many years past from the present time a great alteration has taken place in the catholic cantons, and particularly in the good friendship and concord anciently subsisting between them; for now-a-days, not only in consequence of the Spanish and French factions and the pensions, but also on account of other interests, emoluments, and contentions, there is among some so little friendship, that in time it may give birth to great mischief, if a sound and speedy remedy be not adopted by effecting a special diet to no other end than that of renewing the ancient leagues, friendship, fraternity, and affection, as I have many times proposed with extreme applause, though hitherto I have not seen any effect come of it. Altorf is the ancient rival of Lucern, and carries with it the two other cantons, Schwytz and Unter-

walden, and it sees with dislike the pre-eminence of the Lucernese, for which reason it frequently withstands them in public transactions from no other motive than a contentious spirit, and want of good understanding. Lucern carries with it Friburg and Solothurn, and also Zug, and constitutes another party. Zug is divided within itself, there being serious disputes between the townfolk and the peasantry, these too wishing to be known as masters. And thus in every catholic canton there are many public and private dissensions, to the prejudice of calm discussion, and to the hazard of considerable mischief if a remedy be not applied, as I am striving to do with all diligence.]

In transmitting this information, the nuncio promises a still more circumstantial report. ("Fra pochi giorni spero di mandarle copia d'una piena e più diffusa relatione di tutti li negotii della nuntiatura.")

This is the first of the above MSS.; it was known to Haller.

The nuncio goes somewhat methodically to work in it. "Cap. I. Della grandezza della nuntiatura." He first describes the range of the nunciature, which was as large as the kingdom of Naples, and extended besides over people speaking the most dissimilar languages. Nor does he forget the romance dialect: "una favella stravagantissima, composta di otto o dieci idioni" [a very preposterous jargon made up of eight or ten idioms].

"II. Degli ambasciatori de' principi che resiedono appresso Suizzeri e de' loro fini.

"III. Delle diete e del modo, tempo e luogo dove si congregano fra Suizzeri.

"IV. Delli passi che sono nella nuntiatura de' Suizzeri." For the passes were the most important subject of dispute between the powers.

"V. Stato spirituale della nuntiatura de' Suizzeri." The most important, therefore very properly the longest chapter, p. 28—104, in which an account is given of certain dioceses, and also of the abbeyes.

"VI. Officio del nuntio per ajutare lo stato spirituale e de' modi più fruttuosi di farlo.

"VII. Che debbia fare il nuntio per dare soddisfazione in cose temporali nella nuntiatura."

We see how carefully the most important points were distinguished and gone through. The execution displays knowledge no less of the past than of the present, zeal, ability, and discernment. The report, as is natural, repeats most of what is contained in the information.

Nevertheless, even this was not enough for our nuncio. He added to the report a "Compendio di quanto ha fatto monse<sup>re</sup> di Venafrò in esecuzione dell' istruzione data nel partire di Roma," which he had already composed on another occasion, and which must have been almost identical with the information. He remarks as much himself, but still appends this little document. In the copies it has been omitted, no doubt quite properly.

Instead of it there follows an "Appendice de' Grisoni e de' Vallesani," no less remarkable than the former one.

"E questo," says the author at the conclusion of his voluminous work, "è il breve sommario promesso da me del stato della nuntiatura Svizzera con le parti che a quella soggiacciono. Deo gratias. Amen."

With all this he thought he had given but a brief outline of what was worthy of note: so little does the world admit of being represented in words.

I have (p. 235, 236) made use of the contents of these documents only so far as they apply to my own purpose. The publication of the remainder must be left to the industry of the Swiss.

83. *Istruzione data a mons<sup>r</sup> Diotallevi vescovo di S. Anelo destinato dalla S<sup>ta</sup> di N<sup>ro</sup> Sign<sup>r</sup> papa Paolo V nuncio al re di Polonia 1614.* [Instruction to Monsignor Diotallevi, bishop of S. Anelo, nuncio from Paul V. to the king of Poland.]

A general admonition to further the catholic religion, the introduction of the decrees of Trent, and the appointment of sound catholics to offices, and never to suffer anything that should be advantageous to the protestants.

Traces however are discernible of a certain misunderstanding. The pope had refused the king's request to nominate the bishop of Reggio a cardinal. The nuncio was to endeavour to appease the king.

He is particularly enjoined never to promise money.

"Perche o non intendendosi o non vedendosi le strettezze pur troppo grandi della sede apostolica, sono facili i potentati particolarmente oltramontani a cercar ajuto, e se si desse ogni picciola speranza, si offenderebbero poi grandemente dell' esclusione."

[For the excessive embarrassments of the apostolic see not being understood or perceived, foreign princes, particularly the ultramontanes, are very ready to ask for assistance, and if the least hope were held out to them, they would afterwards take great offence at being disappointed.]

We meet with fewer ecclesiastical documents relating to the last years of Paul V. Let us employ the space thus left unfilled in touching upon certain others that bear on the administration of the state in that period.

84. *Informazione di Bologna del 1595.* (Ambros. *Bibl. Milan F. D.* 181.)

The position and constitution of Bologna, and the kind of independence it maintained, were so remarkable and important, that papers and documents relating to that provincial city were also admitted into the collections.

In the 22nd vol. of the *Informationi*, we find a multitude of letters of the year 1580, to Monsignor Cesi, legate of Bologna, which relate to his administration.

They are almost all letters of recommendation, chiefly intercessional.

The grand duke and grand duchess of Tuscany entreat on behalf of count Ercole Bentivoglio, whose crops had been sequestered; soon after the grand duchess returns thanks for the compliance with her requests: the duke of Ferrara recommends an actress of the name of Vittoria; cardinal San Sisto pleads for some turbulent students of the university. "We too," he says, "have been students." Giacomo Buoncompagno, the pope's son, recommends a professor who had been deprived of his

place: the cardinal of Como, who at that time had the chief conduct of affairs, pleads for some monks who were disturbed in their privileges; he speaks by no means in an authoritative tone. But we meet too with intreaties of a different kind. A father, whose son had been murdered, urgently, nay imploringly, petitions that justice should be done upon his murderer, who was already imprisoned in Bologna.

It was principally in the administration of justice the governor had influence; in all things else the city was very independent.

"I senatori," says our report, "conferiscono ogni cosa importante col superiore, et havendo in mano tutti li datii et entrate della città, del datio del sale e vino in poi, che è del papa, dispensano li denari publici mediante un scrutinio, che si fa presente il superiore con le mandate sottoscritte dal detto superiore, dal gonfaloniere et assunti deputati secondo li negotii. Hanno cura della impositions e gravezze imposte a contadini, reali e personali, come per li buoi e teste: . . attendono alle tasse che pagano li contadini, alle muraglie, porte e serragli, a conservare il numero de' soldati del contado: . . provvedono ch' altri non usurpi il publico e si conservi la bellezza della città: . . han cura della fiera della seta: . . eleggono ogni mese per la ruota civile 4 dottori forastieri, che bisogna siano almeno dottori di X anni, e questi veggono e determinano ogni causa civile."

[The senators confer on every important matter with the superior; and having in their hands all the customs and revenues of the city, except the customs on salt and wine, which belong to the pope, they dispose of all the public moneys, taking an account of the same, which is made in the presence of the superior, with the warrants signed by him, by the gonfaloniere and persons specially appointed. They regulate the impositions and burdens upon the peasantry, real and personal, as the tax on oxen and the capitation tax: . . they attend to the taxes paid by the peasantry, to the walls, gates, and inclosures, and to keeping up the number of soldiers in each district: . . they guard against all encroachments on the public rights, and see that the beauty of the city is preserved: . . they have charge of the silk-market: . . they elect every month for the *ruota civile* four foreign doctors, who must be doctors of at least ten years' standing, and these hear and decide all civil causes.]

The question is now, to what extent under this state of things had the representatives of the papal government any influence. It was displayed, as we have already said, chiefly in the affairs of justice. "Un auditore generale concorre nelle cognitioni delle cause con la ruota, et un' altro particolare delle cause che avoca a se, et uno criminale chiamato auditore del torrione del luogo ove risiede, qual tiene due sottoauditori per suo servizio, e tutti quelli sono pagati dal publico." [An auditor-general is associated with the ruota in the hearing of causes, and another special auditor for causes which he evokes before himself: there is also a criminal auditor, called auditor of the great tower of the district where he resides, who has two sub-auditors under him, and all these are paid by the public.]

There follow some statistical details. "Contado circa miglia 180: semina intorno a corbe 120 m., raccoglie un anno per l'altro 550 m. a 660 m. corbe.



Fa da 130 m. anime (la città 70 m., che avanti le carestie passava 90 m.) 16 m. fuochi, consuma corbe 200 m. di formento (la corba 160 libbre), 60 m. costolate di vino, 18 m. corbe di sale, 1700 m. libbre d'olio, ammazza 8 m. vacche, 10 m. vitelli, 13 m. porchi, 8 m. castrati, 6 m. agnelli, e abbrugia 400 m. libbre di candele. . . . Si fa conto che un anno per l'altro moreno nella città 3 m. persone e ne nascono 4 m., che si facciano 500 sposi e 60—70 monachi, che siano portati a' poveri bastardini 300 putti l'anno. Ha 400 fra carrozze e cocchi. Vengono nella città ogni anno da 600 m. libbre de folliecelli da quali si fa la seta, e se ne mette opera per uso della città 100 m. libbre l'anno." [Surface of the country about 180 miles: seed sown about 120,000 bushels; produce one year with another 550,000 to 660,000 bushels. Population 130,000 souls (the city 70,000, having been before the dearth upwards of 90,000); hearths 16,000; consumption 200,000 bushels of corn (160 lbs. to the bushel), 60,000 costolate of wine, 18,000 bushels of salt, 1,700,000 pounds of oil: there are killed 8000 cows and oxen, 10,000 calves, 13,000 swine, 8000 wethers, 6000 lambs, and 400,000 pounds of candles are burned. It is calculated that there die one year with another in the city 3000 persons, and there are born 4000; that 500 marriages take place, and 60—70 become monks, and that there are born to the poor 300 bastards yearly. There are 400 coaches and carriages. There enter the city yearly 600,000 pounds of silk cocoons, 100,000 pounds of which are yearly wrought for the use of the city.]

85. *Istruzione per un legato di Bologna.* (Vallie.)  
[Instruction for a legate of Bologna.]

Of a somewhat later period. We remark the following points of advice:—

"Invigilare sopra gli avvocati cavillosi et in particolare quelli che pigliano a proteggere a torto i villani contro li cittadini e gentilhuomini, . . . accarezzare in apparenza tutti li magistrati, non conculcare i nobili." [To keep watch upon the captious advocates, and in particular those who take it upon them wrongfully to protect the peasants against the city people and the gentlemen, . . . to caress in appearance all the magistrates, not to trample on the nobles.] The monstrous evil of the bravi was risen to such a pitch, that some of them were to be found even among the unmatriculated students.

Other papers carry us into the campagna di Roma, showing us how the unfortunate peasant was harassed, what the barons appropriated to themselves, and how the land was cultivated.

86. *Dichiaratione di tutto quello che pagano i vassalli de baroni Romani al papa e aggrarj che pagano ad essi baroni.* [Declaration of all that the vassals of the Roman barons pay to the pope, and the imposts they pay to those barons.]

"I. Pagamenti diversi che si fanno da vassalli de baroni Romani al papa. Pagano il sale, pagano un quattrino per libra di carne, pagano l'imposizione per il mantenimento delle galere posta da Sisto quinto, pagano i sussidii triennali, pagano i cavalli morti cioè per alloggiamento di cavalleria, pagano una certa imposizione che chiama de

soldati, pagano una certa imposizione che si chiama l'archivio, pagano un' altra imposizione che si chiama S. Felice, pagano la foglietta messa da Sisto quinto, pagano una certa imposizione che si chiama sale forastico.

"II. Pagamenti che fanno li medesimi vassalli a baroni. Pagano poi al barone, ove sono molina, tanto grano, perche è somma molto grave, pagano risposta di vino, pagano risposta d'olio ove ne fa, pagano di mandare i porci nei castagneti e quereeti fatta la raccolta che chiamano ruspare, pagano tasse d'hosterie, pagano tasse de pizigaroli, pagano tasse de fornari, pagano de bichierari, pagano quelli che vanno a spigliare come è seccato il grano, pagano dei bestiami che vanno a pascere, pagano risposta di grano, pagano risposta di biada. Montano tutti questi aggravi, come si vuol vedere dall' entrate del duca Altemps, computata la portione del molino della molara che si trahe de vassalli, 2803 sc.; questo si cava da vassalli del Montecapuri (?) del ducato Altemps, che sono de 180 e 190 fuochi, e ciò si mette per esempio, onde si possa vedere appresso come sono aggravati i vassalli de baroni Romani dello stato ecclesiastico. Avvertasi che qui non ci è quello che si paga alla camera."

[I. Various payments which are made by the vassals of the Roman barons to the popes. They pay for salt, they pay a quattrino the pound for meat; they pay the tax imposed by Sixtus V. for keeping up the galleys; they pay for *dead horses*, that is for lodging the cavalry; they pay a certain impost called soldiers' money; they pay another called S. Felice; they pay the pint due imposed by Sixtus V.; they pay a certain impost called *sale forastico*.

[II. Payments which the said vassals make to the barons. They pay besides to the barons, where there are mills, so much corn, a very heavy amount; they pay a return on wine; they pay a return on oil where it is made; they pay for sending their swine to the chestnut and oak woods, when the gathering is made, which they call *ruspare*; they pay dues on inns; they pay on chandlers' shops; they pay baker's; they pay glass-blower's dues; those who go a gleanng pay; they pay on their cattle that go to pasture; they pay a return on grain; they pay a return on oats. All these burthens amount, as may be seen from the revenues of duke Altemps, including the portion of grist from the mill drawn from the vassals, to 2803 sc.: this is drawn from the vassals of Montecapuri (?), of the duchy of Altemps, who reckon from 180 to 190 hearths; and this may serve as an example to show nearly how the vassals of the barons on the ecclesiastical estates are burthened. It must be observed, that herein is not included what is paid to the treasury.]

87. *Nota della entrata di molti signori e duchi Romani.* [Note of the income of many Roman signors and dukes.]

Like the former, unquestionably belonging to the times of Clement VIII., who is called simply the pope.

The Colonna family are distinguished by having vassals: other families possess rather allodial estates. The income of the contestabile Colonna is estimated at 25,000, that of Martio Colonna of Zagarolo at 23,000 sc.

We have seen that the public system of debt was



imitated by the barons. The family of Sermoneta had about the year 1600 an income of 27,000 sc., but their debts were 300,000 sc.; the duke of Castel Gandolfo possessed 14,000 sc. income, his debts were 36,000 sc. The house of Montalto surpassed the others, its debts were 600,000 sc. The whole united revenues of the Roman barons were estimated at 271,747 scudi, and their estates were valued at nine millions of gold.

The author finds the estates by no means neglected. "Questi terreni di campagna, contrario all' opinione commune e a quel che io pensavo, sono tenuti con grandissima cura e diligenza: perche si arano quattro, sei e sette volte, si nettano d'erbe due o tre, tra le quali una d'inverno, si levano l'erbe con la mano, si seminano, ragguagliati li quattro anni, li due a grano nei sodi luoghi: dove non si semina, vi si fidano le pecore. Le spighe si tagliano alte, onde rimane assai paglia: e quella poi si abbrugia, che fa crescere. E li aratri con che si arano questi terreni, generalmente non vanno molto profondo: e questo avviene perche la maggior parte di questi terreni non son molto fondati e tosto si trova il panecone. Questa campagna è lavorata tutta per punta di danaro (by day labourers), segata seminata e sarchiata; in somma, tutti li suoi bisogni si fanno con forastieri: e genti che lavorano detta campagna, sono nutriti della robba che si porta loro con le cavalle. Questa campagna, computati i terreni buoni e cattivi e ragguagliato un' anno per l'altro, si può dir che faccia ogni uno sei, avvertendo che nei luoghi di questi signori dove sono i loro castelli molte fiato non fanno far lavorare, ma li danno a risposta a' vassalli secondo che convengono. E questo basti quanto alla campagna di Roma. S'affitterà ragguagliato il rubbio di questo terreno 50 giulj, onde a farli grassa verrà il rubbio del terreno cento scudi e dieci giulj." [These lands, contrary to the common opinion, and to what I myself supposed, are cultivated with extreme care and diligence: for they plough four, six, or seven times, and clear from weeds twice or thrice, one of which weedings is in winter; weeds are plucked out by hand: grain is sown two years out of four in the fallows; where there is none sown the cattle are let in. The ears of corn are cut off high, which leaves a good deal of straw; this is afterwards burned, and increases the growth of the crop. The ploughs used in these lands do not in general go very deep; and this is because the greater part of these lands are not very deep, and the subsoil is soon found. This country is all cultivated by day-labourers, reaped, sown, and weeded; in short, all the operations of the field are performed by strangers. The people who work in the fields are maintained by the profits they make of their mares. This country, good and bad land included, and taking one year with another, may be considered to yield six for one, it being understood that these signors frequently do not cultivate the grounds round their castles, but let them out to their vassals upon terms agreed on. So much for the campagna of Rome. This land is let on an average for 50 giulj the rubbio; hence, to render it productive, it will stand the agriculturist in a hundred scudi ten giulj the rubbio (?)].

There were then computed to be in the campagna 79,504 rubbia of land, and that they yielded 318,016 scudi, four scudi the rubbio:—of these the belonged to the barons somewhat above

21,000 rubbia, about 23,000 to the religious houses, above 4000 to foreigners, and 31,000 to the rest of the Roman population. The proportion was afterwards changed, when the Roman citizens sold so many of their lands.

But let us pass on to more general matters.

88. *Per sollevare la camera apostolica. Discorso di mons<sup>r</sup> Malvasia. 1606.* [Proposals for the relief of the apostolic treasury, by monsieur Malvasia.

It was remarked with dismay, that with all the taxes the state possessed nothing. The interests, exclaims our author, eat up almost the whole revenue: the government is continually perplexed how to cover the current expenses; if any extraordinary demand occurs, they know not which way to turn. It is impossible to impose new taxes; new retrenchments are not even expedient, "magnum vectigal parsimonia;" nothing remains but to reduce the rate of interest, and at the same time to draw upon the funds on the castle. Instead of all the monti with such various rates of interest, there ought to be but one, a papal monte, paying four or at most five per cent.; all the others must be paid off. It would be perfectly just to do this at the nominal price: the apostolic see had usually reserved that right to itself, at the institution of the several monti: former popes, e. g. Paul IV., had been obliged to sell sometimes even at fifty per cent. Clement VIII. himself had realized but 96½. The author hereupon sets forth how far this would be practicable.

"Succederà che stante la larghezza ed abbondanza del denaro che al presente si trova nella piazza di Roma con l'accrescimento che farà il milione estratto, aggiunta la difficoltà e pericolo di mandar fuori la moneta e l'oro per la proibitione sudetta—che la maggior parte di quelli che hanno monti ed offizj estinti, volentieri entreranno in questo monte papale, ed a quelli che vorranno i lor denari contanti, se gli potranno pagare del detto milione e del prezzo del monte papale che si andrà vendendo. Si può anche considerare che ne' monti non vacabili ne sono gran parte vincolati ed obbligati a reinvestimento per sicurtà di eccezione di dote, di luoghi pii ed altri obblighi, che necessariamente entreranno in questo monte papale, e si tarderà assai a ricevere il dinaro, per ritrovare altro reinvestimento o dare altrui soddisfazione ed adempimento alle condizioni ed obblighi a quali sono sottoposti, il che anco apporterà molto comodo e facilità a questo negotio.

"Potrà anco la camera accollarsi tutti i monti delle comunità e de' particolari, e ridurli come sopra, e godere quel più sino che da esse comunità e particolari saranno estinti.

"A tutti quelli che in luogo di altri monti e officj vorranno del detto monte papale, se gli deve daro la spedizione e la patente per la prima volta gratis senza spesa alcuna.

"In questa maniera può la S<sup>ta</sup> V. in breve tempo sollevare e liberare la sede e la camera apostolica da tanti debiti e tanta oppressione: perche con l'avanzo che si farà dalla detta estinzione e riduzione di frutti ed interesse, che secondo il calcolo dato alla S<sup>ta</sup> V. dal suo commissario della camera ascende almeno con far la riduzione a 5 per cento a sc. quattro cento trentunmila ottocento cinque l'anno, potrà estinguere ogni anno scudi trecento trentunmila

ottocento cinque di debito, oltre alli sc. centomila che saranno assegnati per rimettere in castello il milione estratto a compire la metà del terzo milione che manca." [Taking into account the abundance of money to be found at present in Rome, and the addition that will be made to it by the million drawn out; and considering, furthermore, the difficulty and danger of sending corn and bullion abroad, in consequence of the aforesaid prohibition (which he had proposed), it will happen that the greater part of those whose luoghi and offices are extinguished will gladly purchase into the papal monte; and those who shall choose to have cash for their monti may be paid out of the said million, and out of the price to be realized by the sale of the papal monte. It may also be considered that of the "monti non vacabili" a great part are tied down and conditioned to reinvestment, for security of reserved dowries, "luoghi pii" and other pious claims; these will necessarily be transferred to the "monte papale," and the holders will be loth enough to receive the money, and so be obliged to look about for another investment, or means of satisfying and fulfilling the conditions and obligations to which they are subject; this will further greatly facilitate the transaction.]

[The treasury may also take to itself all the monti of corporations and individuals, and reduce them as above, and enjoy the profit till they are extinguished by the said corporations or individuals.]

[All those who shall wish for the said "monte papale," in lieu of other monti and offices, ought to have their patents made out for the first time free of all charge.]

[In this manner your holiness may in a short while relieve the apostolic chamber, and free it from such heavy debts and embarrassments; for with the gain which will ensue from the said extinction and reduction of interest, which, according to the calculation, furnished your holiness by your commissioner of the treasury, amounts (upon a reduction of interest to five per cent.) to at least 431,805 sc. a year, there may every year be extinguished 331,805 scudi of debt, besides 100,000 which shall be set apart to replace the million which shall be borrowed from the castle to make up the amount of the third million that is wanting.]

It is enough that we here remark how earnestly people were bent on devising a sound system of finance; but it is not necessary to produce the calculations. The court of Rome did not adopt any proposals of the kind, but followed the easier and more convenient course.

89. *Nota di danari officii e mobili donati da papa Paolo V a suoi parenti e concessioni fatteci.* [Note of moneys, offices, and effects bestowed by pope Paul V. on his relations, and grants made them.]

The pope had been counselled to call in the officii and monti bearing interest: We have here, 1. "Nota officiorum concessorum excell<sup>mo</sup> domino M. Antonio Burghesio tempore pontificatus felicitis recordationis Pauli V." There are altogether 120 offices, the value of which is stated at the customary market price; 2. "Nota di molte donationi di monti fatte alli sig<sup>ra</sup> Francesco Gioan Battista e M. A. Borghese da Paolo V, con le giustificazioni in

marginè di qualsivoglia partito." That is to say, extracts are adduced from the official books which make us acquainted with these donations. Lists are given under similar rubrics, of what was bestowed on them in cash or valuables, and of the privileges that were granted them. The authentications are in the following style. "Nel libro della thesoreria secreta d'Alessandro Ruspoli fol. 17 e da doi brevi, uno sotto la data delli 26 Genn. 1608 et l'altro delli 11 Marzo, registrati nel libro primo signaturarum Pauli V negli atti di Felice de Totis fol. 116 et fol. 131.—A di 23 Dec. 1605 sc. 36 m. d'oro delle stampe donati al sig<sup>r</sup> GB Borghese per pagar il palazzo et il restante impiegargli nella fabbrica di quello, quali scudi 36 m. d'oro delle stampe provenivano del prezzo del chiamato di monst<sup>r</sup> Centurioni ridotti a 24 moneta a ragione di Giulii 13 per scudo sono 46800 sc."

I have already stated to what enormous sums these presents amounted, and what was the influence exercised by the rise of the papal families on the capital and the provinces.

90. *Relazione dello stato ecclesiastico dove si contengono molti particolari degni di considerazione.* (1611.) Inform. Polit. XI. f. 1 27. [Report on the ecclesiastical state, wherein are contained many things worthy of consideration.]

It is stated in the beginning that the author was asked in the morning for his report, and that he now sends it in the evening. It would be truly wonderful if he had been able within a few hours to dictate so circumstantial a report, which is really not ill done, and contains much that is deserving of note. The admission is here made, that the number of inhabitants was on the decrease in many parts of Italy, whether in consequence of plague and famine, or of the murders committed by the banditti, or because the taxes had been inordinately increased; it was no longer possible to marry at a suitable age, and to rear up children. Moreover, the very blood was wrung from the inhabitants by the taxes, and at the same time their spirits were crushed by the endless restrictions on trade.

The anonymous author betrays himself once. He remarks that he had written a book, "Ragione di stato." "Ho diffusamente trattato nella ragione di stato," he says somewhere.

By this we get a clue to discover him. In the year 1589, appeared in Venice, "Della ragion di stato libri X con tre libri delle cause della grandezza delle città." The book is dedicated to that same Wolf Dietrich von Raittenau, archbishop of Salzburg, who was the first of the Roman princes to introduce a more rigid system of government modelled on the Italian. Its author is the well known John Botero, whose "Relationi universali" enjoyed the widest circulation in their day.

Of course these Relationi must be searched into, to ascertain whether or not they include ours.

It is not to be found in the main work, in which the ecclesiastical state is mentioned in a summary manner; but there is besides a smaller work, which is frequently appended to the former, "Relationi del sig<sup>r</sup> Giov. Botero Benese, . . di Spagna, dello stato della chiesa, del Piamonte, della contea di Nizza, dell' isola Taprobana," the dedication of which is dated 1611: in this it is to be found verbatim.

Only the opening is different. The report bears

the title : " Discorso intorno allo stato della chiesa preso della parte dell' ufficio del cardinale che non e stampata." It belonged, we see, to a work on the duties of the cardinals. I leave the question to the reader, whether the introduction to the report mentioned above ought to deceive the most credulous.

91. *Tarqu. Pitaro sopra la negotiatione maritima. 17 Ott. 1612. (Vallie.)* [On maritime commerce.]

Botero recommends among other things encouraging the commerce of the ecclesiastical states. In fact, there was then a plan in contemplation to sink a new harbour for the town of Fano. It was expected that the commerce of the towns of Urbino would be drawn thither.

Our author, however, opposes this plan on the most cogent grounds. He thinks that a lesson might be taken from Ancona, which he, like the Venetians shortly after him, represents as having fallen very much into decay. " Ne sono partiti li mercanti forastieri, i nativi falliti, le genti gl' uomini impoveriti, gli artigiani ruinati e la plebe quasiche dispersa." [The foreign merchants have quitted it, the native merchants are bankrupt, the gentry impoverished, the artisans ruined, and the populace almost dispersed.] It might rather prove the ruin of Fano if it constructed the harbour with borrowed money. So it had fared with Ascoli, which had raised a considerable loan to make its Maremma capable of cultivation, but had not succeeded in the attempt.

In fact, it was not advisable, on other grounds, to enter upon the plan, since the towns of Urbino were soon to fall in by escheat to Rome.

92. *Relazione della Romagna (Alt.)*

Belonging to the year 1615, or thereabouts. The year 1612 is expressly mentioned ; but it is highly important for the whole period since the times of Julius III. The parties that divided the province are described ; the transfer of estates, which took place especially in consequence of the rise of the papal families, is very well explained. I have frequently made use of this work : I shall here insert a passage relating to San Marino, which in those early times was gradually rising by progressive exemptions into independence.

" La republica di S. Marino si presume libera, se non in quanto è raccomandata al duca d'Urbino. Del 1612 si propose e si ottenne in quel consiglio che succedendo la mananza della linea delle Rovere si dichiaravano sotto la protezione della sede apostolica, della quale per ciò ottennero alcuni privilegi et in particolare dell' estrazione de grani e di grascia. Fa questa terra, compresovi due altri castelli annessi, circa 700 fuochi. E situata in monti, è luogo forte et è custodita la porta da soldati proprii. Hanno la libera amministrazione della giustizia e della grazia. Si elegono tra di loro ad tempus i magistrati maggiori chiamati conservatori, a quali tra di loro si dà il titolo dell' illustrissimo. In qualche grave eccesso sogliono condurre ufficiali forestieri per fare processi e cause, et in particolare li ministri dell' Altezza del duca d'Urbino, con quella autorità che loro pare. Il publico è povero, che non arriva a 500 scudi d'entrata. Ma li particolari alcuni sono comodi et alcuni ricchi rispetto alla pochezza del

paese. Soleano affittare banditi d'ogni sorte : ma perche alle volte ne nascevano scandali, è stato da loro decretato che non si possino affittare banditi se non certe condizioni : ma non si ne può havere facilmente salvocondotto." [The republic of San Marino is presumed to be free, except in so far as it is under the protection of the duke of Urbino. In 1612 it was proposed and decreed in the council, that failing the line of Rovere, the republic should declare itself under the protection of the apostolic see, from which it in consequence obtained some privileges, particularly that of drawing corn and provisions. This district, including two other boroughs annexed to it, contains about 700 hearths. It is situated in the mountains ; it is a fortified place, and the gates are guarded by its own soldiers. The inhabitants possess the free administration of justice and grace. They elect from among them, ad tempus, the chief magistrates called conservatori, who have the title among them of illustrissimo. In any grave emergency they are accustomed to procure official personages from abroad to hold trials, and particularly the ministers of his highness the duke of Urbino, with such authority as seems good to them. The state is poor, having not so much as 500 scudi of revenue. But private persons among them are some of them in easy circumstances, and some of them rich in proportion to the scantiness of the country. They are accustomed to hire bandits of every kind : but as this occasionally gives rise to scandal, it has been decreed that bandits must not be hired except on certain conditions : but it is not easy to have safe conduct from them.]

93. *Parole universali dello governo ecclesiastico, per far una greggia et un pastore. Secreto al papa solo. — Informatt. xxiv. (26 leaves.)*—[Universal words of the ecclesiastical government, to make one fold and one shepherd. For the pope's sole privacy.]

In spite of the condition of the country, which was gradually becoming so visibly worse, there were still people who cherished the boldest projects.

But never perhaps were any stranger or more extravagant than those set forth by Thomas Campanella in the little work before us.

For undoubtedly that unfortunate philosopher, who fell under the suspicion of designing to wrest Calabria from the Spanish monarchy, and of having taken part in the wild scheme of the duke of Ossuna, was the author of this production. " Questo è il compendio," he says, " del libro intitolato il governo ecclesiastico, il quale restò in mano di Don Lelio Orsino, et io autore tengo copia in Stilo patria mia ;" [This is a compendium of the book entitled " Il governo Ecclesiastico," which remained in the hands of Don Lelio Orsino, and I the author have a copy in Stilo my native place.] To this he adds : " Hæc et longe plura expleantur in Monarchia Messiae." Campanella was from Stilo ; this Monarchia Messiae is his work. We cannot doubt that he either composed or revised the document before us.

We may leave the date undetermined. Probably he was possessed all his life long with ideas of this sort.

He remarks that the pope had very warlike

subjects. "Li Romagnuoli e Marchiani sono per natura inclinati all' armi : onde servono a Venetiani, Francesi, Toscani e Spagnuoli, perche il papa non è guerriero." [The inhabitants of Romagna and of the March, are by nature inclined to arms, whence they serve the Venetians, French, Tuscans, and Spaniards, because the pope is not a warrior.] But he advises the pope too to become martial. There was still the material for Ciceros, Brutuses, and Catos. Nature was not wanting, but art.

He is of opinion that the pope ought to form two armies, the one that of S. Pietro at sea, the other that of S. Paolo on land, somewhat after the manner of the janissaries. Never had an armed religion been conquered, especially when it had also been well preached.

For he by no means disregards the latter point. He recommends that the ablest men should be selected from all the orders, relieved from monastic duties, and allowed to apply themselves to the sciences.

Law, medicine, and the liberal arts should be prosecuted in the monasteries equally with theology. The people should be preached to of the golden age, when there should be one fold and one shepherd, of the bliss of the liberated Jerusalem, of the patriarchal innocence : their longings after those things should be awakened.

But when would so blessed a state of things come to pass ? "Then," he replies, "when all secular sovereignties shall be done away, and Christ's vicar shall rule over the whole earth." "Sarà nel mondo una greggia et un pastore, e si vedrà il secol d'oro cantato da poeti, l'ottima repubblica descritta da filosofi, e lo stato dell' innocenza de' patriarchi, e la felicità di Gerusalemme liberata da mano degli eretici et infedeli. E questo fia quando saranno evacuati tutti li principati mondani e regnerà per tutto il mondo solo il vicario di Christo."

The doctrine, as he advises, should be preached, that the pope was lord also in temporal things, a priest like Abimelech, not like Aaron.

Such notions were still entertained towards the end of the 16th century or in the early part of the 17th—for I will not pretend to decide in which. We already know the uncommon progress the Roman power was then making. Before I return to the documents bearing on that topic, let me be allowed to add a word on the historians of the Jesuits, whose influence was just then at its height.

#### REMARKS ON SOME HISTORIANS OF THE ORDER OF JESUITS.

Self-conceit and leisure gradually induced most of the orders to narrate their own histories in detail.

But none of them all did this so systematically as the Jesuits. Their aim was to give to the world under their own hands a connected and comprehensive history of all their order had done.

In fact, the *Historia Societatis Jesu*, which is known to us under the names of Orlandinus and his continuers, is a work of the highest importance for the history of the order, nay, we may say for that of the century in general.

Nicolaus Orlandinus, a native of Florence had for a while presided over the college of Nola and the novices of Naples, when in 1599 he was summoned to Rome by Acquaviva, and named

historiographer of the order. He was no less in his style than in the business of life careful, very accurate, and wary ; but he had very bad health. With difficulty he brought his work down to the death of Ignatius. He died in 1606.

His successor in this task was Franciscus Sacchinus, of the district of Perugia, clearly the most distinguished of the historians of the Jesuits. He was the son of a peasant : his father sometimes visited him in the Collegium Romanum, where he taught rhetoric, and it is counted to his honour that he was not ashamed of his birth. After this, he devoted himself for eighteen years to the composition of his history in the probationary house upon the Monte Quirinale, which he hardly ever quitted. But he nevertheless passed his life in the contemplation of the great events of the world. The restoration of catholicism was still in the most vigorous progress. What can be more inviting to an historian than to describe the first beginnings of an event, the development and effects of which he has before him in living reality ? Sacchinus felt distinctly the one grand peculiarity of his subject—the universal battle fought in the enthusiasm of orthodoxy. "I narrate wars," he says, "not those of nations with each other, but of the human race with the monsters and the powers of hell ; wars that embrace not single provinces, but all lands and seas ; wars in fine, wherein not earthly power, but the heavenly kingdom is the prize of victory." In this tone of Jesuitical exaltation he has described the generalship of Lainez 1556—1564, of Borghia up to 1572, and of Everardus Mercurius up to 1580, each in one volume containing eight books, and the first ten years of Acquaviva's rule in the same number of books. His work makes altogether four rather thick and closely printed folio volumes ; nevertheless he apologizes for being so brief. Nor can he indeed be said to fall into prolixity, or to weary his reader. As a matter of course he is partial, in the highest degree partial ; he passes over what does not suit him ; of the materials before him he often takes up only what makes for the honour of his order, and so forth : but notwithstanding all this, we learn a very great deal from his books. I have compared him here and there with his authorities,—for instance, in the *Litteræ Annuæ*, so far as they are to be come at in print—(books of this kind are very rare in this part of the world ; I have been obliged to have recourse to the libraries of Breslau and Göttingen)—and in every instance, I have found his extracts made with judgment, with a sense of what was characteristic, nay, with talent. In the execution of this work Sacchinus acquired so extensive and accurate a knowledge of the affairs of the society, that the general himself, Mutio Vitelleschi, called him to take part in them. It were desirable for us that this had not been so ; for then Sacchini would have completed the history of Acquaviva's administration, and one of the most important epochs would have been better investigated than it afterwards was. Sacchini died in 1625. His last volume was finished and edited by Petrus Possinus.

But enthusiasm passed away with the progress of time. The *Imago primi sæculi* in the year 1640 is far less rich in matter, more credulous of miracles, more quaint and uncouth : it was not till 1710 that a continuation of Sacchini by Jouveney appeared, comprising the last fifteen years of Ac-

quaviva. Jouveney, too, has talent; his narrative is perspicuous and fluent, though with somewhat of pretension; but the misfortune is, that he took the word *Historia* too literally, and would not write annals as Sacchini had done. He therefore cut up his materials and distributed them under different heads: "Societas domesticis motibus agitata—societas externis cladibus jectata—vexata in Anglia—oppugnata—aucta etc." Now the consequence of this was, that he did not give due attention to what was undoubtedly the most important point, the revived spread of catholicism throughout the protestant countries. The method of annals was clearly much more suitable to such a subject. With all his historical efforts, Jouveney produces nothing but fragments.

And the success, too, of his work was but small. The order even entertained the intention at one time of having that whole period rewritten upon the model of Sacchini. Julius Cordara, who continued the history from 1616 to 1625 adhered closely to that model. But the spirit of the earlier times was irrecoverably lost. Cordara's volume is very useful, but not to be compared in freedom or power with its older predecessors, or even with Jouveney's. It appeared in 1750. Since then the society had to struggle too hard for very existence to think of any continuation of its history. Moreover, had any such been produced, it would have displayed a greatly diminished splendour.

Besides these general histories there are, as is well known, a great number of provincial histories of the order. For the most part they have the general history for their groundwork; frequently it is copied literally. This is most strikingly the case in Socher's *Historia provincie Austriae*, which often copies Sacchini, even in particular turns of expression, reproducing, for instance, the "pudet referre" of the original, as "pudet sane referre." (Sacchin. iv. vi. 78. Socher vi. No. 33.)

I will not, however, enter upon a criticism of these authors. The field is too wide, and they are assuredly not likely to exercise any seductive influence in our times; we are rather disposed to believe them too little than too much: only I may be allowed one observation on the history of Ignatius Loyola himself.

When we compare Orlandinus with the other two more important historians of Loyola, it strikes us that he agrees much more with one of them, Maffei, (*De vita et moribus D. Ignatii Loiole*) than with the other, Pietro Ribadeneira. The manner, too, of that agreement is remarkable. Maffei's book appeared as early as 1585; it was not till fifteen years later that Orlandinus composed his, and seeing the great similitude between the two, it might be supposed that Maffei's had served as an original for the other. Nevertheless Maffei is throughout more elaborate and artificial in his style; Orlandinus more natural, more simple, and likewise more graphic. The enigma is solved when we advert to the fact, that both drew from the same source, the notes of Polancus. Maffei does not name him, but we learn from a special treatise by Sacchini, "*Cujus sit auctoritatis quod in B. Cajetani vita de b. Ignatio traditur*," to be found in the later editions of Orlandinus, that Everardo Mercuriano laid the MSS. of Polancus before him. According to that authority, Orlandinus drew chiefly from the same Polancus. It is no wonder

if he and Maffei agree. Only we have the original notes in a more authentic form in Orlandinus than in Maffei; the former is more industrious, more circumstantial, and richer in documentary proofs; the latter seeks his renown in historical ornaments and in good Latin.

But whence come Ribadeneira's variations?—He drew chiefly from another MS. authority, the notes of Ludovicus Consalvus.

Both Consalvus and Polancus derived their information from Loyola's oral communications; thus much, however, is obvious, that Polancus rather gathered up the casual and incidental expressions of the general, whilst Consalvus knew how to bring him at once to a circumstantial narrative, particularly of his first spiritual awakening.

The result is, that we have here to discriminate a twofold tradition, the one, that of Polancus, repeated by Maffei and Orlandinus, the other, that of Consalvus, reproduced by Ribadeneira.

Consalvus is by far the more worthy of note: he really gives, so far as this can be conceived in such a case, an authentic account derived from the lips of Ignatius himself.

But, as happens in all narrations at second-hand, we are soon aware even here, of an enlargement of the original simple material. Ribadeneira already began this. For instance, he took from the narratives of Donna Isabella Rosel of Barcelona the story of the eight days' ecstasy which Ignatius had at Manresa, out of which he awoke with the word Jesus. Examen Ribadeneire in comment. præv. AA. SS. Julii, t. vii. p. 590.

But people were far from being satisfied with him. He took no notice of many of the miracles that were already currently believed. "Nescio," says Sacchini, "*quæ mens incidit Ribadeneiræ, ut multa ejus generis miracula præterirèt*." This was the very reason why Polancus made his collection, and why Mercuriano had it wrought up by Maffei, whence it passed into the work of Orlandinus.

But even the latter narratives did not satisfy the miracle-craving Jesuitism of the 17th century. As early as the year 1606, a cave near Manresa began to be esteemed holy, upon its being conceived that the Exercentia spiritualia of Ignatius were composed there,—although not a word of this appears in either the one tradition or the other, and the Dominicans stated, no doubt with entire truth, that the spelunca of Ignatius was in their convent. The most violent disputes between the Dominicans and Jesuits were just then in full play,—motive enough for the Jesuits to seek another theatre for the original foundation of their order.

And now let us return to our MSS. on Gregory XV. and Urban VIII.

94. *Relazione dell' eccell. S<sup>ra</sup> Hieron. Giustinian K<sup>r</sup> Proor. Ant. Grimani K<sup>r</sup>, Franc. Contarini Proor. Hieron. Soranzo K<sup>r</sup>, amb<sup>ro</sup> extraord. al sommo pontefice Gregorio XV l'anno 1621 il mese di Maggio.* [Report of . . . the ambassadors extraordinary to pope Gregory XV. in May 1621.]

Of little importance, like all reports of this kind. The description of the new pope and his government could be but a hasty sketch, after so short a stay; a few remarks on the journey, the conclave,

the descent and past history of the newly elected pontiff, and the first course of his administration, commonly constitute the whole matter.

On this occasion, however, something more might fairly have been expected, since the ordinary ambassador, Hieronimo Soranzo, who had resided five years at the court of Rome, made one in the extraordinary embassy, and gave his report conjointly with the other three.

The interest felt, however, by the Venetian senate was not like ours; it was political not historical. The personal character and the court history of a deceased sovereign had no longer any attraction or any essential importance. Soranzo contents himself with a few observations. "Non debbo tralasciare di narrare qualche cosa delle più gravi che mi sono occorse di maneggiare in sì lunga et importante legatione."

The point of most moment is, that he investigates the position assumed towards the see of Rome by Venice in the recent negotiations with Spain.

"Gli Spagnuoli facevano considerar a S. S.<sup>a</sup> quelle sì opportune congiunture di ravvivar le ragioni della chiesa in golfo. L'amb.<sup>re</sup> si affaticò di mostrare il giusto, antico et indubitato possesso del golfo, aggiungendo che la rep.<sup>a</sup> per difenderlo ricorrerebbe ad ajuti stranieri, si valerebbe di Inglesi, Olandesi e di Turchi medmi, e se S. S.<sup>a</sup> avesse fomentato l'ingiuste et indebite pretensioni di Spagnuoli, avrebbe posta tutta la X.<sup>a</sup> in grandissimo scompiglio. Un giorno S. S.<sup>a</sup> mi disse 'Stimiamo necessario che le cose del golfo non si alterino: le novità seguite in esso ci son spiacciate grandemente: lo abbiamo detto a chi ne ha parlato.'"

[The Spaniards drew the attention of his holiness to that so favorable opportunity of reviving the rights of the church in the Gulf of Venice. The ambassador laboured to show the just, ancient, and indubitable possession of the gulf, adding that the republic would recur to foreign aid to defend it; that they would avail themselves of the assistance of the English, the Dutch, and of the Turks themselves, and if his holiness fostered the unjust and improper pretensions of the Spaniards, he would throw all Christendom into great disorder. One day his holiness said to me: "We think it necessary that the affairs of the gulf be not changed: the innovations in this matter have greatly displeased us; we have said so to those who have spoken on the subject."]

We see that there was reason to apprehend another outbreak of the old differences into open hostilities.

Soranzo never strove to persuade Paul V. that the republic had no leaning to the protestants. "Lo resi al pieno capace della bontà e del puro zelo della repubblica." [I made him fully sensible of the goodness and pure zeal of the republic.]

The ambassador felt assured, too, that the new pope would not incline to the Spanish party. The manner of his election seemed to promise this.

"Nella elezione di Gregorio XV si mostrò l'effetto del spirito santo. Borghese, che aveva per far il papa a sua voglia sei voti oltre il bisogno, era risoluto di far eleggere Campori: ma tre delle sue creature dissentendovi, nascendo più altri inconvenienti, più per motivo et istigazione d'altri che per inclination propria venne alla nominatione di Ludovisio sua creatura. Questo cardinale aveva l'amore di Aldobrandino, fu tenuto da Spagnuoli

di placidi pensieri, Francesi suo confidente l'avevano."

[The effect of the Holy Spirit was seen in the election of Gregory XV. Borghese, who had the disposal of six votes more than were necessary to determine the contest, was resolved to have Campori elected; but three of his creatures dissenting from this choice, and further inconveniences arising, he was induced, rather at the instigation of others than of his own accord, to nominate Ludovisio, his creature. This cardinal was liked by Aldobrandino, was thought placidly disposed by the Spaniards, and was held for their own trusty friend by the French.]

The nephew, too, seemed to keep himself still free. "Mostra sinora genio alieno da Spagnoli" [Up to this time he seems averse to the Spaniards] say the ambassadors.

This, however, was but too soon changed.

95. *Vita e fatti di Ludovico Ludovisi, di S. R. Ch. eieccane, nepote di papa Gregorio XV, scritto da Luc. Antonio Giunti suo scrittore da Urbino. (Corr. 122 leaves.)* [Life and acts of Ludovico Ludovisi, vice-chancellor of the holy Roman church, nephew of pope Gregory XV., written by his servant, Luc. Antonio Giunti of Urbino.]

"Ludovico, ch'è poi stato il card.<sup>l</sup> Ludovisi, nacque in Bologna dal conte Oratio della famiglia di Ludovisi e dalla contessa Lavinia Albergati l'anno 1595 a 27 d'Ottobre." [Ludovico, who afterwards became cardinal Ludovisi, was born in Bologna, to count Oratio, of the family of Ludovisi, and the countess Lavinia Albergati, on the 27th of October, 1595.] He was educated in the Jesuit college in Rome, made doctor in 1615, began his career in the prelacy in 1619, and on the day after his uncle's coronation, February 16, 1621, was made a cardinal, and thereby acquired the prominent political station which we have already noticed.

"Darò," says the author, "qualche cenno delle cose parte da lui proposte, parte da lui coadjuvate o promosse nel pontificato del suo zio Gregorio." [I will touch lightly on the things partly proposed by him, partly aided or promoted by him during the pontificate of his uncle Gregory.]

1. Traits of character.—"Ascoltava tutto con flemma più che ordinaria: gli ambasciatori mai si rendevano satii di trattar seco, . . . si dava a tutti, accioche tutti si dassero a lui. Mostrava giustizia e misericordia insieme, senza passione o doppiezza." [He used to listen to every thing with more than common phlegm: the ambassadors were never satiated with transacting business with him . . . he gave himself up to all, so that all gave themselves up to him. He displayed justice and mercy combined, without passion or excess.]

2. Promotions,—of the cardinals who had helped his uncle's election to various legations, of Orsino to Romagna, Pio to the March, Ubaldini to Bologna, Capponi to the archbishopric of Ravenna. Thus their good services were rewarded. Nuncios were sent out to every court; Massimi to Tuscany, Pamfili to Naples, Corsini to France, Sangro to Spain, Caraffa to the emperor, Montorio to Cologne. Aldobrandino served as general, Pino as paymaster, in Germany. The greater part of the instructions to these nuncios have come down to us, which makes



the following account of the manner in which they were framed so much the more interesting to us. "Quantunque fossero distese da m<sup>r</sup> Aguechia prelatò Bolognese, nondimeno il card<sup>le</sup> fece in esse particular fatica nelle annotazioni di capi, di motivi, del senso di S. Beat<sup>o</sup>, de' ripicghi e consigli suggeriti dal suo proprio avvedimento e sapere." [Though they were made out by monsieur Aguechia, a Bolognese prelate, nevertheless the cardinal particularly contributed to them notes of the purposes, motives, and sentiments of his holiness, and of the remedies and counsels suggested by his own foresight and wisdom.] The plan was sketched, we see, by the cardinal nephew; the filling up of it was undertaken by Aguechia, a countryman of Ludovisi.

3. Bulls on the papal elections.—The forms that had previously been followed were changed; secret scrutiny was introduced, the adoration was abolished. Giunti states the disadvantages arising out of the adoration. "Rendeva i cardinali più timidi nel dire il parer loro, partoriva e fomentava gravi disgusti tra gli escludenti e gli esclusi, cagionava che il pontefice si eleggesse senza la debita premeditatione, mentre i capi delle fazioni manifestavano le loro volontà, faceva che la somma delle elezioni fosse per il più appoggiata a cardinali giovani." [It rendered the cardinals more timid in expressing their opinions; it produced and fomented serious antipathies between the excluders and the excluded; it occasioned the pope to be elected without due premeditation, upon the heads of the factions displaying their wishes; it was the cause of making the result of the elections depend essentially on the junior cardinals.] There is good reason to suppose that Ludovisi had other motives for effecting the change; but these are not given.

4. Establishment of the Propaganda. Canonization of the saints.—We have already treated of these topics.

5. Transfer of the electorate.—Investigation of Ludovisi's personal share in this transaction.

6. Acquisition of the Heidelberg library:—"per la quale (la biblioteca Palatina) si operò molto il card<sup>le</sup> Ludovisio, atteso che riputava uno degli avvenimenti più felici del pontificato del zio di poterla conseguire. Fu destinato il dottor Leon Allaccio, scrittore Greco dell' istessa biblioteca Vaticana, che andasse a riceverla et accompagnarla" [for which (the Palatine library) cardinal Ludovisio exerted himself much, considering its acquisition one of the most auspicious events of his uncle's pontificate. Doctor Leon Allaccio, Greek writer in the said Vatican library, was deputed to go and receive, and convey it to Rome].

7. Protection of the Capuchins, whom Ludovisio esteemed very highly, and in a marked manner of the Jesuits.—Vitelleschi says, that through the special protection God was pleased to extend to that society, it had always some great cardinal for its patron; Alexander Farnese, Odoardo Farnese, and now Ludovico Ludovisi. He richly endowed the Jesuit churches in Rome and in Bologna out of his private fortune; and finally bequeathed in his will 200,000 sc. for the completion of the former, having already in his lifetime bestowed on them every year 6000 sc. The author includes this sum in the alms he distributed, and which he sets down at 32,882 sc. exactly every year.

8. The election of Urban VIII.—It is here as-

cribed to the cardinal, "superando con la sua destrezza le difficoltà che si traponevano" [overcoming by his dexterity the difficulties that lay in the way]. His departure from Rome to his archiepiscopal see of Bologna was entirely spontaneous.

9. His after-life.—He preached sometimes in Bologna; he induced the Bolognese to add Ignatius and Xavier to the number of their heavenly protectors; but the main thing was that, consistently with the mode in which he had himself conducted the administration, he set himself in vehement opposition to the vacillating policy of Urban VIII. When the victories of Gustavus Adolphus occurred in 1631, he offered the court of Spain 100,000 scudi, and the proceeds, during the continuance of the war, of his Spanish abbeys, of which he held ten. Giunti gives the letter in which Ludovisi made this offer, founded upon the "presenti bisogni della Germania e dell' augustissima casa di S. M<sup>a</sup>, base e sostegno della religione cattolica" [the present wants of Germany and of his majesty's most august house, the base and support of the catholic religion]. The offer was not accepted in Spain. Olivarez replied to him, that though the king declined the offer, that should not hinder his majesty from bestowing on the cardinal all the favour he could desire, in which the king might be thought interested if he accepted his proposal.

We find nothing here of the purpose imputed to the cardinal by a Venetian, of calling a council against pope Urban VIII.

For, on the whole, this biography is composed in the tone of an official panegyrist. Though it contains much useful and credible information, it mentions nothing of a more dubious character.

The cardinal died shortly after. "La cui anima," says Giunti in conclusion, "riposi in cielo." [May his soul repose in heaven.]

96. *Istruzione a mons<sup>r</sup> vescovo d'Aversa, nuncio destinato da N. Sig<sup>ra</sup> alla M<sup>a</sup> Cesarea di Ferdinando II Imperatore. Roma 12 Apr. 1621.*  
[Instruction to the bishop of Aversa, nuncio elect to the emperor Ferdinand II.]

We have seen how important were Caraffa's exertions; this alone would give weight to the instruction communicated to him by Gregory XV. on his entering on his nunciature. But it is further deserving of attention, as disclosing the views which were entertained in Rome after the battle of Prague.

Gregory assumes, in the first place, that it had been the intention of the protestants to extirpate the house of Austria, to wrest the imperial power to themselves, and then to make their way into Italy to rob and plunder that noblest portion of the world. God, however, had given events a different turn; it must now be considered how best this might be taken advantage of.

He enjoins the nuncio to direct his attention to the following points:—

I. The strengthening of the empire by the catholics. He promises the emperor aid, and urges him to follow up the victory with speed.

II. Re-establishment of the catholic religion.—The pope rejoices at the prosperous course it is taking in Austria and Moravia. It is consolatory to him that in Silesia the Calvinists at least are not tolerated; but it would not meet his approbation if



the Hungarians would sanction even the Augsburg confession, though the most nearly approaching to catholicism, "la confessione che, quantunque rea, si dilunga assai meno dalla professione cattolica di quello che facciano le più sette cattoliche." But Bohemia is the object of his greatest solicitude. He points out the following means for the restoration of catholicism in that country.

1. "Fondare in Praga un' università cattolica ;" [To found a catholic university in Prague ;]

2. "Rimettere nelle antiche parrocchie i parrochi cattolici e per le città i maestri di scola parimente cattolici ;" [To replace the catholic parochial clergy in the ancient parishes ; and in the city schools, masters likewise catholic ;]

3. "L'uso dei catechismi e di buoni libri per tutto, ma per li fanciulli et idioti l'antiche canzoni spirituali in lingua Bohema ;" [The use of the catechisms and of good books generally ; but for children and simple folk, the ancient spiritual songs in the Bohemian language ;]

4. "Librarj e stampatori cattolici, facendo visitare le librerie e stampe degli eretici ;" [Catholic booksellers and printers, the bookshops and presses of the heretics being subjected to visitation ;]

5. "L'opera de' padri Gesuiti e di altri religiosi ;" [The labours of the Jesuit fathers and of other orders ;]

6. "Ritornare in piedi li collegii di poveri, assegnando a quelli li beni ecclesiastici alienati." [To set on foot again the colleges of the poor, assigning them the alienated ecclesiastical estates.]

All means of instruction and education. But besides this, the nuncio is also directed to resist the appointment of protestant officers. "Lasciandosi le menti humane più consigliare dal proprio interesse che da altro, incominceranno a poco a poco massimamente i giovani a piegare l'animo alla religione cattolica, se non per altro, per partecipare di pubblici honori." [Since men's minds are more swayed by instinct than by anything else, they will begin by degrees, especially the young men, to turn to the catholic religion, if not for anything else, at least to participate in public honours.]

III. Re-establishment of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.—The pope has a vast deal to complain of on this head. The bishops are still repugnant to submit to the maxims of the council of Trent ; the canons are given to corrupt practices ; the chapters make a bad disposal of the places in their gift ; the emperor too takes too many liberties. "L'imperatore istesso sotto varii pretesti di spogli, di juspatronati, di concessioni apostoliche, di avocarie, di incamerazioni e di pienza di potestà trattiene le chiese gli anni vacanti, et in quel mentre se ne prende per se l'entrate."

IV. Restoration of the papal authority.—The emperor appears to be glad to see that the pope no longer dares venture on excommunications and bulls. The papal court too has sustained immense reductions in its receipts from Germany, which formerly amounted to 200,000 scudi. Gregory will not sanction the proceedings with Klesel, but he expresses himself very moderately on the subject, "non è mai piaciuto troppo quel fatto." Verospi the auditor di rota was sent over to carry on the suit.

V. The emperor's relation to Italy.—It might be made useful, particularly in the affairs of the

Valtelline. In Spain they did not yet consent to the demolition of the conquered fortresses. "Pare che il duca di Feria et altri ministri di S. M<sup>a</sup> Cea. in Italia si opponghino a quel consiglio, come coloro che vorrebbero ritenere i forti e con essi la gloria di quell' acquisto." [It seems that the duke of Feria and other ministers of his imperial majesty in Italy are opposed to this, as wishing to retain the fortresses, and therewith the glory of this acquisition.] But he is fully aware how dangerous this would be ; the protestants in Germany would desire nothing better than to see the sword unsheathed in Italy.

VI. Deportment of the nuncio.—He is of course recommended in the first place to Eckenberg ; but it is especially remarkable that the nephew expresses himself but very cautiously respecting the Jesuits. "Terrà gran conto del padre Beccano confessore di Cesare, e si valerà con destrezza dell' opera sua, non lasciando intanto di osservare i suoi discorsi o consigli per scorporne meglio i fini et avvisarmegli. E parimente a' padri Gesuiti ricorrerà con avveduta confidenza." [He will make great account of father Beccano the emperor's confessor, and will adroitly avail himself of his aid, not failing meanwhile to watch his language and counsels, the better to discover his ends and to acquaint me with them. And in like manner he will recur to the Jesuit fathers with provident confidence.] With provident confidence ! An excellent piece of advice.

We see meanwhile what brilliant designs were already conceived by the pope. He even then contemplated a restitution of all church property. With this remarkable passage we shall close our extracts. "Secondo che s'aunderanno acquistando de paesi tenuti avanti dagli eretici, ella faccia grandissima istanza con S. M<sup>a</sup> di ricuperaro i beni ecclesiastici occupati da loro e di renderli alle chiese et alli veri patroni. Questo officio si fece per ordine di papa Paolo V, quando il marchese Spinola s'impossessò del palatinato, e l'imperatore rispose che non era ancor tempo di trattarne." [In proportion as possession shall be obtained of territories previously possessed by the heretics, you shall press most urgently with his majesty for the recovery of the ecclesiastical property seized by them, and for its restoration to the churches, and to the true patrons. This application was made by order of pope Paul V., when the marquis Spinola took possession of the Palatinato, and the emperor replied that it was not yet time to treat of it.]

We see that the idea of the edict of restitution was conceived by Paul V. in the year 1620, but was rejected at that time by the emperor as inopportune.

The nuncio was now to urge it anew, and to represent to the emperor the merit he would acquire by it.

97. *Istruttione a mon<sup>te</sup> Sangro, patriarca d'Alessandria et arcivescovo di Benevento, per andar nunzio di S. S<sup>ta</sup> al re cattolico.* 1621. [Instruction to monsign<sup>or</sup> Sangro, patriarch of Alessandria and archbishop of Benevento, on his proceeding as nuncio to the catholic king.]

Sangro is reminded that the power of Spain is now chiefly in the hands of Uzeda and of the grand

inquisitor. He was therefore particularly to recall his spiritual duties to the latter's mind.

In order to discover secrets, he is directed to attach himself to the ambassadors of Venice and Tuscany, "de' quali si suol cavare molto" [from whom there is usually much to be got].

The questions of immunity, of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and of collectoria, are then entered into with some minuteness. I must confess, however, that the defective and illegible copy I found, prevented me from going further into these points.

The main thing is the exposition of the political relations.

The nuncio was above all things to demand a renewal of the war with Holland.

He was to remind the court that prince Maurice was now old, and that his death was daily to be expected; that the division between the Arminians and the Gomarists enfeebled the provinces: count Henry hoped with the aid of the former, count Ernest with the aid of the latter, to obtain the supreme authority: that the Zealanders were poor, the Hollanders hated for their arrogance. "Laonde il re non può voltare le sue forze contra di loro in miglior tempo ovvero opportunità." [Hence there could not be a more favourable time or opportunity for the king to turn his arms against them.]

98. *Istruzione a V. Sig.<sup>ra</sup> M<sup>r</sup> di Torres, arcivescovo di Antrinpoli, nuntio destinato da N. Sig.<sup>ra</sup> in Polonia. 30 Maggio 1621.*—[Instruction to archbishop Torres of Antrinpoli, nuncio elect to Poland.]

The misunderstanding between Paul V. and Sigismund III. was not altogether insignificant "Se la pietà del re," says Gregory XV. in this instruction which he commenced to his first nuncio, "e la riverenza che a questa sede egli porta, non avesse annorzato del tutto o almeno coperte le scintille de' dispiaceri loro, se ne sarebbe per il soffion d'altrui acceso alcun fuoco di disordia manifesta." [Had not the piety of the king, and the reverence he bears this see, wholly stifled or at least covered the sparks of their displeasure, they would have been blown up by others into an open flame of discord.]

Gregory now labours to smooth over everything. He is penetrated by the sense of the merits of this king, who could not have been made a better catholic in Rome itself.

The nuncio is enjoined above all things to bear himself blameless in his conduct: "perche tutti gli pongono gli occhi adosso e prendono ancora esempio da santi costumi di lui, et il re medesimo li propone a suoi prelati per norma" [for the eyes of all will be fixed on him, and they will take example of holy manners from him, and the king himself will propose him as a model to his prelates]. To be a sedulous frequenter of the banquets of the great would be in itself no bad means of acquiring influence, but it would end in weakening the respect which ought to be entertained for a nuncio.

It would be well if the nuncio would as formerly visit the churches in person.

The main thing is still education. The institution of the Dottrina Christiana, as subsisting in

Italy, should be introduced likewise into Poland. Catechisms and spiritual books must be provided, and worldly or protestant songs superseded by catholic.

99. *Istruzione a V. S.<sup>ra</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Lancellotti, vescovo di Nola, destinato da N. S.<sup>ra</sup> suo nuntio in Polonia.*—[Instruction to monsieur Lancellotti, bishop of Nola, nuncio elect to Poland.]

I know not whether belonging to the year 1622 or 1623, but certainly during the reign of Gregory XV.

The instruction given to Torres is communicated to the nuncio. Since that time, by order of the Propaganda, all bishops had been required to give in reports of their dioceses: these too were to be consulted by the nuncio.

Politics come forward somewhat more prominently. The nuncio should do his utmost to uphold the good understanding between Poland and the house of Austria. This would bridle the Turks and the enemies of the emperor.

The Poles would gladly have concluded peace, or at least a truce for twenty years, with Gustavus Adolphus: the latter represented too that the Polish line should succeed him if he died childless; but Sigismund rejected all overtures. "Benche Gustavo per conditione espressa offerisse che morendo lui senza figliuoli gli avesse a succedere S. M.<sup>ta</sup> e la sua stirpe, s'oppose a questi consigli." It was only out of deference to the Poles that he consented to a short armistice.

The affairs of the united Greeks had been already investigated in the instruction to Torres, but they were treated more distinctly and thoroughly in this document.

"I Greci commossi a tempo di Clemente Ottavo per opera di Rupaccio Pacciorio, che fu prima vescovo overo vladica di Vladimiera e poi metropolitano di Chiovia, si contentarono i vescovi o vladici loro, eccettuati quelli di Leopoli e di Premisla, che nella loro ostinazione si rimasero, d'unirsi alla chiesa Romana, e di riconoscere, come fecero l'anno 1595, il papa per loro capo secondo la forma e professione di fede nel concilio Fiorentino contenuta. Ma tante discordie ne nacquerò, e così si posero nelle diete a impugnare quella unione li nobili Greci, dagli heretici favoriti, che s'è havuto a mettere sossopra il regno: imperocche pochi del clero e molto meno del popolo l'hanno voluto abbracciare, affermando tutti essere per privati disegni e per ambizione di pochi stata fatta e senza loro partecipazione. Onde si conservano bene li vescovi e pastori cattolici, ma questi soli se ne stanno, senza trovare pecorelle che seguitare li vogliano, e di più corrono gran rischio d'essere dalle sedie loro cacciati e che vengano ancor ad essi levate quelle chiese che tolte già alli scismatici furongli concesse. Onde in tutto lo diete se ne fa lo strepito grande: e nell'anno passato avvenne che un vescovo o fosse il patriarca scismatico di Gerusalemme mandato in Moscovia et in Russia dal patriarca di Costantinopoli, si fermò fra Russi, e vi creò tanti scismatici quanti sono gli uniti, et eccitò li cosacchi, che sono tutti Greci scismatici, ad addimandare nella dieta con offerte grandissime, perche il regno per la guerra col Turco avesse bisogno di loro, che all' antiche loro pretensioni si

sodisfacesse: ma il vescovo di Santo Angelo, all' hora nuntio, ne divertì l'impeto, sicche tra per questo e per pubbliche necessità, che a nuove contese non lasciavano luogo, si pose con l'autorità del re il negotio in silenzio. Si vive non di meno dagli uniti nel medesimo timore: e li più prudenti prelati ne pronosticano alla fine de' mali eventi se alcun provvedimento non vi si piglia: onde havrebbero alcuni havuto per lo migliore che l'unione non si fosse mai fatta, apportando essi che sarebbe stato più agevole il ridurre li nobili singolarmente e di famiglia in famiglia alla chiesa cattolica, perche si vede per prova che tutti coloro che ad uno abbandonano il rito Greco e lo scisma, stanno nella nostra chiesa perseveranti." [The Greeks, moved in the time of Clement VIII. by Rupaccio Pacciorio, who was first bishop or vladica of Wladimir, and afterwards metropolitan of Chiovia, were content, they and their bishops or vladics, except those of Leopoli and Premisla, who remained obstinate, to unite themselves to the Roman church, and to recognize the pope for their head, as they did in the year 1595, according to the form and profession of faith contained in the Florentine council. But such disorders ensued in consequence, and the Greek nobles, backed by the heretics, so set themselves to impugn this union in the diet, that the kingdom had like to have been turned upside down: because few of the clergy, and much fewer of the common people, were willing to embrace it, all of them affirming that the thing was done for private designs, and to further the ambition of a few without any participation of theirs. Hence the catholic bishops and pastors still subsist, but they stand alone, and find no flocks that will follow them; moreover they run great risk of being expelled from their places, and of losing also those churches which, having been already taken from the schismatics, were conferred on them. Accordingly there is a great noise about the matter in every diet: and last year it happened that a bishop, or it might be the schismatic patriarch of Jerusalem, sent into Moscow and Russia by the patriarch of Constantinople, established himself among the Russians, and created amongst them schismatics as numerous as the united Greeks, and excited the Cossacks, who are all Greek schismatics, to demand in the diet, with very large offers, because the kingdom had need of them on account of the war with the Turks, that their ancient pretensions should be satisfied. But the bishop of Santo Angelo, then nuncio, parried the blow, so that, what with his exertions, and what with the public necessities, which would not admit of fresh contests, the matter was silenced by the royal authority. Notwithstanding this, the same fear is continually entertained on the side of the united, and the most intelligent prelates prognosticate that matters will end badly if some provision be not made. Some therefore are of opinion it were better the union had never taken place, arguing that it would have been easier to bring over the nobles singly, and family by family, to the catholic church; for it is proved by experience, that all those who individually abandon the Greek ritual and the schism persist in their attachment to our church.]

100. *Relazione fatta alla congregazione de propaganda fide da Dionysio Lazari sopra alcune cose che possono essere di servizio alla santa fede cattolica.*

1622. [Report made to the congregation "de propaganda fide," by Dionysio Lazari, on some things which may be of service to the holy catholic faith.]

Dion. Lazari had been for a while—"molti mesi" is his own expression—in England, and in this paper states the means by which catholicism might be restored in that country.

The means, he thinks, were three: negotiation with one, or with many, or violent measures.

But he is of opinion that much might be done with king James personally: that king was indifferent in his opinions and timorous. "Per la pratica che ho di lui, lo stimo indifferente in qualsivoglia religione." It would be well to foster his suspicions, by means even of supposititious letters. "Far artificiosamente avisar qualche suo ministro fuori del regno di persona da loro erudita fede, e nell' istesso regno far trovar qualche lettera a nome supposito che trattasse in forme segrete queste materie." [To have some minister of his in foreign parts craftily advised by a person he supposed trustworthy; and to cause some letter in a feigned name to be discovered in the kingdom itself, treating of these matters with a show of secrecy.] Buckingham too might well be gained over; his wife was the daughter of a catholic, and was herself privily catholic; "è segreta cattolica figlia anche di segreto cattolico." Buckingham laid great weight on alliances with foreign powers; he could be most gained through them, especially as he was always in peril from the parliament. "Essendo composto il parlamento quasi per la maggior parte di puritani, stimarebbe egli specie d'efficace vendetta l'indurre il re al cattolicismo." [The parliament being composed for the most part of puritans, he would deem it a kind of effective vengeance to make the king catholic.]

Influence on the common people.—It would be very advantageous, could freedom of preaching be obtained. "Il che si potrebbe fare per via di danaro, proponendo, per così dire, una gabella di predicatori ed auditori, inducendosi il re molte volte per l'interesse a cose contrarie a sua volontà." [Which might be done by way of money, proposing, so to speak, a toll on preachers and hearers, for the king is often induced by interest to things contrary to his inclination.]

Violent measures he says were not to be thought of. But we see that even those of a pacific nature which he proposes were not practicable.

Lazari belonged to that class of people who think to influence the course of society by intrigues and dexterous machinations, which however can never be the case.

He has no hopes from the rising generation; it was reared wholly in protestant sentiments: the prince alone, afterwards Charles I., seems to hold out some promise. "Io v'ho grandissima speranza, per vederlo d'indole molto ingenua, di costumi assai generosi, molto sobrio nel detestar li cattolici." [I have great hopes of him, seeing that he is of a highly ingenuous nature, of rather generous principles, and very temperate in his hatred of the catholics.]

101. *Istruzione al dottor Leone Allatio per andare in Germania per la libreria del Palatino. 1622. (Court libr. in Vienna, MS. Hohenb.) [Instruc-*

tion to doctor Leone Allatio to go into Germany for the Palatine library.]

The instruction by which Leo Allatius, then scribe in the Vatican, was empowered to receive possession of the Heidelberg library.

It is to be found not only in Vienna, but also in many other libraries, for instance in the Chigi library in Rome, among the collections of instructions by Gregory XV. The literary interest of the subject has also caused it to be known in Germany. Quade, Baumgarten, and Gerdes, one after the other, had it printed in Latin.

Having once come within the range of protestant erudition, it necessarily became the subject of discussion. In his history of the formation, plunder, and destruction of the old Heidelberg collections, (Heidelberg, 1817) p. 235, our learned fellow citizen and friend, G. R. Fr. Wilken, has raised formidable objections against its authenticity.

The Latin translation is executed indeed in a manner that must provoke suspicion. Fortunately however, this is dissipated when we obtain sight of the original MS.

In the Latin for instance it is said, in reference to the consecrated medals which were given to Allatio for Tilly's soldiers, "Unum adhuc R. T. D. supeditamus stratagemata, ut scilicet sibi magnam nummorum comparere copiam, quos a sanctis canonisatos esse fingat." [We suggest one stratagem to the reverend doctor, that he should get together a great quantity of coins, and pretend that they are canonized by the saints.] Surely it is incredible that the Roman court should have expressed itself in this fashion to one of its servants.

Upon turning to the original, we find it really runs quite differently. "E qui soggiungerò a V. S. che se le darà un grosso numero di medaglie con l'indulgenza della canonizzazione de' santi fatta da N. S." [And there I will mention to you, that you shall be furnished with a great number of medals, with the indulgence of the canonization of the saints made by his holiness.] I understand by this, medals commemorative of the canonization of the saints, which Gregory XV. had determined on, with an indulgence.

As little is it to be found in the original, that Allatio was to address the duke of Bavaria in German, as the Latin version asserts: "tradito," it is said in Baumgarten: "brevis a Sancto Patre fidei ipsius concredito, Germanico idiomate eum affandi." [On presenting to him the holy father's brief committed to his charge, to address him in the German tongue.] The original on the other hand says, "presentando a Sua Altezza il breve di N. Sre, le parlerà a nome di Sua S<sup>a</sup> conforme al tenore di esso." [On presenting our lord's letter to his highness, he shall speak in the name of his holiness conformably with the tenor of the same.]

The translation outrages the Italian original and all probability.

But when we see that the original is far more rationally composed, and under circumstances that admit of no doubt, we can no longer be sceptical of its authenticity.

One thing, however, is certainly true, that Allatio was to spread the report that the library was to be transferred to Munich, not to Rome. "In ogni caso sarà bene di metter voce che si abbia da condurre solamente a Monaco e non a Roma." We

have repeatedly seen how the most extreme wariness was inculcated upon the papal envoys. Similar instructions were given to Allatio. For instance: "Massimamente per i paesi sospetti sarà sempre meglio di andare in habito corto, come persona negoziante del dominio Veneto." [Particularly in suspected countries it will always be advisable to wear a short coat, like a commercial individual of the Venetian dominions.] So much dissimulation was thought necessary.

We need not wonder at such directions being given in writing. They were fond of writing at that court, particularly in Ludovico's chancery. The instructions drawn up by Agucchia are not wanting in important political views, but they are also full of trifles of this kind. The author wished to have the credit of thinking of every thing.

Furthermore, there was good reason to apprehend the fury of the reformed party, especially at this loss to their metropolis. The library was to be escorted by a detachment of cavalry.

102. *Istruzione al padre Don Tobia Corona de' chierici regolari mandato da papa Gregorio XV al re di Francia e prima al duca di Savoia per l'impresa della città di Ginevra. 1622. (Libr. of Frankfurt on Main. MSS. Glanbury. Tom. 39, n. 1. 26 leaves.)* [Instruction to father Don Tobia Corona, of the chierici regolari, sent by Gregory XV. to the king of France, and first to the duke of Savoy, respecting the enterprise against the city of Geneva.]

Beginning: "L'Italia che dall' eterna provvidenza è stata eletta a reggere hora l'imperio temporale, hora lo spirituale del mondo." [Italy, which has been elected by eternal Providence to sway now the temporal, now the spiritual empire of the world.]

Geneva is pre-eminently odious to this spiritual government, "non solo come piena di huomini appestati, ma come cattedra di pestilenza" [not only as full of plague-struck men, but as the high seat of pestilence].

To chastise it, to destroy it, belonged before all others to the pope, the vicar of Christ, and to the duke of Savoy, who still wore the name of count of Geneva. The pope and the duke had often made the attempt, but were always frustrated by the protection afforded by France to that city.

Now, however, the position of things is altered. "La Francia tratta il soggetto di domare i ribellati heretici, et ha da ricevere piacere che per togliere loro le forze e la riputazione si faccia il medesimo senza suo costo in altro parti." [France is engaged in the task of subduing the heretic rebels, and must be gratified to see them deprived of strength and reputation, by the prosecution of the same course in another quarter without any cost to herself.]

The pope had devised a plan from the beginning of his reign, and thought to prepare the way for its execution by the mission of a regular ecclesiastic. "Poiche habbiamo un' argomento di religione, si conviene fuggendone il rumore coprirlo più che si puote: vuole inviarsi un religioso. La P. V<sup>a</sup> porterà da per tutto questo negotio come nato nell' animo di Sua S<sup>a</sup> senza altra origine che dello spirito santo."

He was, in the first place, to excite the warlike

propensities of the duke of Savoy, and if he asked for aid, he was to represent to him how much the assistance afforded to the emperor and the League had exhausted the apostolic see, what large claims the Poles put forward, and what expense Avignon occasioned; at the same time holding out by all means a hope of some help: "che Sua S<sup>ta</sup> non sarà stretta a S. A. di tutti quelli ajuti che dalle piccole forze uscir potranno." The nuncio will also request the requisite information as to the rights of Savoy to Geneva.

But the chief thing is what representations he is to make to the king of France: 1. That he should not bring upon himself the suspicion that he persecuted the protestants solely for motives of state; 2. That even these, rightly understood, demanded the destruction of Geneva. "Se Ginevra non fosse stata ricovero di Calvino, la M<sup>a</sup> S. non havrebbe di presente da portare l'armi contro l'ostinati e perversi suoi popoli Ugonotti, non si vedrebbe nascere le repubbliche contro la monarchia. . . . Sono repubbliche popolari che in ogni palmo di terreno e fino nell' istessa corte e forse nella camera del re hanno lor cittadini e seguaci. . . . Già la repubblica loro (Ugonotti) è piantata, già ne sono pubblicate le leggi, e già in ogni provincia hanno costituiti i magistrati, i consigli et i governatori dell' armi: più non hanno da fare che da andare egli a muovere l'armi al re per cacciarlo di casa." [Had not Geneva afforded an asylum to Calvin, his majesty would not now be forced to have recourse to arms against his obstinate and perverse Huguenot subjects; republics would not be seen springing up against monarchy. . . . They are popular republics (those of the Huguenots), that have their citizens and adherents on every foot of ground, and in the very court, and perhaps closet of the king. . . . The republic of the Huguenots is already founded, already its laws are published, already in every province they have appointed magistrates, councils, and military commanders; there remains nothing for them to do but to take up arms of their own accord against the king, and to turn him out of doors.]

We see how prominently the monarchical principle showed itself in the efforts of catholicism. Geneva was to be destroyed, as the mistress and adviser of the Huguenot republics. She could now receive no succour, as all the other protestants had their hands full, and the English were bound by treaties.

And what would this augmentation of Savoy signify, in comparison with the power of France? The pass could not be defended against the Swiss since the king possessed Bresse. "I cantoni cattolici, con quali la corona è più congiunta, ne riceveranno e servirlo e piacere: certo che il cantone di Friburgo circondato da Bernesi heretici, benché sia valoroso e di loro non tema, haverà nondimeno più caro di confinare per via del lago con quella città divenuta cattolica e posta sotto il dominio di un principe amico e cattolico, che libera et heretica remanente." [The catholic cantons, with which the crown is most connected, will derive advantage and gratification from the measure. It is certain that the canton of Friburg, surrounded by the heretic Bernese, though it be valorous and fear them not, will nevertheless prefer to touch, through the medium of the lake, upon their city, become catholic, and placed under the government of a

friendly and catholic prince, than remaining free and heretical.]

Cardinal Retz, the constable (Luines), and Père Arnoux, are named as those from whom father Tobia might particularly look to receive support.

We shall presently speak of the result of this mission.

103. *Relatione di Roma fatta nel senato Veneto dall' ambasciador Rainiero Zeno alli 22 di Nov. Informat. Politt. tom. xvi. 101 leaves.* [Report on Rome made to the Venetian senate by the ambassador Rainiero Zeno.]

The returned ambassadors usually express themselves with modesty and deference, both with regard to the sovereigns whose courts they have left and to their hearers. Rainiero Zeno is the first who displays a great deal of self-sufficiency. Not only he declares that he lays before the senate a schedule of the papal revenue and expenditure, which he had drawn up with scrupulous industry (f. 80), but he also reminds his hearers in what lively colours he had depicted this cardinal or that in his dispatches (f. 111): he says outright of pope Urban, "In two words I demolished his arguments;" he broadly asserts that the Divine Majesty had given him the talent to penetrate into the innermost thoughts of the closest men; and he puts into the mouth of cardinal Ludoviso an encomium on the republic, because she always chose as her ambassadors to Rome men of the most tried ability.

Rainier Zeno re-appears a few years afterwards, in the Venetian troubles of the year 1628; everything that issues from him on that occasion bears, like the report before us, the stamp of self-sufficiency that characterizes so many Italians and Spaniards of that century.

Now between men of this character bickerings could not fail to arise: Rainier Zeno accordingly met with the most unpleasant incidents in the course of his embassy.

The greater part of it fell upon the times of Gregory XV. Ludoviso exacted a reverence and obsequiousness that Zeno would not accord him: they very soon came into violent collision with each other.

Zeno describes these disputes in the last part of his report. He boasts that he often made the nephew keen answers and put him to silence. He is particularly delighted with the recollection that he often got news by private means of things the nephew thought enveloped in deep secrecy, and then let the latter perceive that he was aware of them: he rejoices at the annoyance this occasioned Ludoviso. "Vedevo," he says, "che appresso di me non poteva restare in quel gran concetto di sapere ch'egli con tutti ascosamente ambiva." [He saw that with me he must give up his mighty conceit of dealing impenetrably with every one.] But he would not have any one suppose that this had done mischief; on the contrary, it had rather tended to augment the reputation of the republic. When it was thought of leaving the Valtelline in the hands of the Spaniards as a deposit, there was nothing Ludoviso dreaded so much as the uproar of the Venetian protests "il fracasso che era per far io, il rimbombo delle mie proteste."]

These times were now passed. Urban VIII.

had ascended the papal throne, and Rainier Zeno makes it his chief business to describe his personal character, his court and administration, so far as they were then known.

He repeatedly says, that the cardinals had no other thought than to say what might please the pope: he thinks it a very good thing that no one thought of setting the papal finances in order. There is no instrument, he says, more specially adapted for bewildering all Christendom than the head of a pope.

Upon this he gives a sketch of Urban VIII.: "E' prencipe d'aspetto grave e venerabile, di statura grande, di colore olivastro, di lineamenti nobili, di pel nero che comincia a tirar al canuto, d'attillatura più che ordinaria, e di gratia singolare ne' gesti e ne' moti del corpo. Parla per eccellenza bene, et in qualsivoglia discorso che s'entra seco, ha da difendersi quanto vuole, e d'ogni materia mostra d'haver peritia straordinaria. Ha mostrato sin hora diletto grande della poesia, l'uso della quale non ha mai intermesso, nè pure nelle occupazioni e nelli studii più seri: perciò gl'intendenti di questa arte e delle lettere che chiamano di humanità sono stati sempre benvenuti da lui, et gli ha favoriti cortesemente in quello che ha potuto: non l'a però questo diletto astratto da quello che importava più e che era più necessario per li cariichi che successivamente li sono passati per le mani, dico dallo studio delle leggi, nel quale ha faticato incessantemente dalla prima gioventù sino a questi ultimi anni con tanta maggiore applicatione, perche così richiedeva la carica del perfetto della signatura di giustitia, magistrato che richiede studio et acutezza grandissima et esattissima per la varietà delle materie che vi concorrono. Delli affari del mondo e degl' interessi de' prencipi è intendentissimo, quanto che se nelle scuole politiche havesse fatto continua dimora." [He is a prince of grave and venerable aspect, tall, of an olive complexion, noble features, black hair which begins to turn grey, of more than ordinary neatness in his attire, and of singular grace in the gestures and movements of his body. He speaks exceedingly well, and whatever be the subject of discourse, he has arguments at will, and displays extraordinary proficiency in every matter. He has hitherto manifested great delight in poetry, which he has never ceased to cultivate even in the midst of business and of the most serious studies. Accordingly the proficient in this art and in what is called humane literature have always been well received by him, and he has courteously favoured them as far as he could. This taste, however, has not withdrawn him from matters of more importance, and from such as were more necessary to the various offices which have successively fallen into his hands. I allude to the study of the laws, in which he has laboured incessantly from his earliest youth up to these late years, with all that extraordinary application required by the office of prefect of the signatura of justice, an office which requires study and extreme and most exact acuteness, seeing the variety of matters with which it has to deal. He is exceedingly well acquainted with the affairs of the world, and with the interests of sovereigns, as though he had passed all his life in the school of politics.]

It is scarcely necessary to extract further; the resemblance is only general. We do not perceive

the more delicate lines of that intellectual physiognomy, whether it was that they did not show themselves till a later period, or that Zeno had not the art to catch them.

It is the same with his descriptions of the pope's kinsmen, and of the cardinals, whom the author goes through in detail.

This only is to be noticed, that he advises his countrymen not to expect any kind of service from the Venetian cardinals. "Priuli," he says, "languido di spirito come di corpo." [Priuli is feeble in spirit as in body.] So contemptuously does he treat them. Of Venier he will say nothing, to avoid quarrelling with his relations.

He then proceeds to politics. He is glad that this time a pope has been elected who is not in love with the Spaniards. Albuquerque had found the ground uncommonly hard, and his demands had not been complied with. The relations of Urban VIII. to France are thus represented by Zeno.

"Non è da dubitarsi che il pontefice verso il regno di Francia habbi molta propensione d'affetto, additandocelo molte congetture probabilissime: ebbero a quella corte principio le sue grandezze, alle quali, so bene ascose per meriti proprii, non nega però egli medesimo che di grande ajuto li fossero le attestazioni d'Henrico quarto della soddisfazione che haveva del suo modo di negoziare et del gusto che sentirebbe di vederli partecipato l'honor solito a conferirsi alli altri residenti in quella carica; quadra benissimo a Sua S<sup>ta</sup> il trattare de' Francesi ingenuo et libero, lontano dalli artificii, lontano dalla duplicità proprio delle altre nationi; ha una certa conformità di genio alle qualità de' studii alli quali s'applicano et de' quali si dilettono più li Francesi, ch'è la pulitezza delle lettere, l'eruditione più acconcia, la poesia, la cognitione delle lingue, in che per quanto le permettono le sue attioni, s'è pigliato molto piacere. Stima quel regno, quanto si possa dire, per reputarlo equilibrio dell' ambizione d'altri, li cui fini mirano senza dubbio alla monarchia universale."

[It is not to be doubted that the pope is warmly inclined towards the kingdom of France, many very probable motives strengthening this conjecture. His greatness took its first rise at that court; and though uplifted by his own merits, he does not himself deny that he was greatly assisted by the attestations of Henry IV. to the satisfaction his mode of transacting business gave that king, and to the pleasure with which his majesty saw him made partaker of the honours usually conferred on those who filled the office he held. The ingenuous and open dealings of the French, remote from the artifices, remote from the duplicity, peculiar to other nations, square exceedingly well with the disposition of his holiness. The kind of studies to which the French apply themselves, and in which they most delight, are in a manner congenial to his nature, namely polite literature, a more graceful erudition, poetry, and the knowledge of languages, in which, as far as his active pursuits allowed him, he has taken great pleasure. He esteems this kingdom in the highest possible degree, as thinking it the counterpoise to the ambition of the others, which no doubt aim at universal monarchy.]

The pope was displeased with the Venetians for their connexion with heretics and unbelievers; he thought they might surely find other assistance.



Zeno concludes with once more recalling to mind the sweat and labour his office had cost him, his repeated vigils, and the bitter vexations that had impaired his health. "Nevertheless," he says, "I am better pleased to have worn out my life in the service of my country, than if I had lived a whole century in prosperity, but unemployed."

104. *Relazione degli eccellenti signori ambasciatori straordinarii Corner, Erizzo, Soranzo e Zeno ritornati ultimamente da Roma, letta all' eccelso senato 25 Febr. 1624. (i. e. M. V. 1625.)* [Report of the extraordinary embassy of Corner, Erizzo, Soranzo, and Zeno, &c.]

When pope Gregory XV. declared he would have no more dealings with Rainier Zeno, the Venetians sent Gerolamo Soranzo to take his place. Nevertheless, as we have seen, Zeno was still in Rome when Urban VIII. was elected. Both of them were appointed to congratulate the new pope; Corner and Erizzo were added to complete the embassy.

The report they drew up in common is free from those effusions of personal vanity, to which Zeno alone gave way: it derives a certain importance from the fact, that the affairs of the republic had again become complicated through the Valtelline question.

Pope Urban appeared very much displeased that the Venetians had taken part with the French in the attack on the papal garrisons: "che i cannoni della repubblica si fossero voltati contra i luoghi tenuti in deposito della S. S<sup>a</sup>, che chiamò luoghi dell' istessa chiesa."

"Nè mancano," continue the ambassadors, "in Roma soggetti d'ogni grado et d'ogni qualità che proponevano a S. S<sup>a</sup>, come ella medesima ci disse, ad usare contra quell' eccelso senato le censure ecclesiastiche." [There are not wanting in Rome persons of every kind and degree, who proposed to his holiness, as he himself told us, that he should inflict the censures of the church on this most excellent senate.]

They did their best to excuse themselves: they stated that it was the design of the Spaniards to make themselves all powerful: "rendersi patroni di quelli passi, per facilitarli la monarchia di questa provincia;" [to make themselves masters of these passes, and thereby help themselves towards the sovereignty of this province:] that religion need run no hazard; their having entered into alliance with the ultramontanes could the less be objected to them, inasmuch as the pope himself had prohibited them from raising troops in the territories of the church.

Urban VIII. had thought that they would make him some conciliatory offers in relation to that matter; but they had no orders to that effect. On his side, therefore, he was inaccessible to their requests; they had to be satisfied with merely assuaging his animosity—"non si impetrava altro che mitigamento dell' acerbità mostrata del suo animo."

This could not have proved a very difficult matter. Urban's antipathy to the Spaniards already showed itself. He declared, "che non poteva parlar alto, perche troppo era circondato da' Spagnoli e che a Madrid lo chiamavano heretico, ma che armato si havrebbe fatto rispettare" [that he could

not speak aloud because he was too much surrounded by Spaniards, and that at Madrid they called him a heretic; but were he armed he would make them respect him.]

These words contain the germs of his subsequent opinions and conduct.

Our report is chiefly occupied with interests of this kind; but besides this it also attempts to depict the state of things generally. Let us see how it describes the heads of the administration in the commencement of Urban's pontificate.

"Quelli che di presente sono in maggior autorità presso il pontefice nella essentia degli affari, si restringono nel sig<sup>r</sup> cardinale Magalotti e nel sig<sup>r</sup> Don Carlo Barberino, fratello della Beat<sup>ue</sup> Sua. Mostrano però ambidue di non conoscere e non havere questa autorità: schifano i congressi, parono non esser informati dei negotii, non gustano di esser frequentemente visitati, e con questa maniera di procedere, differente assai dal costume dei parenti dei pontefici passati, conservano in maggior riputazione la Santità Sua, volendo dar ad intendere che tutto dipende dai soli cenni di lei.

"Era solita la Beat<sup>ue</sup> Sua alle volte nelle occorrenze più gravi chiamare anche a se li cardinali Bandino, Melini, Scaglia, Santa Susanna et qualche altro, perche conoscendoli di natura molto severa, procurava con tale apparenza dar segno di stima verso il sacro collegio e verso le persone loro, non già perche volentieri inclini o molto si fidi delle loro opinioni: e di questo concetto della S<sup>a</sup> Sua, ben noto a detti cardinali et ad altri, tutti se ne dogliono, dicendo che dopo fatte le deliberationi delle cose ella le comunica per non admettere il loro consiglio. Et si sente anco che va ogni giorno più tralasciando queste comunicazioni, anzi omettendo in tutto e per tutto le consultationi con cardinali, così per conservare in se medesimo il solo despotico dominio et autorità, come anco perche conoscendoli dipendenti et interessati chi per l'uno chi per l'altro principe, giudica così convenire al suo servizio maggiormente.

"Nelle occorrenze della Rep<sup>a</sup> sono intervenuti nelle consulte m<sup>r</sup> Gessi e m<sup>r</sup> di Montefiascone, come stati nonii in questa città e bene informati delle cose. E talvolta si è introdotto anche Anzolo Badoer, che sotto altro nome e cognome pur si trattiene in Roma positivamente: è fatto sacer<sup>dote</sup>, et habita per sua maggior sicurezza una casa congiunta con il monasterio de' frati della scalla, nella cui chiesa è solito celebrare la messa. Ma come habbiamo detto, il card<sup>l</sup> Magalotti et il sig<sup>r</sup> Carlo Barberino sono le stelle fisse di quel firmamento: et i negotii ridotti in queste due sole teste passano con molta segretezza, sicche quello che non si può penetrare con la congettura ovvero che non viene riferito dal medesimo pontefice, difficilmente si può sapere per altra via.

"Il sig<sup>r</sup> Don Carlo mostra la istessa indipendenza da principi nella quale professa conservarsi Sua S<sup>a</sup>. E in età di 58 anni, ben complessionato o forte. E inclinato alla soddisfazione de' popoli per conservare la città abbondante di tutte le cose. Nella sua casa è buon economo, et ha mira di far denari assai, sapendo egli molto bene che l'oro accresce la riputazione agli huomini, anzi l'oro gli inalza e li distingue vantaggiosamente nel conspetto del mondo: oltre che si tiene per massima comune non esser conveniente nè ragionevole che chi una volta è stato parente del papa, resti dopo la sua



morte in angusta fortuna. E huomo di poche parole, ma sensitivo. Ha mostrato somma riverenza verso la serenissima Republica, et havendo noi nel compir seco detto che auguravamo lunghi anni a Sua Beatne, ci rispose egli con qualche acerbità che quando il papa avesse ad essere rispettato et honorato come papa, alludendo alle cose correnti della Valtellina, li desiderava vita lunga, ma che quando havesso dovuto seguir altrimenti, pregava il sigr<sup>o</sup> dio a chiamarlo a se quanto prima.

"Il card<sup>l</sup> Magalotti professava egli ancora vivere indipendente. E huomo sagace et accorto: mostra grande vivacità di spirito e d'inquietezza, et è in concetto di poter esser guadagnato. Crescendo in età et esperienza il card<sup>l</sup> nepote si crede che non passeranno d'accordo insieme e che il papa penserà però di valersene in qualche legatione opportunamente."

[As for those who at present have most weight with the pope in essential matters, their numbers are confined to cardinal Magalotti and Don Carlo Barberino, the brother of his holiness. They both of them however affect not to know of, or to possess this influence; they avoid official meetings, appear not to be informed of business, and are not fond of being frequently visited: and by this way of proceeding, so unlike that of the relations of past popes, they better sustain the reputation of his holiness, wishing it to be understood that every thing depends solely on his commands.]

[His holiness was used at times, in matters of greater moment, to summon to him also the cardinals Bandino, Melini, Scaglia, Santa Susanna, and some others; because knowing them to be of very rigid character, he tried in that way to make show of esteem for the sacred college and for their persons: not that he acted from any natural inclination, or that he put much trust in their opinions. This device of his holiness is well known to the said cardinals and to others, and they all complain of it, saying, that after matters are weighed and determined, he communicates them without intending to adopt their advice. And it is perceived that he grows daily more remiss in making these communications, neglecting too altogether to hold consultations with the cardinals, as well to retain to himself sole despotic rule and authority, as also because, knowing them to be dependent upon this prince or that, and engaged in their interests, he thinks that such a course will best serve his own advantage.]

[Monsignor Gessi and monsignor de Montefiascone have been admitted to the consultations on the affairs of the republic, as having been formerly nuncios in this city, and well acquainted with matters pertaining to it. Sometimes too admission has also been given to Anzolo Badoer, who lives modestly in Rome, but under another name and surname: he is become a priest, and resides, for his greater security, in a house adjoining the monastery of the frati della scalla, in whose church he is accustomed to celebrate mass. But, as we have said, cardinal Magalotti and signor Carlo Barberino are the fixed stars of the firmament; and all business being confined to their two heads proceeds with great secrecy; so that where conjecture fails, or where the pope himself does not speak out, it is difficult to come at a knowledge of it in any other way.]

[Don Carlo displays the same independence as

his holiness professes. He is fifty-eight years of age, strong and of good constitution. He is disposed to give the people satisfaction, by keeping the city abundantly supplied with all things. He is a good economist in his household, and aims at making money, knowing very well that gold increases men's reputations, exalting and advantageously distinguishing them in the eyes of men: besides, it is a commonly admitted maxim, that it is not seemly or reasonable that a man, who has once been on the footing of a pope's relation, should after the death of the latter be reduced to straitened circumstances. He is a man of few words, but sensitive: he has shown the highest respect for the most serene republic. Upon our saying to him that we augured his holiness a long reign, he replied, with some tartness, that should the pope be respected and honoured as a pope (alluding to the current affairs of the Valtellina), he wished him a long life; but if it were to be otherwise, he prayed God to take him to himself as soon as possible.]

[Cardinal Magalotti likewise professes to maintain his independence. He is a sagacious and prudent man; he shows a very restless vivacity of spirit, and it is thought he might be gained over. As the cardinal nephew increases in age and experience, it is thought that they two will not agree together, and that the pope will take the opportunity of some legation to relieve himself from inconvenience.]

105. *Istruzione a M<sup>re</sup> Sacchetti rescoro di Gravina, nuncio di N. S<sup>re</sup> per la M<sup>ta</sup> catt<sup>a</sup>. 1624. (Barb. fol. 26 leaves.)* [Instruction to monsignor Sacchetti, bishop of Gravina, nuncio elect to his catholic majesty.]

Sacchetti's orders related, I. to the internal affairs of Spain, II. to those of Europe at large.

I. There were always manifold subjects of strife between Rome and Spain. At this particular juncture the court of Rome had taken it amiss, that a cardinal such as Lerma had been despoiled of his revenues, and summoned before a temporal tribunal. While the pope endeavours to put a stop to that proceeding, he warns Lerma at the same time to give up all hopes of temporal greatness; nothing more was to be done since Olivarez was so high in favour; and he had better make up his mind, after having lived so long for others, to live now for himself and for God. On the other hand the nuncio is referred to Olivarez, with whom the court of Rome was at this time on good terms. The following remarkable passage occurs in relation to this matter. "E avvenuto che la gelosia della regina per qualche sospetto d'altri amori del re l'ha provocata a dolersene col re di Francia suo fratello, a segno tale che venne pensiero a questo di far doglianze e querele pubbliche contro il cognato. Di ciò scrisse l'antecessore di V. S<sup>ria</sup> e che vi haveva posto rimedio con far confidente della regina il conto Olivarez di diffidentissime che era prima."

[It has happened that the queen's jealousy at some suspected amours of the king's has provoked her to complain to her brother the king of France, so that the latter has taken it into his head to declare himself aggrieved, and publicly to quarrel with his brother-in-law. Your excellency's predecessor wrote on this subject, stating that he had remedied it by establishing a confidence between

the queen and count Olivarez, the very opposite of which had existed before.]

The nuncio is also referred to the inquisitor-general, whom he is to incite to increased vigilance against the introduction of heretical books into Spain and the Indies.

II. The idea had been conceived in Spain of securing the German line in more quiet possession of their recent acquisitions by two new matrimonial alliances. The hereditary prince palatine and Bethlem Gabor were to marry two imperial princesses; by this means it was hoped that the Hungarian, and still more the German, troubles would be allayed. At first they would not believe this report at Rome, but further intelligence confirmed it beyond all doubt. The pope hastened to remonstrate with the king against the design. It appeared, he said, from letters, that it was by no means the intention of the English, even if the prince palatine were sent to the imperial court, to allow him to become catholic. And who could think of trusting a man so unworthy of confidence as Gabor? He, the pope, could not believe it or sanction it. He enjoins his nuncio to oppose the scheme with all his might. "V. S.<sup>ta</sup>, ma con destrezza e a tempo, facci per impedirli (questi due matrimonj) tutto quello che umanamente può."

We know that pope Urban himself had a part in frustrating these well meant, however far-fetched, plans. Rota's mission, which we have mentioned, is accounted for by these expressions.

106. *Istruzione a V. S.<sup>ta</sup> arcivescovo di Damiatina e chierico di camera per la nuntiatura ordinaria al re cristiano.* 23 *Genn.* 1624. — [Instruction to the archbishop of Damiatina, ordinary nuncio to his most Christian majesty.]

The counterpart to Sacchetti's instructions.

Here too the pope most vehemently condemns the plan for the restitution of the palatinate, and invokes the king's influence with Saxony to prevent the latter from opposing the progress of the Bavarian power. Moreover, he wishes for nothing more than for the destruction of Oranges, which was only a rendezvous for the heretics.

The most important, however, are the internal affairs. King Louis XIII. is thus depicted. "Il re è fuori di modo virtuoso e abborrisce tutti quei viti che sogliono accompagnarsi alla dominazione: non è altiero, ma humanissimo: non è amatore della propria opinione, ma più volentieri crede a buoni consigli: non ama il riposo, ma è dedito alle fatiche e le tollera fortemente, senza conoscere altro piacere che quello della caccia: non nutrisce pensieri di nemesi, ma è avidissimo di gloria, senza dilungarsi punto dalla pietà. Con la M.<sup>te</sup> S. possuno i ministri di stato et i serventi nelle caccie, a quali volentieri s'accosta per godere la libertà, che non concede la stretta pratica de' grandi. Il più caro di quelli che hanno l'adito a S. M.<sup>ta</sup> con occasione delle caccie è il signore di Toiras, uomo cauto e prudente, che non si rimescola negli affari di stato per ascondere la sua autorità, ma ne è capace." [The king is surpassingly virtuous, and abhors all those vices that commonly accompany sovereignty; he is not haughty, but most courteous; he is not a lover of his own opinion, but more readily confides in good counsels; he does not love ease, but is devoted to labour and bears it bravely,

knowing no other pleasure than that of the chase; he cherishes no grovelling thoughts, but is most covetous of glory, without in the least swerving from piety. His ministers of state, and his attendants in the chase, whom he readily accosts, may enjoy that freedom with his majesty which is not allowed by the strict usage of the great. Of those who have access to his majesty on occasions of sportsmanship, the greatest favourite is monsieur de Toiras, a cautious and prudent man, who does not meddle in state affairs, in order to conceal his influence, but who has a capacity for them.]

Catholicism was making brilliant progress under that monarch. The nuncio is directed to aid, to the utmost of his power, all the missions, particularly those in the south of France, and to support their cause at the king's court.

But at the same time an insuperable and ever recurring opposition started up out of the Gallican principles.

A portion at least of the members of the Sorbonne promulgated the doctrines of the independence of the temporal power, and of the divine right of the bishops. Some even went the length of insisting that the parish clergy were as potential in their parishes as the bishops in their dioceses. The pope considers these opinions abominable. He was sorely vexed that Richer, who maintained them with peculiar zeal, though excommunicated, cared nothing for that, but continued to read mass as usual.

Meanwhile the parliaments were actively endeavouring to limit the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The appeals *comme d'abus*, the inquiries into the business of the dataria, and the encroachments on the jurisdiction of the bishops, are regarded by the pope as so many usurpations. "Faverebbono chiunque ad essi ricorrere, et in questa maniera procurano di soggiogare le provincie a loro non soggette, come la Bretagna, la Provenza e la Borgenbrescia." [They favour whoever has recourse to them, and in this way they contrive to extend their authority over provinces not subject to them, as Bretagne, Provence, and Bourg-en-Bresse].

The parliament also interfered with the prohibition of books. The nuncios would fain have prohibited the works of De Thou and Richer, but they found it impossible. The new nuncio is directed rather to anticipate than to wait for the appearance of mischievous books. "Le stampe de' libri sono il fonte delle false dottrine: et è necessario che ella procuri di tenersi amorevoli i librari, accioche l'avisino di mano in mano de' libri che si stampano: imperoche stampati che sono, porta seco difficultà di ottenere la proibitione." [The printing-presses are hot-beds of false doctrines: it will be necessary, therefore, to keep on friendly terms with the booksellers, so that they may give you notice from time to time of what books are in press: for when they are once printed there is a difficulty in effecting a prohibition.]

We see that the war between the curia and Gallicanism had already commenced, that war, which under a variety of phases kept the periods of the old Bourbon dynasty in constant commotion.

107. *Istruzione a V. S.<sup>ta</sup> mons. Campeggi, vescovo di Cesena, destinato da N. S.<sup>so</sup> suo nuntio al S.<sup>mo</sup> Sig.<sup>no</sup> duca di Savoia.* 1624. — [Instruction

to monsignor Campeggi, bishop of Cesena, nuncio elect to the duke of Savoy.]

Interesting, as further acquainting us with the result of the mission of Don Tobia Corona. We see that the design against Geneva was frustrated by the resistance of Luines and of Rohan, who was still powerful, and by the imposing force of the Huguenot party in general; but that still it was by no means abandoned.

"Da chi venisse il motivo di tal impresa, dal papa o dal duca, non si sa bene: perche il pontefice lascio brevi e lettere di esortatione al medesimo sigr duca et al principe del Piemonte, donde poteva farsi congettura che il papa ne fosse autore: ma nel ricevere l'esortatione si mostrò tanto pronta l'A. S. che non parve lontano dal vero il credere che avesse indotto il papa a scrivergli. . . . Le difficoltà che incontrò il padre Corona, non furono dalla parte del re e della regina, che piegarono subito alle persuasioni ponteficie, ma dalla parte del contestabile Luines, seguitato da principali ministri, o per proprio interesse o per adulatione, e da alcuni grandi del partito Ugonotto. A Luines si crede che instillasse questa avversione all'impresa il duca di Roano, e cercandosi della cagione che ha potuto spingere questo ad opporvisi, altra non se ne trova fuori della propria inclinazione al mantenimento degli eretici, essendo egli tale, ed il timore di perdere il seguito dentro alla Francia, mentre che i seguaci suoi havessero havuto a soccorrere i Genevrini. Il trattato del padre Tobbia restò a segno che non solamente il re non rimase offeso di questa missione, ma nuno, etandio di quelli che l'intendessero bene, hebbe ardire di biasimarla: e solamente dissero alcuni che non era quello il tempo di intraprendere un tanto affare, altri, che non doveva il duca metterlo in queste strette il re se non dopo il fatto, imperciocche allora S. M<sup>ta</sup> non avrebbe potuto non dar lode alla pietà e generosità del duca, ma che anteedentemente non doveva la M<sup>ta</sup> S. violare quella fede sotto la quale pensano di riposare sicuri i Genevrini. Dall' ora in qua si è eredito che il sigr duca pensi a tentare la via d'una sorpresa, e adesso non se ne ha più dubbj, imperciocche S. A. se n'è dichiarata con la S<sup>ta</sup> di N. Sigre, supplendola a volerlo assistere. La S<sup>ta</sup> S. ha risposto che volentieri e con quel medesimo modo che fece papa Gregorio: ma perche il necessario segreto della sorpresa non è capace di questa via, S. A. si è rivolta a contentarsi che N. Sigre gli prometta di fare tali uffici col re christianissimo dopo il fatto che la M<sup>ta</sup> S. non habbi a sdegnarsene." [Who was the first suggester of such an enterprise, the pope or the duke, is not very well known: for the pope sent briefs and letters of exhortation to the said duke, and to the prince of Piedmont, whence it might be conjectured that his holiness was the author of the plan; but his highness displayed such prompt alacrity in receiving the exhortation, that it does not appear very wide of the truth to suppose he had induced the pope to write to him. . . . The difficulties father Corona encountered, did not originate on the part of the king or the queen, who instantly yielded to the papal arguments, but on that of the constable Luines, followed by the principal ministers, either from private interest or courtly obsequiousness, and by some grandees of the Huguenot party. It is thought that Luines had

this aversion to the enterprise instilled into him by the duke de Rohan; and if we seek to ascertain the motives that could urge the latter on to this opposition, we can discover none other than his personal disposition to uphold the heretics, he himself being one, and his fear of losing his train of adherents in France, since they would have to succour the Genevese. The upshot of father Tobia's negotiation was this, that not only the king was not displeased at the mission, but no one, even of those who in their hearts disliked it, ventured openly to find fault with it: only some said it was not a time to undertake so great an affair; others, that the duke ought not to implicate the king in these straits till after the thing was done, because in that case his majesty could not but bestow praise on the piety and magnanimity of the duke: whereas anteedently his majesty ought not to violate that faith under which the Genevese thought they rested secure. From that time till now it has been supposed that the duke meditates a surprise; and at present this is beyond doubt, because his highness has declared as much to our lord, and has besought his aid. His holiness replied that he would willingly grant it, and in the same way as pope Gregory: but as this way is inconsistent with the necessary secrecy, his highness has preferred that our lord should promise him his good offices with the most Christian king after the event, so that his majesty may not be indignant at what shall have been done.]

The document furthermore makes mention of some special Piedmontese matters. The causes were in preparation for the disputes that broke out at a later period. The duke made pretensions to the right of nominating to the episcopal sees; the pope recognized only his right to recommend; he also expressed his displeasure at some burthens imposed on the clergy.

108. *Ragguaglio dello stato di religione nel regno di Boemia e sue provincie incorporate.* 1624.— [Report on the state of religion in the kingdom of Bohemia and the provinces incorporated with it.]

Carlo Caraffa arrived in Prague in May, 1621, and immediately proceeded to the chief task imposed on him by pope Gregory XV., the restoration of catholicism in Bohemia.

Eighteen months afterwards, as he tells us himself, consequently in November, 1622, he drew up, under the title "*Relatio Bohemica*," a report of his proceedings, which he sent in to the newly established Propaganda. I saw the original copy which circulated among the members of the congregation: these were cardinals Sauli, Bandini, Barberini, (afterwards Urban VIII.) Borgia (afterwards Urban's vehement opponent), Ubaldini, Santa Susanna, Valerio Sagrato, Zollern, and the prelates Vives, Aguechi, and Scala. Zollern was to take a copy and make a report on it.

Fourteen months afterwards, that is to say, in January, 1624, Caraffa enlarged his first report, and sent it under the above title to Urban VIII., "in order," as he said, "to kindle his fatherly zeal to still greater love towards the Bohemians."

We have an elaborate printed work by Caraffa, "*Commentaria de Germania*," sacra restaurata, one of the most important authorities for the history of

the first third of the thirty years' war. It was not possible for him, however, to enter so fully in this work as in a more special treatise into the details of his labours in Bohemia, of which he always thought with decided preference; moreover, a printed work demanded a peculiar degree of circumspection in its composition. The report, on the other hand, speaks out at full length and without reserve.

It is true it embraces only the beginning of the changes effected in Bohemia, but it is really very important with respect to these.

I have already made use of it in the text, but necessarily with great limitation. I will here add only a few particulars, from which it will appear under what difficulties, created chiefly by the provincial administration, the nuncio set about carrying his views into effect.

#### 1.—Introduction of the Latin ritual.

"Havendo io tenuto sopra cio proposito col Plateis e considerando, siccome quei pochi Boemi che erano cattolici frequentavano in ogni modo le chiese di nostro rito, dove pure ascoltavano i divini uffizj in lingua latina, giudicai non essere disperabile che l'istesso potessero fare anche quelli che di nuovo si convertissero, insinuandosi massime loro da predicatori che questa lingua sia quasi in un certo modo d'essenza ne' divini uffizj in tutti li paesi cattolici e particolarmente in quelle chiese che si comprendono sotto l'imperio occidentale, per segno della superiorità e maggioranza della chiesa Romana sopra tutte le altre: però diedi ordine ad esso Plateis, che quanto prima avesse potuto, usasse ogni suo studio per restituire l'uso del predetto idioma in quelle chiese che già si erano levate di mano agli eretici. Onde il giorno de' santi apostoli Simone e Giuda dell' anno 1621, con l'occasione di essere stata provvista dall' arcivescovo di parroco cattolico la chiesa di Santo Stefano, principale parrocchia di terra nuova, habitata dal più minuto volgo, tra il quale sono pochissimi cattolici, fu celebrata alla presenza di numero grandissimo di heretici nella predetta chiesa l'immaculatissimo sacrificio della messa in lingua latina con l'aspirazione dell' acqua benedetta, con l'invocazione de' santi e con tutti i riti Romani, due secoli dopo che n'era stata esclusa la lingua latina, e che per molti anni non vi si era celebrato ne nell' uno nè nell' altro idioma. Il quale esempio hanno poi seguito con le chiese della città tutti i luoghi del regno senza sentirsi rumore o strepito alcuno nel popolo: et io essendo in Praga ho visto detto popolo stare con molta attenzione alle funzioni divine."

[Having discussed this matter with Plateis, and considering how those few Bohemians who were catholics by all means frequented the churches of our ritual, where they heard the divine offices in the Latin tongue, I thought it not hopeless that the same should also be done by those newly converted, particularly if it were insinuated by the preachers that this language is as it were in a certain sort essentially appropriate to the divine offices in all catholic countries, and particularly in those churches which are comprised within the range of the western empire, in token of the superiority and primogeniture of the Roman church above all the others. Accordingly I gave orders to the said Plateis, that he should, as soon as possible, employ all his diligence towards restoring

the use of the aforesaid language in those churches which had already been wrested from the hands of the heretics. Hence on the festival of the holy apostles Simon and Jude, in the year 1621, on the occasion of the archbishop inducting a catholic pastor into the church of St. Stephen, the chief parish of Terra Nuova (?), inhabited by the lowest common people, among whom there are very few catholics, there was celebrated in presence of a vast number of heretics, in the aforesaid church, the most immaculate sacrifice of the mass in Latin, with aspersion of holy water, with invocation of the saints, and all the Roman rites, two centuries having elapsed since the Latin language had been laid aside, and many years since the mass had been celebrated in that or in any other tongue. This example was afterwards followed by the other churches of the city, and by those throughout the whole kingdom, without any objection or noise on the part of the people; and when I was in Prague I saw the said people very orderly in their attendance on divine worship.]

#### 2. Abolition of the cup in the Lord's supper.

"Inteso poi da me il senso della sacra congregazione del santo ufficio per le lettere e scritture all' hora mandatemi, risolsi di vietarlo (il calice) ominamente e non dar più orecchie alle ciance e preghiere di detti regnicoli, argomentando che se havessero voluto essere obbedienti figli di santa chiesa, camminerebbero così in questa come in ogni altra cosa di concerto col restante del corpo cattolico: ma se sfuggissero di recedere da questo abuso radicato anche negli animi de' cattolici per la pretesa concessione di Pio Quarto, tenerlo per segno di superbia et ostinazione e per indicio di non veri cattolici: onde tralasciato ogni altro rispetto e timore allegato da politici, i quali da questa novità immaginavano sollevazioni o ruine irremediabili, feci prohibire a tutti li parrochi che non porrebbero ad alcuna persona la specie del vino, comandando loro che a chiunque le domandava ambedue, chiedessero se era cattolico, e confessandosi tali gli enunciassero la necessità di ubbidire al rito Romano il quale esclude i laici dal calice. Così molti che non erano tocchi da vero zelo, sentendo questo si rimanevano nella loro ostinazione, non comunicando nè nell' una ne nell' altra forma, e noi intanto conseguivamo l'intento nostro, che non si porgeva il calice: ma non fu però niuno di quei preti tornati all' obbedienza che avevano in cura le chiese riconciliate il quale avesse l'animo di porgere la sola specie del pane in faccia degli heretici che frequentavano dette chiese: sino che il cancelliere Plateis diede intrepidamente principio a questa santa impresa nella parrocchia di San Martino, come di sopra si è notato. Il quale uso introdotto poi a laude di Dio nell' altre chiese si osserva con intera quiete, ancorche mi habbiano in ciò dato assai che fare i politici. Perciocchè vedendosi gli heretici svanito il disegno fatto di dovere in ogni modo conseguire da veri sacerdoti cattolici il santissimo sacramento sotto l'una e l'altra specie, hebbero l'anno passato 1622 ricorso da politici: e qualunque maniera con loro si tenessero, a me per adesso non importa riferirlo: basta che estorsero una lettera del principe Liechtestain, che all' hora si trovava qui, in virtù della quale, come se fosse per ordine di Sua Ma<sup>està</sup>, chiamando i due parrochi della madonna del Tein e di Santo Enrico, stati già predicatori, comandarono loro che nella solennità

della pasqua porgevano indifferentemente a ogn' uno, di qualunque rito fosse, la comunione sotto l'una e l'altra specie. Così il giovedì in cena domini per mera perfidia di detti politici nella chiesa del Tein fu commessa grandissima abominazione, ricevendo il venerabile corpo del signore consacrato sotto le due specie del pane e del vino da legittimo sacerdote più di mille scellerati heretici, dandosi in tale guisa per colpa d'huomini cattolici il santo a cani. A questo non mancò il Plateis di fare l'opposizione che se li aspettava, ma niente poté contro la temerità loro: onde egli per sostenere la proibizione dell'uso del calice deliberò fare animo e distribuire il sacramento, come tre giorni dipoi fece, pubblicamente sotto la sola specie del pane, nella parrocchia di San Martino. Ma havendo io havuto notizia di questo empio attentato, fui subito a farne acerba lamentazione con sua M<sup>ta</sup>, dolendomi con ogni più efficace maniera che i suoi ministri si volessero ingerire in quelle cose che concernono la reverenza verso il tremendo sacramento dell'altare, che meramente riguardano lo spirituale e la salute dell'anime, e che senza rispetto niuno s'intromettevano negli affari di religione, non mostrando segno alcuno di obbedienza verso dio e la santa sede Romana, della quale la Maestà Sua si era sempre mostrata tanto ossequente. Da che fuori di modo commosso l'imperatore diede subito rigidissimi ordini a detti politici, acciò lasciassero la cura delle cose ecclesiastiche e di religione agli huomini di chiesa, facendo loro grave riprensione per la temerità commessa: onde essi gliagliamentemente si incitarono contro di me e del Plateis, come quelli da quali si persuasero essere proceduto il rabbuffo fattoli da Sua M<sup>ta</sup>: et oltre al minacciare aspramente il Plateis, non si astennero dal manomettere anche l'autorità mia, insinuando a monsr<sup>e</sup> arcivescovo che egli s'io non li mostravo sopra ciò special breve di Sua Beat<sup>ne</sup>, non fosse tenuto ad obbedirmi in una cosa di tanto rilievo come il sopprimere in Praga l'uso del calice: e non tralasciando di sollevare i predetti parrochi e farli animo, persuadendo loro che non havessero timore alcuno di me né dell'arcivescovo, perchè dal governo politico, al quale in quel regno per antiquato stile devono soggiacere gli ecclesiastiche, sariano sempre protetti e sostenuti, operarono che il curato del Tein facendo nuova prevарicatione si ridusse in aperta disobbedienza, e prese ardire di predicare al popolo che non volesse tollerare che i papisti, che miravano tiranneggiare il tutto, li togliessero l'uso del calice, e pregassero dio per lui vero difensore del paterno antico rito: di modo che quel volgo fece un poco di tumulto, rappresentandosi quella sera sino al numero di mille alla casa di detto curato come in sua difesa. Il che venuto a mia notizia, cavai subito da Sua M<sup>ta</sup> Cesarea indignazione e comandamento che il detto prete fosse subito arrestato e consegnato a monsr<sup>e</sup> arcivescovo: come fu senza dilazione alcuna eseguito: e quel popolo, che prima si era mostrato così ardente per la sua indennità, non fece motivo alcuno, perchè lo vedesse condurre prigione in faccia del giorno e di tutta la gente. Et egli dopo alcune settimane di carcere se ne morì dentro di quella, supplendosi alla cura di detta chiesa, che è la principale di terra vecchia, con altro parroco cattolico e con la predica del canonico Rottua, soggetto insigne per dottrina e zelo, il quale amministra tuttavia questa carità con molto profitto e con

grandissimo concorso così di cattolici come di heretici, i quali volentieri ascoltano le prediche di questo buon sacerdote per la sua efficace e grata maniera di dire."

[On learning from the letters and papers sent me the views of the sacred congregation of the holy office, I resolved to forbid the cup altogether, and no longer to listen to the idle talk or the prayers of the inhabitants of the said kingdom, arguing, that had they been disposed to be obedient sons of the holy church, they would in this, as in every other matter, have walked in concert with the rest of the catholic body; whereas if they refused to give up this abuse, which has been rooted even in catholic minds by the pretended concession of Pius IV., it must be held as a sign of pride and obstinacy, as a token that they were not true catholics. Accordingly, putting aside every other consideration and alarm suggested by politicians, who apprehended insurrections and irreparable mischiefs from this innovation, I gave orders to all the parish priests, forbidding them to offer the wine to any one, and commanding them, if any one called for the two kinds, to ask him if he was a catholic, and if he declared himself such, to proclaim to him the necessity of submitting to the Roman ritual, which excludes the laity from participation in the cup. Upon this, many who were not affected with true zeal persisted in their obstinacy, not communicating in either the one form or the other, whilst we equally persevered in our course, not offering the cup: nevertheless there was not one of those priests who had returned to their allegiance, and who had the cure of the reconciled churches, who would have had the courage to offer the bread singly in the face of the heretics who frequented the said churches, had not the chancellor Plateis intrepidly commenced this holy enterprise in St. Martin's parish, as has been above stated. This usage being afterwards introduced to the honour of God into the other churches, was retained in them with perfect quiet, although statesmen gave me trouble enough in the matter. For the heretics, seeing themselves entirely baffled in their design of forcing the administration of the sacrament in both kinds by genuine catholic priests, had recourse in the past year, 1622, to statesmen; but what measures they adopted with them it is not incumbent on me to report. Suffice it to say, that they extorted from prince Liechtenstein, who was then there, a letter, by virtue of which, as though it were by order of his majesty, summoning the two parish priests of our Lady of Tein and St. Henry, who were already preaching, they commanded them, that in the solemnities of Easter they should present indifferently to every one, to whatever ritual he belonged, the communion in both kinds. Thus, on Thursday, in cena domini there was committed a monstrous abomination in the church of Tein, by the rank perfidy of the said politicians, the venerable body of the Lord, consecrated under the two forms of bread and wine by the legitimate priest, being received by more than a thousand wicked heretics, the holy thing being thus flung to the dogs through the fault of catholic men. Plateis failed not to make the opposition to this that was to be expected of him, but nothing could avail against their audacity: hence, to uphold the prohibition of the cup he determined to take courage and distribute the sacrament, as he did

three days afterwards, publicly in the form of the bread alone in the parish of St. Martin. But I, having had notice of this impious attempt, immediately addressed a keen remonstrance to his majesty, complaining in the strongest manner that his ministers should think of thrusting themselves into those matters which concerned the awful sacrament of the altar, which related purely to spiritual matters and the weal of souls, and that without the least reverence they interfered in affairs of religion, showing no sign of obedience to God and to the holy Roman see, to which his majesty had always proved so obsequious. The emperor being exceedingly moved by this, gave the most strict orders to the said statesmen, enjoining them to leave the affairs of the church and of religion to churchmen, and severely reproofing them for the indecency they had committed. In consequence of this they were violently excited against me and Plateis, as thinking us the originators of the rebuff they had received from his majesty; and besides rudely threatening Plateis, they did not abstain from assailing my authority too, insinuating to the archbishop, that unless I showed him a special brief of the pope to that effect, he was not bound to obey me in a matter of such weight as the suppression of the use of the cup in Prague; and not omitting to stir up the aforesaid parish priests, and to encourage them, persuading them that they need have no fear of me or of the archbishop, because they would always be upheld and protected by the government, to which by ancient usage ecclesiastics were bound to submission in that kingdom, they brought it about that the curate of Tein, prevaricating anew, broke into open disobedience, and began to preach vehemently to the people that they should not suffer the catholics, who had a mind to tyrannize in everything, to deprive them of the use of the cup, and that they should pray to God for him the true defender of the antique ritual of their fathers: so that the populace made some tumult, assembling that evening to the number of a thousand at the house of the said curate, as if to defend him. When this was made known to me, I immediately obtained from his imperial majesty his indignant orders that the said priest should be instantly arrested and consigned to the archbishop; this was done without any delay; and the populace, which at first had shown so much eagerness for his impunity, never moved, but saw him taken to prison in the face of day and of all men. There, after some weeks' imprisonment, he died, and his place in the curacy of that church, which is the principal one of Old Land (?), was filled up by another catholic priest, and by the preaching of the canon Rottua, an individual distinguished for doctrine and zeal, who still discharges the duties of that office with great advantage, and is attended by a vast concourse both of catholics and heretics, who gladly listen to the preaching of that good priest, by reason of his efficacious and attractive eloquence.]

### 3. General proceedings.

“Per decreto di Sua Ma<sup>està</sup> in conformità delle risoluzioni prese nell' congregazione prefata tenuta in Vienna si sono dipoi riformate tutte le città del regno, cacciando da esse e da loro contorni i ministri e predicatori heretici. In ciascuna di esse oltre il parroco si sono messi il capitano, il giudice,

il primato del consiglio et un cancelliere cattolico, restandone in eterno bandito l'esercizio heretico havendo l'imperatore per prova conosciuto, coll' esempio della fedeltà di Budueis e con la perfidia di quasi tutte le altre, quanto importi che le città siano heretiche o cattoliche. Et ancorchè il principe Liechtestain soprasedesse già dalla incominciata riforma rispetto a gran rumori che si spargevano del disgusto di Sassonia, poi la proseguì, havendogliene io fatto reiterare l'ordine: ma però se li sospese circa li circoli di Egra e Culma per essere contigui alla Sassonia e pretendersi che la proprietà loro sia dell' imperio e non della corona di Boemia. Con tutto ciò resta per ancora nel regno qualche predicante protetto da baroni heretici o da poco buoni cattolici, e particolarmente ne sono nel circolo di Leitmeritz spalleggiati da un barone cattolico, che professando grande strettezza e fratellanza con l'elettore di Sassonia si persuade farli in questa maniera cosa gratissima: et havendolo io esortato a cacciarli e fattogliene parlare ancora da altri, ha promesso mandarli via, ma dubito che ritenuto dalla moglie, che è heretica, non vorrà farlo se non forzatamente. Ne sono anco rimasti in quelle città nelle quali si trovano acquartierate milizie heretiche, non havendo voluto li commissarij regj esporsi col riformarli a pericolo di tumulto: ma hora che i sospetti di guerra vanno scemando, si darà licenza alli soldati heretici, ovvero se li assegneranno altri quartieri, acciò habbia luogo la riforma. Ne resta uno ancora nella città di Kuttenbergh, scusando il principe di Liechtestain di non poter cacciarlo, perchè quegli huomini non vorrebbero poi lavorare nelle miniere che ivi sono: tuttavia col ritorno dell' imperatore a Praga spero in dio che si rimedierà da ogni cosa. Nè devo tralasciare che nel mio passaggio da Ratisbona a Praga, havendo traversato una gran parte della Boemia, e così da Praga a Vienna ho trovato in ogni luogo la riforma effettuata, eccet toche nella città di Jaromir, dove erano in alloggio alcune fanterie del colonnello duca di Sassonia: ma dipoi ho mandato stretto ordine di Sua Ma<sup>està</sup>, acciò sia riformata, et in ciascuna di esse città s'istruiscano i figliuoli nella dottrina christiana, insegnandoseli orare in lingua latina.

“Sono state sotto rigide pene proibite dentro e fuor di Praga le conventicole degli heretici, sotto qualunque pretesto le facessero, la qual commissione fu data molti mesi addietro a mia richiesta: ma non ostante che io più volte n'abbia reclamato col governo di Praga, non era stata mai eseguita.

“Dal senato della città di Praga si sono levati tutti gli heretici, supplendo i loro luoghi di persone cattoliche, e se li è tolta ogni essenziale autorità, lasciandogliene solamente qualche apparenza nelle cose che non sono di molto rilievo, annullando in specie tutti li privilegj pregiudiciali alla religione cattolica concessi da re passati, potendo benissimo farlo l'imperatore havendosi per forza d'armi riguadagnato questo regno già apertamente ribellatoseli. L'accademia o collegio di Carlo IV a gloria divina e della religione cattolica si è restituita alla sua primiera istituzione sotto la cura de' padri Gesuiti, li quali hanno ancora la soprintendenza di tutte le scuole del regno, et a' medesimi l'usare diligenza che non si stampino o vendano libri contrari alla verità cattolica, essendosi sottoposti alla loro censura i libraj e gli stampatori. Si è havuto intorno

alla predetta accademia qualche difficoltà, volendoci deputare un presidente laico, il che da me non veniva bene inteso, ma finalmente spero che sarà lasciata questa cura a monsr arcivescovo, pretendendo egli per suoi antichi privilegj esser cancellero del regno.

“Alla casa de' poveri istituita in Praga da Ferdinando Terzo si sono di più assegnati 4 m. talleri annui : onde si è accresciuto il numero loro da ottanta, che prima vi sene alimentavano, fino a duecento. A padri Gesuiti si sono dati per una volta 20 mila talleri da spendersi nella fabbrica del loro collegio : et in questo non è occorso che si impieghino li miei ufficj, non havendo bisogno di alcun mezzo appresso dell' imperatore l' evidenti utilità che dalle loro attoni si traggono. Per argomento dell' entrate capitolari della cattedrale sono stati assegnati beni che rendono 6 m. talleri annui e per le archiepiscopali 24 mila : ma perche questi beni sono assai guasti e rovinati, monsignore arcivescovo desidera ritenersi per qualche tempo il monsr d'Ossegg, assegnato già alla mensa archiepiscopale sotto Ridolfo in vece della pensione camerale che veniva difficilmente pagata. Nell' arbitrio di monsignor arcivescovo si è riposta la provincia delle parrocchie di Praga e di tutto il regno, etiam che prima fossero posseduto da signori particolari che erano tutti ribelli, essendosi riscattato l'imperatore questo jus, mentre si sono venduti li beni di essi ribelli, havendosi anche havuto riguardo che per molte leghe intorno a Praga siano tutti comprati da cattolici.”

[By decree of his majesty, in conformity with the resolutions adopted by the aforesaid congregation held in Vienna, all the towns in the kingdom were subsequently reformed, and the heretic ministers and preachers were driven out from them and from the surrounding districts. In each of them, besides the catholic priest, there were placed the captain, the judge, the president of the council, and a chancellor, all catholic, the heretical worship being banished from them for ever ; for the emperor had learned by experience, from the example of the fidelity of Budweis, and the perfidy of almost all others, how important a consideration it was whether the towns were heretic or catholic. And although prince Lichtenstein, who had already fallen off from the reform that had begun, in consequence of reports spread of the great displeasure conceived by Saxony, afterwards prosecuted it upon my causing the order to be repeated to him ; still he was in suspense about it as regarded the circles of Egra and Culma, as being contiguous to Saxony, and pretending that they belonged to the empire and not to the crown of Bohemia. The upshot of all this is, that there still remain in the kingdom some preachers protected by the heretic barons or by bad catholics, and in particular there are some of them in the circle of Leitmeriz backed by a catholic baron, who, professing great intimacy and fraternity with the elector of Saxony, feels assured of greatly pleasing him in this way. Upon my exhorting him to expel them, and making others also speak to him to the same purpose, he promised he would send them away ; but I doubt that, prevented by his wife, who is a heretic, he will not be induced to do so otherwise than by force. Preachers have also remained in those towns where there are heretic troops quartered, the royal commissioners not, having been willing to

incur the danger of riots by reforming them : but now that the prospect of war is passing away, the heretic soldiers will be disbanded, or they will be assigned other quarters, so that there will be an opportunity of carrying out reforms. One still remains in the town of Kuttemberg, prince Lichtenstein alleging in his excuse that he cannot expel him, as in that case the people would not work in the mines at that place : nevertheless, on the return of the emperor to Prague, I trust in God that everything will be remedied. I must not omit to mention, that in my journey from Ratisbon to Prague, having passed through a great part of Bohemia, and likewise on my way from Prague to Vienna, I found the reform accomplished in every place, except in the town of Jaromir, where there were in garrison some infantry under the colonel duke of Saxony ; but since then I have sent strict orders from his majesty that the town should be reformed : and in every one of these towns the young people are instructed in Christian doctrine, and are taught to pray in the Latin language.

[The conventicles of the heretics have been prohibited, under every pretence whatever, both within and without Prague ; the order was given many months since at my request : but notwithstanding that I frequently demanded its enforcement of the governor of Prague, it was never carried into effect.

[All the heretics have been removed from the senate of the city of Prague, their places being supplied by catholics, and they have been deprived of all essential authority, nothing being left them but some show of influence in matters of no great consequence ; and all the privileges prejudicial to the catholic religion granted by former kings have been formally annulled, a thing which the emperor was in a very good condition to do, having reconquered the kingdom which was in open rebellion by force of arms. The academy or college of Charles IV. has been restored to the primitive principles of the institution, to the glory of God, and of the catholic religion, under the care of the Jesuit fathers, who have also the superintendence of all the schools in the kingdom, and they are also charged with the duty of seeing that no books contrary to catholic truth are printed or sold, booksellers and printers being subjected to their censorship. There has been some difficulty with respect to the said academy, a lay president being proposed for it whom I did not approve of ; but finally I hope that this charge will be left to the archbishop, who lays claim on account of his ancient privileges to be chancellor of the kingdom.

[There has been assigned to the poor house founded in Prague by Ferdinand III. a further sum of four thousand dollars yearly, so that the number of persons supported by the establishment has been increased from eighty to two hundred. The Jesuit fathers have been given in one sum twenty thousand dollars to expend on the building of their college : there has been no occasion for my interference with respect to this institution, the evident utility arising from the acts of the fathers needing no mediator between them and the emperor. For the augmentation of the chapter revenues of the cathedral, there have been assigned estates yielding six thousand dollars yearly, and for the archiepiscopal, twenty-four thousand ; but as these estates



are considerably injured and decayed, the archbishop wishes for some time to keep monsieur d'Ossegg, now assigned to the archiepiscopal revenue under Ridolfo, instead of the treasury pension which there was a difficulty in paying. The province of the parishes of Prague and of the whole kingdom had been placed again at the disposal of the archbishop, whereas they were formerly possessed by lords who were all rebels, the emperor having reserved that right to himself; whilst the estates of these rebels have been sold, it having also been seen to, that in accordance with many laws relating to Prague they should be all purchased by catholics.]

109. *Relatione alla S.<sup>a</sup> di N. S.<sup>re</sup> papa Urbano VIII delle cose appartenenti alla nunziatura di Colonia per Mr Montorio rescoro di Nicastro ritornato nuncio di quelle parti l'anno di N. S.<sup>re</sup> 1624.*— [Report made to pope Urban VIII. of the nunziature to Cologne discharged by Mr Montorio, bishop of Nicastro.]

Montorio arrived in Germany in the midst of the disorders of war. He sets forth the danger in which the catholics would have been placed if Mansfeld, who commanded the Upper Rhine from Strasburg to Mainz, and the bishop of Halberstadt, who was master of Westphalia, had succeeded in forming a junction with Baden Durlach. But all these leaders were defeated. He then describes the advantages that had accrued from those victories, and the condition at which the German church had arrived.

The counter-reformation had again set in in full force in Fulkia: the catholic party had made its way into Osnabrück with the aid of the infant and the army of the Liga; in Minden they had hopes of making an archduke their bishop; in Bremen, too, special missions had laboured to induce the members of the chapter to elect a catholic coadjutor, but a Danish prince had been successful on this occasion. The nuncio hoped, however, that toleration, at least, would be granted to the catholic religion in all the Hans towns; it appeared to him that the emperor could directly command it, particularly as those towns derived great advantages from the Spanish and Portuguese trade. A church was already opened in Altona, from which there was much to be expected for the North, "per potere in qualche tempo fondarsi un seminario, onde possono pigliarsi operaj, dopo che avranno appreso la lingua Danica e Norvegia, per ridurre al lume della vera fede quei popoli più settentrionali" [promising the possibility of some time or other founding a seminary, whence labourers may be procured, who, after they shall have learned the Danish and Norwegian languages, may bring those more northern nations to the light of the true faith].

Along with this progress Montorio thought an internal reform of the German church indispensable. The prelates dressed like laymen, and did not scruple to go to the wars; concubinage prevailed quite openly, and once the nuncio prevented one Hornberg, an otherwise very proper candidate, from obtaining the bishopric of Würzburg on account of this fault. The German bishops too thought little of the pope; they appointed to vacancies in the reserved months, and they presumed to do many illegitimate things

through their officers. "Dispensano ne' gradi matrimoniali prohibiti, ad sacros ordines et beneficia vacata, super defectu natalium, concedono extra tempora, dispensano super defectu ætatis, anche talvolta hanno dispensato con persone institute in saceris di prender moglie." [They grant dispensations to marry within the forbidden degrees, for holy orders and vacant benefices, supra defectu natalium, they grant concessions extra tempora, they give dispensations with regard to deficiency of age, and they have even at times granted dispensations to persons in holy orders to marry.] They styled themselves bishops by God's grace, without any mention of the apostolic see, and treated their ecclesiastical possessions almost as though they were their private property. Things were no better in the convents. The abbots conducted themselves like absolute lords. In the towns there was nothing but banqueting and mixed societies of men and women: in the country convents they followed the chase, and nothing was to be seen but dogs and huntsmen.

The nuncio would willingly have set a reform on foot, but he was prevented by contagious diseases, the disorders of war, and political occupations.

He treats also very ably of the latter. I have not been able to admit into the text all he says of the transfer of the electorate, and will therefore quote it here.

"Possono esser note a S. Beatne le cose all' hora occorse, ed io, benchè mi fossero giunti assai tardi i brevi che mi mandava papa Gregorio, accioche intervenissi alla dieta per tale effetto adunata in Ratisbona, mi mossi nondimeno nel maggior rigore dell' inverno con grandissima spesa, disagi e pericoli per comparirvi: e condottomi sino ad Herbipoli da ministri di S. S.<sup>a</sup> e da principi elettori ivi congregati, a quali avevo dato avviso della mia mossa, mi fu significato non esser più necessaria la mia persona, poichè la conclusione del negotio era ritardata da più alta cagione che dal mancamento del consenso de' principi ivi adunati, e che il vedersi ivi compariti tanti ministri apostolici avrebbe accresciute le difficoltà, mettendosi in gelosia li protestanti, come che quella traslatione fu trattata più tosto come materia di religione che di stato. Mi rimasi perciò d'andarvi, tanto più che il Magontino, che come degano del collegio elettorale era quasi arbitro del negotio, praticato da me alcuni mesi prima, stava costante nell' offerta fattami di voler secondare la mente del papa e dell' imperatore. Li deputati di Treveri havevano ordine dal suo principe, datoli a mia istanza, di non iscostarsi dalle deliberazioni del Magontino e del Colonicense. Io non starò qui a divisare a V. Beatne le difficoltà che incontrai per disporre il Magontino a consentire a detta traslatione: perche hora diceva abhorrire la città di Ratisbona come d'aria nemica alla sua sanità, hora diceva trovarsi esausto di denari e da non potere supplire alle spese che ivi gli sarebbe convenuto di fare, hora che il negotio non era maturo, non essendoci il consenso di Spagna e di Sassonia, hora temeva le minacce del re d'Inghilterra, di Dania e di altri settarj, hora affermava che quella traslatione avrebbe accesa nuova e più cruda guerra in Germania, con danno evidente della religione cattolica, mentre i principi ecclesiastici, che havevano portato fino all' hora e dovevano portare per l'avvenire il peso, esausti per le contribuzioni passate alla lega, spogliati d'ogni loro avere dall'

insolenze e rubamenti non meno de' nostri che de' nemici soldati, non solo non potevano nè havevano modo di apparecchiarsi a nuova guerra, ma erano ridotti ad estremità tali che erano costretti licenziare le proprie famiglie a vivere quasi privatamente: non lasciava di porre in considerazione il duca di Neuburg, come più prossimo di sangue al palatino, la cui persona non havrebbe recata tanta gelosia a protestanti, che temeano la grandezza del Bavaro, a cui conforme le costituzioni imperiali secondo la bolla aurea come a più prossimo dovevasi quella dignità, nella quale il medesimo duca haveva protestato non volere consentire sino all' ultimo spirito che altri fosse a se preferito: basta che in quattro o cinque giorni che mi trattenni con lui in Acciaffemburgo, dopo lunghi discorsi fatti in voce et in iscritto, ottenni la risoluzione che io desiderava. La traslatione fu fatta, et ancora si mantiene. Il palatinato è in parte occupato dal Bavaro, in parte da Spagnuoli, nè altro resta al palatino che la città di Franchenthal depositata in certo tempo in mano della serenissima infanta di Fiandra con concerto del re Inglese.

"Mentre per detto negotio io ero in Acciaffemburgo, giunse ivi la nuova della presa di Adelbergh: et havendo io già fatto officio per commissione di Sua S<sup>ta</sup> col sig<sup>r</sup> duca di Baviera per la libreria Palatina et havendone havuta offerta, mandai subito un' espresso al sig<sup>r</sup> conte di Tilly, facendoli istanza per la conservazione di essa, poichè mi veniva affermato per la qualità e quantità de' libri massime manoscritti essere di valore inestimabile: e mi rispose S. E. che il tutto era in poter suo ben conservato per eseguirne l'ordine del sig<sup>r</sup> duca: di che havendo dato conto a patroni, havendo essi mandata persona a pigliarlo, fu detta libreria dopo alcuni mesi condotta a Roma."

[Your holiness may be aware of the affairs that have occurred up to this time, and though it was somewhat late when the briefs of pope Gregory reached me, directing that I should attend at the diet assembled for that purpose in Ratisbon, I nevertheless set out in the utmost inclemency of winter, at extreme expense, pains, and peril; and having reached Herbitoli, it was signified to me by the ministers of his holiness and the electoral princes assembled there, to whom I had announced my movements, that there was no longer need of my presence, since the conclusion of the affair was delayed by a graver cause than the want of agreement between the princes assembled; and that the sight of so many apostolic ministers collected there would but increase the difficulty, by exciting the jealousy of the protestants, and setting them on supposing that this transference was treated rather as a matter of religion than of state. I abstained therefore from going thither, the more because the bishop of Mainz, who as dean of the electoral college was as it were the arbiter of the business, when solicited by me some months before, was resolute in his pledges to me that he would second the wishes of the pope and the emperor. The delegates from Tricarico had orders from their prince, given at my instance, not to dissent from the bishops of Mainz and of Cologne. I will not pause here to enumerate to your holiness the difficulties I met with in disposing Mainz to consent to the said translation: for one time he said he detested the city of Ratisbon, the air of the place being unfavourable to his health; another time he said the business was not ripe, the consent

of Spain and of Saxony not having been announced; another time he feared the threats of the kings of England, of Denmark, and of other sectarians; another time he alleged that this transference would kindle a new and more cruel war in Germany, to the manifest injury of the catholic religion, whilst the ecclesiastical princes, who hitherto had borne, and for the future would have to bear, all the burthen, exhausted by their former contributions to the Liga, despoiled of all their property by the insolence and robbery of our soldiers no less than of those of the enemy, were not only altogether unable to provide for a new war, but were reduced to such extremities that they were compelled to dismiss their own families to live almost privately. He did not fail to suggest the duke of Neuburg, as nearer in blood to the palatine, and one who would not so much excite the jealousy of the protestants, who feared the greatness of the elector of Bavaria, to whom, in conformity with the imperial constitutions, according to the golden bull, belonged as the nearest claimant that dignity, wherein the said duke had protested that to his last breath he would never suffer any one to be preferred before himself. Suffice it to say, that after four or five days' negotiation with him in Aschaffenburg, after long discourses by word of mouth and in writing, I elicited the resolution I desired. The transference was effected and is still maintained. The palatinato is in part occupied by Bavaria, in part by the Spaniards; and nothing remains to the palatine but the city of Franchenthal, deposited for a certain time in the hands of the most serene infanta of Flanders in concert with the king of England.

[While I was in Aschaffenburg on this business, the news arrived of the capture of Heidelberg; and I having already executed the commission of his holiness to the duke of Bavaria, respecting the palatine library, and having received the offer of it, immediately sent an express to count Tilly, entreating him to preserve it; since I was assured that it was of inestimable value both for the quality and the quantity of the books contained in it, chiefly manuscript: and his excellency returned me for answer, that the whole was in his power in good preservation, and at the duke's orders: having reported this to the masters, and having sent a person to take possession of it, the said library was some months afterwards conveyed to Rome.]

110. *Istruzione a V. S. Mons<sup>r</sup> Caraffa vescovo di Tricarico destinato da N. S. suo nuntio in Colonia. 26 Giugno 1624.* [Instruction to monsignor Caraffa, bishop of Tricarico, nuncio elect to Cologne.]

Ludovico Caraffa was Montorio's successor: he was nuncio at Cologne at the same time that Carlo Caraffa filled that office at Vicenza.

The pope communicates to him his views on the affairs of Germany in a very circumstantial instruction.

He examines in it all those points relating to the internal discipline of the church, which Montorio had suggested. Seeing the great losses in revenue and consideration the apostolic see had already sustained, the nuncio was to attempt to retrieve them. "V. S. stia attentissima a tutto quello che può sostenere l'autorità apostolica e specialmente

procuraro che da essa eschino le dovute provisioni beneficiali." It is worthy of note, that orders were given in this document to the nuncio, directly founded on the advice of Minuccio Minucci. For instance, he is directed to send to Rome a list of the German ecclesiastics most deserving of promotion: "de' più costumati, de' più dotti, de' più nobili, de' meglio appoggiati all' autorità d'alcun principe cattolico.—Così noi aremo notizie tali che sollecitamente la sede apostolica potrà provvedere prima che scorra il suo tempo." Literally the very thing recommended by Minucci in 1558. Time, however, had suggested other measures likewise: of these the most important was the associating a catholic coadjutor with a bishop, who was growing old, in the lifetime of the latter. This had already been done with the best effect in Paderborn and in Münster.

But the grand matter of consideration was the further diffusion of catholicism.

The Liga was to be supported most strenuously; the nuncio was to look narrowly to it, that every one paid his quota. An ecclesiastical society for the conversion of protestants had been founded at Cologne, in which princes of the houses of Austria and Bavaria took part, and which possessed ample funds: the nuncio was not to suffer it to fall into decay. Some princely houses were singled out as offering hopes of speedy conversion, particularly Darmstadt and Saxony. The nuncio was to stimulate this disposition. "So that these princes might not withstand the grace which God was willing to bestow on them." He was especially to promote the establishment of seminaries, and the introduction of the Jesuits. This passage is perhaps the most remarkable in the whole instruction, and may be quoted in full.

"Sarà opera degnissima di S. S<sup>ia</sup> l'impiegarsi a coltivare i seminarj già fatti et a procurare che altri se ne facciano di nuovo: e per queste simili opere chi non vede che i padri della compagnia di Gesù sono maravigliosi? Laonde il predecessore di S. S<sup>ia</sup> diede principio a praticare l'introduzione di quelli in Franchfort, scrivendo sopra di ciò caldissime lettere a Cesare, e voleva fare altrettanto l'elettore di Colonia. N. S<sup>re</sup>, per sollecitare l'effettuazione di questo buon pensiero, feci scrivere al nuntio presso l'imperatore che non si riscaldi: col quale S. S<sup>ia</sup> s'intenderà per quello che restasse da fare, avvisandone le speranze o i successi. L'elettore di Magonza ha fatto rappresentare alla S<sup>ta</sup> di N. S<sup>re</sup>, che per propagare la religione cattolica, che col favore divino piglia piede nel palatinato inferiore, niuna cosa viene giudicata più spediente quanto l'erettione de' seminarj e delle case dove possono convenire i nobili del Reno: e per ciò fare, propone a S. B<sup>ne</sup> che si potrebbero comodamente applicare i beni d'alcuni monasterj o specialmente di Germersheim, Spanheim et Odernheim, posti nella diocesi di Magonza et altre volte occupati da principi Palatini del Reno: la quale proposta è stata stimata da S. B<sup>ne</sup> di molto rilievo, e prima di risolvere voleva che l'antecessore di V. S<sup>ia</sup> pro-sane diligente informazione avvisasse distintamente lo stato di detti monasterj col suo parere: ma perche la brevità del tempo non gli havrà permesso eseguir tutto, S. B<sup>ne</sup> vuole che ella supplica al rimanente con ogni sollecitudine et accuratezza.

"L'elettore di Colonia ancora vuole istituire un' università nella sua città di Munster: e di ciò è stato ragionato nella sagra congregazione de pro-

paganda fide, inclinando la S<sup>ta</sup> di N. S<sup>re</sup> che si facci detta università, con condizione però che oltre alle scienze vi si insegnino le leggi canoniche e civili. Serva a S. S<sup>ia</sup> per avviso, accioche ella tratti in questa forma con detto elettore, quando S. A. le parlerà d'havere ottenuto per detta erettione il beneplacito apostolico."

[It will be a task most becoming your excellency to promote the prosperity of the seminaries already founded, and to cause new ones to be established: and who is there but sees that the fathers of the company of Jesus are admirable for labours of this kind? Hence your excellency's predecessor set the example of causing their introduction into Frankfort, writing very earnestly on the subject to the emperor, and the elector of Cologne was willing to do as much. His holiness, to further this good design, caused letters to be written to his nuncio at the emperor's court, that he be not incensed: your excellency will advise with him as to what remains to be done, and will report what progress is made and what hopes appear. The elector of Mainz has represented to his holiness, that nothing appears more expedient towards the propagation of the catholic religion, which by divine favour is obtaining a footing in the lower Palatinate, than the erection of seminaries and of houses where the nobility of the Rhine may come together; and to this end he suggested to his holiness, that the property of some monasteries may very suitably be applied, particularly those of Germersheim, Spanheim, and Odernheim, situated in the diocese of Mainz, and formerly occupied by princes palatine of the Rhine. The proposal appeared to his holiness one of great moment, and before resolving upon it, he wished that your excellency's predecessor should diligently inquire and distinctly report the state of the said monasteries, according to his opinion: but as want of time did not allow him to effect this fully, his holiness desires that you should supply what has been left undone, with all diligence and accuracy.]

[The elector of Cologne also wishes to found an university in his city of Münster; the matter has been discussed in the sacred college "de propaganda fide," and his holiness is disposed to allow of the establishment of the said college, on condition however, that besides the sciences there be taught in it the canon and civil law. This for your excellency's notification, to treat accordingly with the said elector, when his highness shall tell you that he has obtained the apostolic license for the establishment of the said university.]

111. *Relatione dell' ill<sup>mo</sup> et ecc<sup>mo</sup> sig<sup>ro</sup> Pietro Contarini K<sup>r</sup> ritornato dell' ambascieria ordinaria di Roma, presentata alli 22 Giugno 1627 e letta il medesimo giorno nell' ecc<sup>mo</sup> senato.* [Report read to the Venetian senate by Pietro Contarini, ordinary ambassador to Rome.]

P. Contarini had passed more than three years and a half (44 months) at the court of Urban VIII. when he wrote this report.

He treats in it, in four separate sections, of the temporal and spiritual administration, of the most important affairs, and of the most influential members of the court.

He is particularly circumstantial and instructive respecting the extension of the ecclesiastical juris-

diction. According to him, it had never been exercised with such strictness in Italy; the Roman court was very formidable to sovereigns from its double purpose of maintaining an immediate domination over the clergy, and an unlimited power of disposing of ecclesiastical property. Urban VIII. often said, that were a Venetian nobleman seated on the papal throne, he could not be more favourably disposed to the Venetians than he himself was: notwithstanding this, the most trifling favour was never obtained from him.

Altogether, Contarini had a bad opinion of the whole Roman system. The principle of the entire administration was nepotism.

"L'inclinazione dei papi di far grandi i nepoti da in questi tempi il primo moto all' azioni, dichiarazioni e dipendenze con altri principi. Prima si pensa ad imprese contra infideli, ad acquisto di stati, ma come gli anni son brevi, le difficoltà molte, così si ferma il concetto senz' effettuazione alcuna: doppo altra strada si prende più facile, accumulando gradi ricchezze, comprando stati." [The inclination of the popes to aggrandize their nephews is in the present times the prime mover to all actions, declarations, and connexions with other princes. First they bethink them of enterprises against the infidels, and of territorial acquisitions; but as the years are few and the difficulties many, the idea stops short of any realization: another course is easier to follow, that of accumulating great wealth and buying up estates.]

He gives the following description of those immediately about Urban.

"Per ordinario si consiglia il pontefice con il card<sup>le</sup> Magalotti, cognato del fratello, e che tiene anco il carico di segretario di stato, per le sue mani passano tutte l'espediti. E cardinale d'ingegno grande, vivace: lo stima assai il papa: l'ha voluto sempre appresso di se, et in particolare nella legatione di Bologna, dove le diede la vice-regenza di quel governo. E se vi è alcuno che arrivi ad avere predominio nell' animo della S<sup>ta</sup> Sua, quest' è l'una, nè si sa se per proprio affetto et inclinazione di lei o se per la grande accortezza del cardinale, che bene conoscendo il genio di chi così lungamente si è servito di lui sa valersi delli mezzi proprj per condursi a questo segno: e può dirsi che negli affari di momento di esso solo si vale. Egli però s'affatica d'aggiustarsi alle inclinazioni del pontefice, le contraddice meno che può, e nelli suoi sensi procura d'incamminare le proprie azioni per conservare il posto, la confidenza e la riputazione che le apporta l'esser adoperato nelli maneggi più gravi. Procura con allontanarsi da tutte le apparenze, fuggendo l'audience ordinarie de' ministri di principi, de' cardinali e quasi d'ogni altro (ma solo tratta i negotj ch'espressemente gli sono incaricati), di non acquistar l'odio che per l'ordinario suole cader sopra quelli che si veggono più vicini e partecipano dell' autorità o gratia del principe: e lo fa maggiormente per non ingelosire il card<sup>le</sup> Barberino, che da principio non mostrò di ricevere intiero gusto di vederlo avanzarsi tanto, e più valersi il pontefice di lui che della sua persona: e perciò bene spesso per questa causa s'udirono da Barberino parole che dinotavano il suo sentimento. Hora nondimeno lascia correr le cose come vanno, e mostrar confidar nel zio, o per sollevarsi del peso degli affari, o perchè non sa o conosce di non poter fermare il corso alla fortuna di questo. Il tutto

pure si partecipa col medesimo cardinal Barberino, con S. Onofrio e Don Carlo.

"Il primo, come nipote, è veramente amato. Vorrebbe la S<sup>ta</sup> Sua che con più applicatione attendesse alli negotj: ma egli v'apparisce alieno assai, nè il suo naturale punto si vede inclinato, et pare che quasi a forza assista solo dove per il carico che tiene non può far altrimenti, scaricando il peso degli affari più gravi sopra l'istesso card<sup>le</sup> Magalotti, contentandosi di spogliarsi di quello che dovrebbe esser suo particolare per vestirne il zio, contro la pratica degli passati pontefici, sia o per propria debolezza, o per non saper valersi di quella autorità che gode chi arriva a posto tanto eminente. E di ottimi, virtuosi e lodevoli costumi, di soave natura, e con esempio unico non vuole ricever donativi o presente alcuno. Sarà nondimeno videndo il pontefice al pari d'ogni altro cardinale grande e ricco. Hor deve haver intorno 80 m. scudi d'entrata di benefij ecclesiastici, e con li governi e legationi che tiene deve avvicinarsi a 100 m. scudi, e tutto il meglio che cava, sarà suo, principando a farsi delle investite di momento. E poco spendendosi in breve tempo, verrassi ad accumular ricchezze immense.

"Il card<sup>le</sup> S. Onofrio essendo vissuto del continuo nei Cappuccini, seguito tuttavia in una vita religiosissima, non s'ingriscisce so non in quello le viene commesso, e degli affari del mondo poco ne sa e meno n'intende: e bene si è conosciuto la sua inabilità in questo nell' assenza di Barberino, mentre fu necessario di trattare e negotiar seco. Hora si ritrova alla residenza della sua chiesa di Sinigaglia.

"Il sig<sup>r</sup> Don Carlo pure, fratello del pontefice, è generale di santa chiesa, e tutto quello che appartiene alla militia, alle fortezze, alle galere, è sotto il suo comando. E signore d'intelligenza, prudente, cauto nello discorrere e trattare, e la cura dell' entrate e maneggi della camera ottimamente l'intende, essendo stato huomo di negotio e versato in queste materie. Qualche cosa ha rilasciato dalla sua prima applicatione agli affari, per non aggravar maggiormente li suoi anni, essendo il più vecchieo delli fratelli, e per qualche sua disposizione ancora.

"Due altri nipoti tiene la S<sup>ta</sup> Sua. Il sig<sup>r</sup> Don Taddeo, nel quale si pensa di stabilire la casa, giovane di anni 23 incirca, di nobilissime maniere, di grande ingenuità, et è sommamente amato da tutta la corte. Qualche disegno vi è nel pontefice di farlo prefetto della città dopo la morte del duca di Urbino, che hora gode questo titolo, carico degnissimo, che a tutti precede e dura in vita e dopo la morte anco del pontefice tiene luogo nel solio. E don Antonio, commendatore di Malta, di anni 18. Ha intorno 14 m. scudi di commende. E di uno spirito pronto, vivace, et a suo tempo vi vorrà esser per la sua parte: desidera egli parimento il cardinalato, e si crede lo compiacerà la S<sup>ta</sup> Sua. Molti che non amano il card<sup>le</sup> Magalotti, lo vedrebbono volentieri quanto prima promosso a quella dignità, con opinione possa egli arrivar dove non giugne il fratello a farle contrasto et opposizione."

[The pope's ordinary adviser is cardinal Magalotti, his brother's brother-in-law, who is also charged with the secretaryship of state, and through whose hands pass all orders and arrangements. The cardinal is a man of large and vigorous intellect; he is much esteemed by the pope, who has always wished to have him near himself,

particularly in the legation of Bologna, where he gave him the viceregency of that government. If any man possesses paramount influence with his holiness, he is that one; nor is it known whether this proceeds from the spontaneous affection of the pope, or from the great address of the cardinal; who, very well acquainted with the temper of one he has served so long, knows how to use the proper means conducive to this end; at any rate he may be considered as having the sole disposal of all matters of importance. He takes pains to adapt himself to the pope's inclinations, contradicts him as little as possible, and shapes his conduct in accordance with the sentiments of his holiness to preserve his place, and the confidence and the credit he derives from being employed in the most weighty transactions. By abstaining from all outward show of power, avoiding regular audiences of foreign ministers, cardinals, and all others, interfering directly only in such matters as are expressly committed to him, he endeavours to escape the enmity that usually falls on those who are nearest to the person of the sovereign, and who partake of his authority or favour; and he does this more particularly to avoid exciting the jealousy of cardinal Barberino, who at first did not seem altogether pleased at seeing him so much advanced, and more considered by the pope than himself; and very frequently Barberino was heard to express his feelings in words to this effect. At present, however, Barberino lets matters take their course, and appears to confide in his uncle, either to relieve himself from the burthen of business, or because he cannot contrive, or knows it to be impossible, to check the career of the latter's fortune. Everything, however, is shared between the said cardinal Barberino, S. Onofrio, and Don Carlo.

[The first of these, as nephew, is truly loved. The pope could wish that he applied himself more diligently to business; but he appears very averse to it, nor does his character seem at all inclined to it, and it appears that he attends almost by force, and only when, consistently with the office he holds, he cannot do otherwise, throwing the burthen of the weightiest affairs on the said cardinal Magalotti, being content to strip himself of what ought to be his own, and to put it on his uncle, contrary to the custom in former pontificates, whether it be from feebleness, or from not knowing how to avail himself of that influence which is enjoyed by all those who reach so high a station. He is of excellent, virtuous, and laudable morals, of a gentle nature, and sets a solitary example of refusing all donatives and presents. Notwithstanding this, he will be, if the pope lives, equal to any other cardinal in grandeur and wealth. He must now have an income of about 80,000 scudi from ecclesiastical benefices, which, with the governments and legations he holds, must approach to 100,000, and when investitures of moment begin to be made, the best will fall to his share. As he spends but little, he will soon see himself in possession of immense wealth.]

[Cardinal S. Onofrio, having lived constantly among the capuchins, and always led a most devout life, never interferes with anything that is not directly committed to him, and knows little and thinks less about the affairs of the world: and though his inability in this department be well known, nevertheless it was necessary to treat and

negotiate with him during the absence of Barberino. He is at present resident in his diocese of Sinigaglia.

[Don Carlo, the pope's brother, is general of the holy church; and all that pertains to the troops, the fortresses, and the galleys, is under his command. He is intelligent, prudent, cautious in discussing and transacting business, and he is very well acquainted with the management of the revenue and the business of the treasury, having been a practical man and versed in this matter. He has in some degree relaxed from his first application to business, partly in consideration of his years, he being the eldest of the brothers, and partly, too, in accordance with his inclination.]

[His holiness has two other nephews — Don Taddeo, in whose person he thinks of founding the house, a young man of about twenty-three, of very noble manners, of a highly ingenious nature, and exceedingly beloved by the whole court. The pope has some thought of making him prefect of the city after the death of the duke of Urbino, who now holds the title, a very honourable appointment, which takes precedence of all others, lasts the pope's life-time, and even after his death retains an honorary position. The other nephew is Don Antonio, commendator of Malta, aged eighteen. His commandatory brings him in about 14,000 scudi. He is of a quick and lively temper, and has a mind to secure his own share of his house's fortunes in good time. He too desires to be made a cardinal, and it is thought his holiness will comply with the desire. Many who do not like cardinal Magalotti would gladly see him promoted as soon as possible to that dignity, thinking that he may do what his brother fails to do, namely counterpoise and oppose Magalotti.]

The affairs of the Valtellina are here discussed in all their bearings.

“L'altro importante negotio è quello della Valtellina, intorno al quale pure grandemente vi travagliò la Santità Sua, ma con fortuna diversa, se bene nel principio vogliono che potesse applicarvi maggiori e più risoluti rimedj. L'esser entrato in affare tanto arduo li primi giorni del ponteficato, uscito e non ben ancora rimesso da una grave indisposizione, con il pensiero più applicato al primo che a questo negotio, causò forse che si lasciò correr molte cose, che allora il provvedervi non era difficile, siccome il remediarsi poi dopo riuscì impossibile. Fu il deposito della Valtellina fatto dai Spagnoli in mano di Gregorio XV, e Chiavenna con il suo contado la consegnarono con le medesime condizioni al presente pontefice. Le prime negotiationi passarono per mano del commendatore Silleri con tanta cautela e segretezza che il certo d'esse non solo si comunicava alli ministri di V. Serenità, che pure ne doveano aver tanta parte, ma con fatica veniva a loro notizia il vero di quanto si trattava. In niuna altra cosa premeva il pontefice che nel ricevere soddisfazione per il pagamento delli presidj ch'egli teneva nelli forti della Valle, e dopo infinite doglianze et istanze conseguì, eredo, fra l'uno e l'altro re intorno 200 m. scudi. Questo danaro andò diminuendo il dispiacere del deposito, che prima e dopo annesso dannò sempre grandemente, stimando non esser sollevato dall'interesse niuno pregiudicio potesse apportarle la lunghezza et irresoluzione di tal maneggio.

“Quelli del Valtellina s'offerivano al papa per

vassalli, assicurandolo che li datti che potrebbe imporre sopra li vini e formaggi basterebbono a mantenere li presidj ordinarij per difesa di quella Valle. Molti consideravano al pontefice che il ritornar la Valtellina alli Grisoni e rimetter in mano degli heretici li cattolici non si poteva, da esso nè si doveva se non con grandissimo scandalo e danno eseguire, che darla ai Spagnoli niuno n'havrebbe assentito, et ai Francesi o ad altri quelli non lo permetterebbono: nè meglio vi fosse che si conservasse alla chiesa la Valtellina, non contenendo alcun' altra conditione di momento quel paese che dei passi, che si possono havere o pretendere per venirsene et andarsene oltre ai monti: questi restando in potestà del pontefice patro comune, gli havrebbe aperti e concessi sempre secondo il bisogno e necessità d'ogn'uno. Le ragioni se bene poco fondate non lasciano di far impressione, e talvolta anche persuadono dove apparisce alcuna speranza di comodo et utile. Del concetto se ne lascio intender la S<sup>ta</sup> Sua, et aggiunse anco, quando vi fosse qualche difficoltà nel restar alla chiesa, ne si potrebbe investir un suo nipote. Era promosso dai Spagnoli il partito, a loro però nè ai Francesi piaceva: in fine si fermò da Silleri il trattato ben noto a V. Serenità, che non fu in Francia approvato dal re, in particolare nella parte che Spagnoli avessero il passo per le genti che andassero in Fiandra e per le medesime solo che ritornassero: poiche il formar della Valtellina una quarta lega, che tanto pretesero Spagnoli, meno il pontefice v'assentì. Fu mutato per questa causa l'ambasciatore, o fosse per la caduta del cancelliere e di Physieux segretario, l'uno fratello e l'altro nipote del medesimo Silleri. E giunse in Roma mons<sup>r</sup> di Bettune, ministro di miglior consiglio, di più generosi e risoluti partiti, disautorizzò il negoziato del suo predecessore, insistè e parlò sempre per il trattato di Madrid, negò assolutamente il permettere per qualsivoglia maniera a' Spagnoli il passo, e sollecitò in frequente audienza il pontefice a risolvere alcuna cosa, poiche nè a maggiori lunghezza nè a più tarde dilazioni potea la lega assentire.

“ Il pontefice, che non stimò mai tanta risoluzione nelli collegati nè da questa causa fossero per condursi all' armi, massime che'l suo nuntio in Francia e quello di Suizzeri affermarono del continuo alla S<sup>ta</sup> Sua con lettere che'l marchese di Covre mai havrebbe presentate l'armi del re dove vi fossero le insegne della Beat<sup>ta</sup> Sua, s'andò pure continuando nelle irresolutioni, e quanto più accrescevano et apparivano le difficoltà, tanto maggiormente veniva ella a persuadersi (nè vi mancava chi la confermava in questo) che in fine nelle contese essa ne restarebbe posseditrice. E benchè Bettune per ultimo significò al papa che il re e la lega insieme la supplicavano di rimettere ai Spagnoli li forti conforme allo obbligo del deposito, acchieve essendovi necessità di mover l'armi non s'attribuiva a poco rispetto l'andar contro quelle della S<sup>ta</sup> Sua, e so all' hora il pontefice si risolve e prende partito come dovea, offrendo ai Spagnoli li forti, il tutto veniva ad aggiustarsi con la reputazione sua e soddisfazione degli altri, poiche non gli havrebbono ricevuti li Spagnoli non trovandosi in termine di poterli difendere, e cessava la causa di dolersi mentre in tempo eseguiva il pontefice le conditioni del deposito, nè poteva alcuno contraddire lasciandoli a Grisoni: corsero alcuni giorni: in fine surprese il marchese di Covre Plata Mala:

allora il pontefice pretese et adimandò tre mesi di tempo, e dopo si ristinse a tanto che bastasse di scriver in Spagna e farne l'eshibitione, dicendo che li ministri d'Italia non tenevano facoltà di li forti. Ma essendo di già avanzate et ogni giorno procedendo di bene in meglio l'intrapresa di Covre, non fu stimato a proposito, anzi sarebbe riuscito dannoso il suspender i progressi, per attendere poi di Spagna risposte incerte: o così andò il pontefice a poco a poco perdendo tutto quello teneva in deposito, solo restandole Riva e Chiavenna, che sole furono soccorse dai Spagnoli. Si doleva S<sup>ta</sup> Sua che questi, se ben riereciti alle prime difese, mai vennero al soccorso, o essi di non essero stati chiamati in tempo, di modo che, mal soddisfatti Spagnoli, non contenti Francesi, ella sommamente disgustata stimando poco rispetto s'havessa portato alle sue insegne, del continuo e grandemente con ognuno se ne querelava: nè altrimenti facevano Spagnoli, mentre attribuivano tutti gl'inconvenienti a lei, e di lei più d'ogni altro si dolevano: et ancorche dopo spedisse il nipote legato in Francia et in Spagna col fine ben noto a V. Serenità, e conoscendo haver preso altra maggior mossa le armi d'Italia, più gravi si rendessero i pericoli se vi applicasse da doverlo, con tutto cio non si è potuto levare il primo concetto che dagli antecessori mal incamminati principj non siano derivati gl'inconvenienti che si sono dopo visti. Ugualmente Francesi come Spagnoli attribuivano le durezze e difficoltà che si sono incontrate in questa negotiatione, alle pretensioni del pontefice volendo che ad esso fossero consignati li forti, senza dichiararsi quello che n'havrebbe fatto, negando però assolutamente di volerli demolire. Da che si ha reso sopramodo difficil il trovar ripiego conveniente, si è consumato tanto tempo, fatte tante spedizioni, et in fine portato il negotio in Spagna, che in Roma difficilmente s'havrebbe terminato.”

[The other important matter is that of the Valtelline, with respect to which his holiness indeed took great pains, but with various fortune; though they will have it that in the beginning he might have had recourse to more effective and determined measures. His engaging in so arduous a matter in the first days of his pontificate, when hardly convalescent from a severe illness, with his mind more engaged with the former than with this business, may have occasioned many things to have been allowed to take their course which it would not have been difficult to provide against, though it proved impossible to remedy them afterwards. Valtellina was deposited by the Spaniards in the hands of Gregory XV., and they consigned Chiavenna and its district to the present pope under the same conditions. The first negotiations were carried on through the medium of the commendator Sillery, with so much caution and secrecy, that the mere fact of their existence was not communicated to the ministers of your serenity, though they were to take so large a part in them; and it was with difficulty they came to know the truth of what was done. The pope pressed for nothing else but to receive satisfaction for the payment of the garrisons he had in the forts of the Valley, and after many complaints and urgent remonstrances he succeeded, I believe, in obtaining from both kings about 200,000 scudi. This money served to diminish his displeasure at the deposit, which both before and afterwards he



always greatly condemned, thinking it was not for his interest, and that the procrastination of the business could not be to his prejudice.

[The people of the Valtelline offered themselves as vassals to the pope, assuring him that the taxes he might impose on wine and cheese would be sufficient to maintain the ordinary garrisons for the defence of the Valley. Many suggested to the pope, that to restore the Valtellini to the Grisons, and to put the catholics into the hands of the heretics, was not to be thought of, and could not be done without extreme scandal and injury; that no one would consent to its being given up to the Spaniards, nor would these allow of its being delivered to the French or any other power; that, in short, there was nothing better than that the Valtelline should be preserved to the church, there being nothing worth having or disputing for in that country, besides the passes leading to and fro through the mountains: should these remain in the power of the pope, the common father, he would always open them according to the wants and necessities of every power. Arguments, however slight their foundation, fail not to make an impression, and sometimes they even convince, where there appears some prospect of advantage. The pope gave into the scheme, and added too, that should there be any difficulty made as to the Valley remaining attached to the church, he might invest one of his nephews with it. The plan was put forward by the Spaniards, and yet it did not please either them or the French: finally there was concluded by Silley that treaty which is well known to your serenity, and which was not approved of in France by the king, particularly that clause of it which stipulated that the Spaniards should have the right of passage for the troops proceeding to Flanders, and for the same exclusively returning. As for the formation of the Valtelline into a fourth league, which the Spaniards urged so strongly, the pope was still more opposed to it. For this reason the ambassador was changed; or perhaps on account of the fall of the chancellor and of Puy-sieux the secretary, the one the brother, the other the nephew, of the said Silley. Monsignor de Bethune arrived in Rome, a minister of more wisdom, of nobler and more resolute designs; he annulled the measures of his predecessor, insisted upon and always spoke for the treaty of Madrid, refused absolutely in any way to allow the Spaniards the pass; and he solicited the pope in frequent audiences to come to some resolution, because the league could not consent to longer dalliance and procrastination.

[The pope, who never thought there was so much determination among the confederates, nor that they would for this reason have recourse to arms, (particularly as his nuncios in France and Switzerland continually assured his holiness by letter, that the marquis de Covre would never carry the king's arms against the standard of his holiness,) went on in his irresolution, and the greater and more manifest the difficulties of the case became, the more he persuaded himself, (nor were there wanting those who confirmed him in this,) that with all these struggles he would finally remain in possession. And though Bethune signified as his ultimatum to the pope, that the king and the league jointly supplicated him to return the forts to the Spaniards, conformably with the terms of

the deposit, so that if it were necessary to have recourse to arms they might not be chargeable with irreverence in advancing against those of his holiness; and if the pope had not taken his resolution as he ought, and offered the fortresses to the Spaniards, every thing would have been arranged to his own honour and to the satisfaction of the other parties; for the Spaniards would not have recovered them, not being in a condition to defend them; and their grounds of complaint would have disappeared, since the pope would have in due time fulfilled the conditions of the deposit, nor could any one have gainsayed their being left to the Grisons. Some days elapsed: at length the marchese di Covre surprised Plata Mala: the pope then made pretexts, and demanded three months' time; afterwards, abating his demand to as much as would be sufficient to write to Spain and make the offer, saying that the Spanish ministers in Italy were not empowered to receive the fortresses. But Covre's enterprise being already advanced, and proceeding daily better and better, it was not thought expedient, and it would even have been injurious, to wait for the arrival of uncertain replies from Spain: accordingly the pope lost by degrees all he held in deposit, there remaining to him only Riva and Chiavenna, which were all that received succours from the Spaniards. His holiness complained that these, though applied to on the first defeats, never came to the aid of his forces; and the latter complained that they had not been called on in time; so that the Spaniards were ill satisfied, the French displeased, and he himself, highly indignant, thinking that little respect had been paid to his colours, complained loudly and continually of it to every one: nor did the Spaniards do less, attributing every disaster to him, and blaming him more than any one else. And although he afterwards sent his nephew as legate into France and Spain, with a purpose well known to your serenity, and though he knew that the Italian arms had taken another greater movement, and the danger would be more serious if due exertions were made, with all this he never could get rid of his first notion, that from the former ill-contrived beginnings followed all the disasters that were subsequently experienced. The French and Spaniards, on their part, both attributed the vexations and the difficulties encountered in this negotiation to the pretensions of the pope, who required that the fortresses should be given up to him, without his declaring what he would do with them, whilst, however, he absolutely denied all intention of demolishing them. Hence it became enormously difficult to discover any suitable expedient, so much time was wasted, so many expeditions were made, and finally the matter was carried to Spain, there being little hope that it could be terminated in Italy.]

112. *Relazione dello stato dell' imperio e della Germania fatta da monsignor Caraffa nel tempo che era nuncio alla corte dell'imperatore l'anno 1628.*—

[Report of the state of the empire and of Germany made by monsignor Caraffa, whilst he was nuncio at the imperial court.]

This is the most circumstantial of all the reports I have met with: in a Roman copy it numbered 1080 folio pages. Nor is it rare in Germany; I



bought a copy in Leipsig, and there is another in a private library in Berlin in a handsome folio volume, which a certain Wyman presented to the bishop of Eichstadt in the year 1655 with a pompous dedication.

It consists of four parts. In the first, the German troubles are generally described; in the second, the position, the possessions, and the relations of Ferdinand II.; in the third, the German principalities according to the circles; in the fourth, the alliances that subsisted in Germany, particularly in latter times.

The author declares he would set nothing down which he had not himself seen or learned upon credible authority. "Protestandomi che tutto quello che scriverò, parte n'ho praticato e visto io stesso per lo spatio di 8 anni che sono stato in Germania, parte n'ho inteso di persone degne di fede, parte n'ho cavato della lettura de' libri comuni e delle lettere e cancellarie tanto d'amici quanto d'inimici, che sono state interceette in diversi tempi, de' quali alcune sono date alle stampe, altre no." [Protesting that all I shall write will be partly matter in which I was an actor and a spectator during eight years I passed in Germany, partly what I have heard from persons worthy of credit, partly derived from reading common books and letters and official papers, both of friends and of enemies, which have been intercepted at various times, some of which have been given to the press, others not].

We see that from the first he contemplates a systematic compilation.

Caraffa's printed commentaries follow the order of time: this work is composed more in the shape of a report. It is only in the first part that events are arranged chronologically.

I will not, however, conceal that I have frequently entertained doubts of its authenticity.

It is put together in a very slovenly way. First we are given the Bohemian report over again with some slight omissions; then we meet with a very remarkable piece on the royal election of Hungary in 1685, but inserted out of its proper place; lastly, we come to what is of still greater importance, a report of the year 1629 on Germany, the emperor, and the princes, respecting which there is not a trace of evidence to show that it was by Caraffa himself, and which is here enlarged indeed, but otherwise literally copied. Many other portions too are manifestly borrowed. King James I. of England is spoken of as the "presente re d' Inghilterra," which could not, however, be said in 1628.

One would think that some compiler had put these documents together without a proper conception of their import.

But on further investigation this does not appear probable.

To the old *ragguaglio* by Caraffa there are here added some exceedingly important and searching observations pertaining to the subsequent period, which a compiler could never have dreamed of.

Facts are stated that could never have occurred to any one who was not intimately conversant with his subject. For instance, the author mentions the negotiations of Urban VIII. in England, through the capuchin Rota, which were kept so very secret.

The nuncio frequently speaks too in the first person.

I conclude that this work is really by Caraffa, but that it was not fully completed by him, whether it was that the author wanted time, or inclination, or even power to do so; for his Bohemian report too, to say the least of it, is somewhat diffuse and unfashioned. He may perchance on his return to Aversa have filled up some leisure hours with the putting together of his materials.

At any rate the work, even in its present shape, is deserving of all attention.

The reports it embodies with more or less modification are of high value. The historical remarks, too, differ considerably from those in the printed commentaries.

I will extract a few notices that appear to me especially deserving of consideration.

I.—Decay of the German principalities,—for of course German and Austrian matters are much more largely discussed here than Roman or ecclesiastical.

"Per il passato era tanta l'abbondanza che li principi di Germania a pena potevano saper la quantità de' regali, datii, argenti et altre dovittie venute da ogni parte, et hora a pena ritrovano il principio per haverle, e pare che vivano solo alla giornata, e quello che da una giornata, l'altra lo consuma. Non vi è raccolta grande di danaro, se non di cose refutate da' creditori e che sono più di titolo che di realtà. Di tal negligenza e si poca economia e di sì fatto errore varie s'assegnano le cause: chi dice cio venire per la liberalità de' principi, chi per le condizioni de' tempi iniqui, chi per le frequenti guerre, chi per le sedizioni de' cittadini, altri finalmente assegnano la causa a' ministri, prefetti e vicarii: veramente si vede tali officii haver voluto abbracciare più di quello che potevano stringere et essere arrivate troppo oltre le comodità prese da governatori: con questo il poco consiglio, l'interesse proprio anteposto al commune, cose che poterono estinguere il gran Romano imperio, perche non ponno estinguere il Germano? Nasce anco la rovina di Germania dall' otio de' principi e dal loro troppo deliziare, o dalla poca forza d'ingegno, o da una precipitosa vecchiezza, o pure per esser tanto nemici del governo che più si contentano di dare in mano d'un'altro il maneggio delle cose pubbliche, benché riconoschino spesso la poca idoneità di colui, e quasi a foggia di alcuni antichi Eritrei farli secondi principi, da loro solo differenti per nome, ma pari nel total maneggio, come fu Joab appresso David et altri appresso altri principi. I quali maneggiatori, come presi dalla plebe, abusavano et abusano la loro data potestà, e più con la passione che con la moderazione della virtù governandosi e dati in preda a parassiti et adulatori costituivano e costituiscono altri sottoministri indegni, che con prezzo e ragione di parentela et ambizione corrompevano e corrompono la giustizia, et a tale esempio dietro a se tirando altri principi circonvicini facevano commune giustizia cio ch'era proprio interesse."

[In times past there was such abundance, that the princes of Germany could hardly tell the quantity of royalties, dues, silver, and other wealth that accrued to them from all sides; and now they hardly know how to set about procuring these, and it seems that they live only from day to day, the receipts of each day being consumed by the next. There is no great receipt of money, only of things renounced by creditors, and

which are of nominal rather than real value. For such negligence, such want of economy, and errors so committed, various are the causes assigned: some impute it all to the liberality of the princes, some to the bad times, some to the frequent wars, some to the seditions of the townfolk, others, lastly, lay the blame to the ministers, the prefects, and their deputies. In good truth there have been known official personages who have sought to grasp more than they could hold, and the advantages taken by governors have been carried inordinate lengths: add to this the lack of discretion, and the preference of private interests to those of the community, things that sufficed to extinguish the great Roman empire, why, then, should they not the German? The ruin of Germany has birth also from the indolence of the princes, and from their excessive luxury, or from the feebleness of their talents, or from a premature senility, or because they are so averse to governing, that they prefer committing the management of public affairs to the hands of others, though frequently they know their incapacity; and after the fashion as it were of some ancient Eritrei to make these persons second sovereigns, different from those of old only in name, but like them in their entire management of the state, like Joab under David, and others under other princes. These managers, as taken from the plebeians, abused and do abuse the power granted them, and, ruled more by passion than by the moderation of virtue, and a prey to parasites and flatterers, they appointed and do appoint other unworthy subordinate ministers, who for lucre and for kinship, and for ambition, corrupted and do corrupt justice, and inducing neighbouring princes to follow their example, made common justice of that which was private interest.]

## II. Election of a king of Hungary.

“Sopraggiungendo alla dieta li voti del regno di Schiavonia ed i Croatia, che erano quasi tutti cattolici, e superando con questa giunta la parte de' cattolici et aderenti di Sua Maestà di non poco la parte degli heretici e non confidenti, la voce sparsa della volontà di S. M<sup>ta</sup> dell' elezione veniva giornalmente meglio intesa. Tuttavia li deputati dell' imperatore, per meglio assicurarsi delli voti della dieta, volsero prima di proporre l'elezione dell' arciduca farne esperienza con l'elezione de palatino, che si doveva fare per la morte del Thurzo, desiderando S. M<sup>ta</sup> che si facesse un cattolico e particolarmente il sopradetto conte Esterhasi, ancorche secondo le leggi e costituzioni di quel regno avesse proposto alli stati quattro soggetti, due cattolici e due heretici: et il negotio riuscì felicissimamente, poichè detto conte fu eletto con 150 voti, non havendo havuto il contrario più che 60. Fatta questa prova e con essa rincorati maggiormente li confidenti et amici dell' imperatore, parve nondimeno alli ministri di S. M<sup>ta</sup> che oltre alli sopradetti voti 150 saria stato bene a superare qualche buona parte delli 60 contrarij con presenti e con doni acciò riuscisse l'elezione con maggior soddisfazione del regno, e collo spendere, per quanto fu detto, da 20 m. fiorini si hebbe l'intento della maggior parte di loro, come si esperimentò nell' altri negotii della dieta. Li Betleniani e suoi aderenti, ancorche non fosse all' hora pubblicata la volontà dell' imperatore, sebbene si teneva per sicuro che volesse fare eleggere re l'arciduca, non mancavano di contrariare al possibile.

“Soggiungerò un' esempio dell' ardire di una donna in questo proposito, dal quale, si come è straordinario, si conosceranno le forze di detti contrarii. La madre del barone Bathiani, che è de' più principali signori di qualità e di stato e di aderenza d'Ungheria, hebbe ardire di mettere in considerazione all' imperatrice che non doveva permettere che si facesse questa elezione, perchè si veniva a pregiudicare a S. M<sup>ta</sup> stessa poichè se fosse venuta qualche disgrazia alla vita dell' imperatore, lei per l'interregno, come coronata regina d'Ungheria, finche fosse stato eletto un nuovo re, haveria governato quel regno. Ma l'imperatrice, con somma prudenza dissimulando, le rispose che la ringraziava dell' affetto, ma che lei dopo la morte dell' imperatore, se fosse sopravvissuta, non voleva pensare ad altro che all' utile delli figli di Sua M<sup>ta</sup> suo marito: al quale subito diede parte della sopradetta proposta.

“Ma ancorche il negotio dell' elezione si stimasse già sicuro, l'impedì tuttavia molti giorni il contrasto grande nato tra ministri più supremi di Sua M<sup>ta</sup>, includendosi ancora monsignor arcivescovo di Strigonia et il nuovo palatino con monsignor cancelliere et altri che vi havevano interessi, come era l'ambasciatore di Spagna et io come indegno ministro apostolico. Il contrasto fu, se seguita detta elezione si doveva far subito la coronazione. Alcuni dicevano di sì: perchè con questa veniva l'arciduca ad assicurarsi totalmente nel regno, il che non saria stato se fosse stato solamente eletto, per l'accennata di sopra elezione del Gabor, essendo gli Ungari huomini volubilissimi e per lo più infedeli: 2<sup>o</sup> dicevano che la coronazione, se si fosse fatta, haveria giovata assai nella prima dieta imperiale, se l'imperatore avesse voluto far eleggere Sua Altezza in re de' Romani: 3<sup>o</sup> per il matrimonio dell' infanta di Spagna, essendosi colà dichiarato di volere l'arciduca prima eletto e coronato re di Ungheria. Altri per il contrario, tra quali cor io et il padre confessore dell' imperatore, dicevano che questa coronazione non si doveva fare all' hora, perchè li stati di quel regno non haveriano mai permesso che seguisse detta coronazione se Sua Altezza non avesse promesso loro e giurato, tanto nelli punti politici come di religione, tutto quello che promise il padre stando nelli maggiori pericoli: onde non vi essendo all' hora detti pericoli e potendo con il tempo migliorarsi assai le cose di S. A., o per la morte del Gabor o per li felici successi dell' imperio o per altro, non era bene intricare la coscienza di questo principe giovane con serrarli la porta a' progressi della religione et impedirgli insieme l'acquisto di maggiore autorità politica e dominio nel regno: 2<sup>o</sup> dicevano, e questo per lo più li camerali, che nella coronazione vi saria andata una buona spesa, come ancora nell' accrescimento della corte di Sua Altezza, onde stando all' hora imminente la spesa grossa del viaggio d'Ulma, si saria potuto differire in altro tempo, non potendo probabilmente apportare alcun detrimento detta dilazione, perchè se il Gabor avesse voluto pigliare pretesti, venendo qualche accidente di morte all' imperatore, tanto l'haveria pigliato ancorche l'arciduca fosse stato coronato, come fece contro l'imperatore ancorche fusse eletto o coronato: che per elezione in re de' Romani e per il matrimonio dell' infanta di Spagna bastava che l'arciduca fusse vero re d'Ungheria, e come tale si potesse intitolare per la sola elezione. Standosi dunque in questo con-

trasto, ancorché l'ambasciatore di Spagna facesse nuove istanze per la coronazione, dicendo che in Spagna non haveriano fatto il matrimonio dell'infanta con l'arciduca, stimandosi altrimenti la successione nel regno non sicura, Sua M<sup>ta</sup> con la solita sua pietà si dichiarò che non voleva che si facesse, stimando secondo il consiglio del suo padre confessore che fosse contro coscienza se l'arciduca avesse giurato, come non poteva far di meno, quello che era stata forzata giurare Sua M<sup>ta</sup> nelli pericoli grandi, quali all' hora non vi erano."

[The votes of the kingdom of Slavonia and of Croatia coming into the diet, almost all of them catholic, which addition gave the party of the catholics and of the adherents of his majesty no small majority over the heretics and the disaffected, the rumours spread of his majesty's wishes respecting the election were every day better received. The emperor's envoys, however, to make themselves the more sure of the votes of the diet, bethought them, before proposing the election of the archduke, to make an experiment with the election of the palatine, which was rendered necessary by the death of Thurzo, it being his majesty's wish that a catholic should be elected, and particularly the above-named Esterhazy; although, according to the laws and constitutions of that kingdom, he had proposed to the estates four candidates, two catholics and two heretics. The affair turned out most auspiciously; for the said count was elected by 150 votes, his opponent not having had more than 60. After this trial had been made, whereby the friends and adherents of the emperor were still more encouraged, his majesty's ministers thought, however, that it would have been well to have gained, in addition to the before-named 150 votes, a good part of the other 60 by presents, so that the election might have turned out to the greater satisfaction of the kingdom; and by expending 20,000 florins, as it was said, the greater part of them could have been brought round, as was experienced in the other affairs of the diet. The Bethlem party, it being known for certain, though not yet publicly announced, that the emperor desired to have the archduke elected, did not fail to counteract this as much as possible.

[I will mention an instance of a lady's eagerness in this matter, from the extraordinary character of which an idea may be formed of the violence of the opposition. The mother of baron Bathiany, who is one of the principal lords in point of quality, estate, and number of retainers, was very earnest in representing to the empress that she ought not to permit the election to take place, because it was to the prejudice of her majesty, since if any thing unhappily befel the life of the emperor, she as crowned queen of Hungary would have the government of that kingdom during the interregnum until a new king should be elected. But the empress, dissembling with consummate prudence, replied, that she thanked her for her kindness, but that after the emperor's death, should she survive him, she would think of nothing but what would be for the advantage of the sons of his majesty her husband, and she immediately acquainted the latter with the suggestion that had been offered her.

[But though the affair of the election was now thought secure, it was nevertheless impeded for many days by the serious disagreement between

his majesty's supreme ministers, including also the archbishop of Strigonia, and the new palatine, with the chancellor and others who were interested therein, such as the Spanish ambassador and myself as the unworthy apostolic minister. The dispute was as to whether, upon the election taking place, the coronation should immediately follow. Some were for it; because in this way the archduke would be completely secured in the kingdom, which would not be the case were he merely elected, from the pretence of the previous election of Gabor, the Hungarians being extremely fickle men, and for the most part unfaithful: 2ndly, they said that the coronation, should it take place, would be of considerable assistance in the first imperial diet, should the emperor desire to have his highness elected king of the Romans: 3rdly, they advised it with a view to the marriage with the infanta of Spain, it being required by the Spanish court that the archduke should first be elected and crowned king of Hungary. Others on the contrary, among whom were myself and the emperor's father confessor, said, that the coronation ought not to take place for the present, because the estates of the kingdom would never permit it, unless his highness promised them on oath, both as to political and religious points, all that his father had promised when in a more dangerous and critical position: therefore as those dangers no longer subsisted, and as the affairs of his highness might assume a better aspect in the course of time, whether from the death of Gabor or from the prosperity of the empire, or otherwise, it was not advisable to embarrass the conscience of that young prince, and to shut out, as far as he was concerned, the further progress of religion, and to hinder him at the same time from acquiring a more enlarged political authority and dominion in the kingdom: 2ndly, they said, more particularly members of the treasury, that there would be a considerable expense incurred by the coronation, and also in the augmentation of his highness's court; therefore as the heavy expense of the journey to Ulm was to be speedily defrayed, it would be well to put off the matter to another time, nor would this delay be likely to prove injurious, for if Gabor were disposed to set up any claim upon the emperor's death, he would do so just as much even though the archduke had been crowned, as he had done against the emperor, notwithstanding he was elected and crowned; they said, too, that for the election as king of the Romans, and for the marriage with the infanta of Spain, it was enough that the archduke should be really king of Hungary, and that he could entitle himself such by virtue of his election alone. The parties being thus at variance, although the Spanish ambassador insisted afresh upon the coronation, saying, that in Spain they would not consent to the marriage of the infanta with the archduke without that ceremony, since they thought that without it the succession to the kingdom was not secure, his majesty, with his accustomed piety, declared that he would not have it take place, thinking, in accordance with the advice of his father confessor, that it would be against conscience if the archduke were forced, as he would assuredly be, to swear what his majesty himself had been forced to make oath to in great dangers, which now no longer existed.]

113. *Relatio status ecclesie et totius diocesis Augstane, 1629.* [Report of the state of the church and entire diocese of Augsburg.]

Of no special importance. It relates chiefly to the affairs of the city of Augsburg.

The labours and final banishment from Augsburg of the protestant "pseudo-doctors" constitute the author's principal topic.

He hopes that this measure having obtained the emperor's sanction chiefly through the instrumentality of Hieronymus Imhof and Bernhard Rehlingen, the whole city would shortly become catholic again.

114. *Legatio apostolica P. Aloys. Caraffe episcopi Tricaricensis sedente Urbano VIII Pont. M. ad tractatum Rheni et ad pror. inferioris Germanie obita ab anno 1624 usque ad annum 1634. Ad Clem. Franc. Barberinum.* [Legation of P. Aloys Caraffa to the Rhine and Lower Germany between the years 1624 and 1634.]

A very full report in 204 leaves; somewhat prolix, indeed, but containing some good things.

The journey is first described, and a great deal of room is occupied with what is insignificant. The nuncio, among other places, goes to Fulda. He makes a merit of it that he reduced to the number of eight the sixteen quarterings that every one was required to show who aspired to the rank of abbot of Fulda.

He is particularly copious respecting the dispute between Liege and the bishop, in which he himself took an active part; he transferred the seat of the nunciature from Cologne to Liege.

The most remarkable part of the report is undoubtedly the description of the catholic universities of that day within the range of his nunciature.

We see from it how completely the higher walk of education was at that time under the control of the Jesuits. They were the masters in Trier and Mainz; Paderborn, Münster, and Osnabrück, where universities had but recently been founded, were entirely in their hands. But they taught only the humaniora, philosophy and theology; jurisprudence was altogether neglected. In Cologne, which was always the first of these universities, medicine was lectured upon only by two teachers, who had but few hearers. The chief evil in Cologne had been that the teachers were too well provided for with rich prebends. "Eorum opibus ad vitam elementem et suavem instructi, raro aut nunquam ipsi sacram doctrinam tradebant, sed aliorum vicaria opera passim utebantur. Hinc sine pondere et methodo instructabantur academici, et anni quindeni facile circumagi solebant priusquam universam illi theologiam audirent. Ea res vero antehac non parum incommoda fuerat archidiecesi Coloniensi et præsertim ditionibus Julise, Clivise, ac Montium, quod pro adeunda in iis animarum procreatione reparandisque religionis catholicæ ruinis parochi et sacerdotes idonei hoc pacto nisi post longissimum diem non instituebantur." [The wealth of these enabling them to pass their lives in ease and comfort, they seldom or never personally expounded the doctrines of religion, but on all occasions employed deputies. Hence there was neither solidity nor method in the instruction given to the students, and fifteen

years were commonly passed before they had gone through the whole course of theology. Now this had formerly been very prejudicial to the archdiocese of Cologne, particularly to the districts of Juliers, Cleves, and Mons, because it was not till after an inordinate delay, that fit parish clergy and priests were appointed in them for the cure of souls, and to rebuild the ruins of the catholic religion.] The Jesuits abolished this abuse; the college of the three crowns, which was transferred to them, enjoyed a high reputation, and in 1634 had upwards of 1200 students. But the spirit of luxury was not so easily eradicated. The feasts of the masters increased luxury and the costs of promotion. "Tota quadragesima sunt quotidie academicorum symposia." [All through Lent there are daily drinking parties among the members of the university.] Our author's account of the Catholicism and the good living of the Cologne is by no means amiss. "Populus Coloniensis religionis avitæ retinentissimus est, quam utique semel susceptam nunquam deseruit. Tolerantur quidem in civitate familiæ aliquæ sectariorum, sed vetitum eis est exercitium omne sectarum suarum, et tere gravi molestantur si qui clam habere privatos conventus et audire Lutheri aut Calvini buccinatores deprehendantur. In senatum ipsum nulli cooptantur qui catholici non fuerint; et quotquot in eo conscripti ad curiam veniunt, sententiam dicere aut ferre suffragium non possunt nisi prius eodem die intervenerint rei sacræ in proximo palatii senatorii sacello. Noctu ipsi cives excubias habent in potioribus plateis civitatis, nec vis aut injuria metueri potest, quia strepitu quovis excitati adsunt et opitulantur, grassatores vero ac sicarios in vineula conjiciunt. Sed et plateæ omnes catechis ferreis noctu vinciantur, ne pateant liberis excursionibus, ideoque populus maxime in tranquillo agit. Inter alia plebis commoda illud imprimis commemorari debet, licere cuicunque incute hieme boves et sues eucire eosque fumo affecere ac in escam anni consequentis, qua vescuntur avide, domi servare. Spatium vero ejusdem anni eis concedi solet ad pretium representandum, dum interim aliqui a senatu constituti mercatoribus solvunt: nec unquam opifices ulli, quamvis inopes, patiuntur suam fidem in ea re desiderari, quia deinceps haud foret integrum eis rursus ejusmodi annonam rei cibaria illo tam insigni subsidio aeris publici coemere. Sunt et triclina tribuum communia, in eisque possunt omnes iis diebus quibus feriantur in hebdomade, constituto pretio admodum facili, convivari."

[The people of Cologne are most tenacious of the religion of their fathers, from which as once adopted they have never swerved. A few families of sectarians, indeed, are tolerated in the city; but all demonstrations of their tenets are forbidden them, and they are heavily fined if any of them are detected holding private meetings, and listening to the trumpeters of Luther or Calvin. None are elected to the senate itself who are not catholics; and all the members of that body that enter the court are debarred from uttering their opinions or delivering their votes, unless they have previously attended divine worship the same day in the adjoining chapel of the senatorial palace. The citizens themselves keep watch and ward in the principal streets of the city, and none need be apprehensive of wrong or violence, since upon any alarm they are ready with their aid, and take all

assailants and cutthroats into custody. Moreover the streets are all closed by night with iron chains preventing free passage, a measure peculiarly conducive to the quiet and security of the inhabitants. Among other advantages enjoyed by the populace, it is particularly worthy of mention that each man has the privilege of purchasing oxen and swine in the beginning of winter, smoke-drying them and storing them up for the next year's consumption, when they are highly relished. They are allowed a year to pay, the price being meanwhile advanced to the vendors by certain persons appointed by the senate; nor does it ever occur that artisans, however poor, fail to keep their engagements in this matter, for the consequence would be that they could never again avail themselves of so signal an assistance offered them by the public funds in the purchase of their provisions. There are also district ordinaries, where all may be entertained at a very moderate fixed price on those days of the week on which they are held.]

But not only towns and universities, but princes and events too are portrayed. Ferdinand of Cologne "gravitate morum, professione pietatis et ingenii maturitate nulli secundus" [inferior to none in exemplary morals, manifest piety, and mature intellect]. Frederick of Würzburg: "linguarum etiam exterarum peritia, morum suavi quadam gravitate, prudentissima dexteritate omnibus carus" [skilled in foreign languages, and dear to all for a certain gentle worth and moral dignity, and a most happy practical wisdom]. Casimir of Mainz: "eloquens vir in Germanico idiomate, legationibus functus" [an eloquent German speaker, he had filled the office of legate].

Of the events too of the period, L. Caraffa mentions many remarkable particulars. I know not what were the grounds for believing that Wallenstein might have taken Stralsund, "si, quod multi existimant, pecuniam quam urbem capere non maluisset." [If, as many supposed, he had not been more desirous of taking money than the city.] He considers it a great misfortune, that upon the first movement of Saxony, Tilly could not have thrown his troops into that country. His description of the state of Cologne after the battle of Leipsig, and of the views which the French manifested at that moment is very remarkable.

"Ex accepta elade ad Lipsiam fracte vires fuerant et fracti catholicorum animi, et tunc repente imperitia vel metus in propugnandis arcibus aditum hosti victori magnum aperuerunt, ut viscera imperii mox infestis armis invaderet, ex quo Fulda, Herbipolis, Bambergæ, Moguntia, Wormatia, Spira, aliaque urbes atque oppida fuerunt exiguo tempore vel expugnata vel dedita. Colonia superfluit principum exulum perfugium, et hi thesauros qua sacros qua laicos in eam civitatem importaverant, si quibus licuerat tamen illos avehere antequam ingrueret ea belli vehemens et subita tempestas. Ibidem anxie curæ principum et dubia consilia erant, an, sicut proposuerat orator Gallus, expediret deinceps neutri parti, seu Cæsaris seu Gustavi regis, tam arma principum eorundem quam arma ipsiusmet civitatis Coloniensis favere. Id Coloniæ suadebat orator christianissimi regis: sed necessarium fore affirmabat ut in eam urbem pariter atque in alias ditiones principum electorum cohortes presidiariorum ex regis sui legionibus introducebantur: tunc enim reveri-

tus Coloniæ Gustavus rex alio arma convertisset, aut si venire hostis nihilominus deliberasset, provocasset merito christianissimum regem, ac fudere extincto inimicitiam et iram ejus experiri cœpisset. Gravis nimirum videbatur ea conditio admittendi cohortes presidarias regis externi in civitates ac ditiones imperii: sed graviores multo erant conditiones aliae, quibus ut neutri parti faverent deinceps proponebatur; quia in bello tam ancipiti Cæsarem non juvare sed quasi deserere videbatur maxime alienum a professione pervetero civitatum ac principum ipsiusmet imperii. Hoc superesse tamen consilii et eum portum securitatis unice adendum esse judicabat pariter apostolicus nuntius Parisiensis, ad quem scripseram de ingenti elado religioni catholice templisque et aris illata per Gustavum regem."

[The blow received at Leipsig had broken alike the strength and the spirits of the catholics, and forthwith want of skill or timidity in the defence of their positions, opened a wide door to the victorious foe, enabling him speedily to infest the very bowels of the empire, whereof Fulda, Würzburg, Bamberg, Mainz, Worms, Spire, and other cities and towns, were in brief time either stormed or surrendered. Cologne remained the place of refuge of the outcast princes, and thither had been carried whatever treasure, clerical or lay, there had by any chance been opportunity of carrying off before the outburst of that fierce and sudden storm of war. Here it was anxiously and dubiously debated among the princes, whether it was expedient, as the French envoy had proposed, that thenceforth neither the said princes nor the city itself should lend their arms in favour of either party, whether the emperor or king Gustavus. Such was the advice of his most Christian majesty's envoy; but he averred that it would be necessary to introduce into that city, and also into other strongholds of the electoral princes, garrisons furnished from his own king's troops: for so king Gustavus being in awe of Cologne would turn his arms elsewhere, or if he yet determined to assault it, he would incur the just indignation of the most Christian king, and upon the termination of the alliance begin to experience his disfavour and resentment. Onerous indeed appeared that proposition of receiving garrisons of a foreign king's troops into the cities and strongholds of the empire; but much more onerous appeared the other proposition, namely, that for the future they should favour neither party; because in so critical a war not to assist the emperor, but to desert him as it were, seemed altogether at variance with the immemorial principles of the cities and princes of the empire itself. The apostolic nuncio at Paris however, to whom I had written touching the direful blows inflicted on the catholic religion, its temples, and its altars by king Gustavus, was likewise of opinion that this was the only remaining course, and the only door of safety left yet open.]

There follows a detailed account of the fate of Wallenstein, which I shall give elsewhere.

115. *Relazione della corte di Roma del Sign. R. Aluise Contarini dell' anno 1632 al 1635.* (Arch. Ven.) [Report on the court of Rome by Aluise Contarini from 1632 to 1635.]

A very circumstantial report in thirty-five chap-

ters comprising 140 pages: it is the more important, as Aluise Contarini had come direct from France to Rome, and was therefore the more capable of estimating the very peculiar political position which Urban VII. had assumed at that period.

He describes in the first place the spiritual and the temporal government of the pope.

He finds it quite monarchical. Of all the old congregations only one, that of the inquisition, assembled regularly: the cardinals enjoyed no other prerogatives than that carriages drew up on meeting them, that they wore the purple and voted in the election of popes: the pope had so little liking for them, that in important matters he had recourse to inferior prelates, whose hopes more immediately depended on himself, rather than to the cardinals, who were more independent.

But the tighter the rein is drawn, the more does natural authority decline. "L'antica veneratione sta oggidì molto diminuita." [The ancient reverence is now-a-days much decreased.]

The inhabitants of Urbino were particularly dissatisfied. "Quei sudditi si aggravano molto della mutazione, chiamando il governo di preti tirannico, i quali altro interesse che d'arricchirsi e d'avanzarsi non vi tengono." [They complain much of the change, calling the government of the priests tyrannical, because they have no other objects but to enrich and aggrandize themselves.] The author constantly laments that Urbino had fallen into the pope's hands, and thinks it a great loss to Spain and Venice.

In a second part he enters into personal descriptions:

"Nacque il papa Urbano VIII del 1567 (others say 68) d'Aprile, onde camina per li 69 di sua età, conservato dal vigore della complessione non soggetta a qualsivoglia malattia, e dalla vivacità dell'ingegno. La statura mediocre, il color bruno, il pelo bianco, l'occhio vivo, il parlar pronto, la temperatura sanguigna e biliosa. Vive con gran regola. Regola in gran parte le sue azioni coi moti del cielo, dei quali è molto intelligente, aneorchè con censure grandissime a tutti gli altri n'abbia proibito lo studio. Li suoi moti sono subiti e vehementi, tali che alcuna volta confinano con la pazzia, non potendo con la pazienza frenarli, se ben egli dice che questa commozione della bile di quando in quando vaglia molto eccitando il calore alla preservazione di sua salute. Cavalea, villeggia, cammina, ama l'esercito. Non s'affligge per le cose moleste: e tutte queste parti concorrono a predirlì qualche anno di vita ancora, non ostante che nel tempo del mio soggiorno assai decaduto sia.

"E arrivato al papato con un servizio continuo di 30 e più anni alla corte. Fu prima prelato di segnatura e poi governatore di Fano. Poco appresso, per opera di Francesco Barberini suo zio paterno, prelato di poco grido ma di gran ricchezze accumulate con parsimonia Fiorentina, comprò uffici in corte e finalmente il chiericato di camera. Clemente VIII, lo impiegò in diverse cariche, ma particolarmente sopra quella del novo taglio del Po, daceche sono arrivati in gran parte le differenze presenti dei confini con la repubblica, per la cognizione che professò di quell' affare e per il disgusto che allora non si eseguisse a modo suo. Fu poi dall' istesso Clemente mandato nunzio in Francia, prima straordinario per tenere a battesimo il re presente, e poi ordinario di Enrico IV suo padre,

dove si mostrò zelantissimo dell' immunità ecclesiastica. Paolo V successore di Clemente lo confermò nella medesima legazione di Francia: poi lo fece cardinale, legato di Bologna, e ritornato a Roma prefetto della signatura di giustizia, carico d'onore et impiego ben grande. Finalmente del 1623 fu in luogo di Gregorio XV con pratiche molto artificiose assento al pontificato nell' età sua di 56 anni: et oggi corre il XIII anno, con disgusto di tutta la corte, alla quale non meno che ai principi torna conto i pontificati brevi, perchè tanto più tengono conto di tutti, abbondano nelle grazie, non temporalizzano come se fossero hereditarij del papato, e finalmente la corte in generale trova impiego e fortuna nella frequenza delle mutazioni.

"In ogni stato hebbe il papa di se stesso grande opinione con affetti di dominio sopra gli altri e disprezzo al consiglio di tutti. Par ch'egli esercita oggidì tanto più liberamente quanto che si ritrova in posto sopra a tutti eminente. Ha ingegno grande, ma non giudicio: ingegno, perchè nelle cose che da lui solo dipendono e che riguardano la sua persona e casa, si è sempre condotto ove ha desiderato, senza omettere gl'inganni o gli artifici di lui molto conaturali, come si vide particolarmente nelle pratiche del suo papato, nelle quali seppe far convenire nella sua persona le due fattione contrarie di Borghese e Ludovisio, solo col far credere all' una d'esser inimico dell' altra: negli affari poi generali, nei quali si richiede il giudicio di saper ben congiungere gl'interessi della sede apostolica con quelli degli altri principi, si è osservato il papa esserne per sempre stato manchevole. Tale lo dichiarano il negotio di Valtellina: la guerra di Mantova, che non sarebbe seguita se il papa si fosse dichiarato contro il primo innovatore: la perdita di Mantova, attribuita ai viveri che riceverono gli Alemanni dallo stato ecclesiastico, senza quali conveniva loro o disassediare o morirsi: la prefettura di Roma data al nipote, privando la sede apostolica dell' assistenza di tanti ministri di principi che sono il più bel fregio di lei, et aggravando lo stesso nipote d'invidia, di riguardi e d'un posto assolutamente insostenibile dopo la morte del pontefice: il mal termine usatosi contro l'ambasciatore di V. Serenità mio predecessore, lasciandolo partire senza soddisfazione: l'ultima comprovazione di Francia nel cardinale Antonio nipote prima persuasa et acconsentita, poi ritrattata e proibita, con nota appresso il mondo di grande artificio, per non dire inganno, e con divisione della propria casa. Tralascio il gran detrimento che sotto il presente pontefice ha fatto la religione cattolica in Fiandra et Alemagna; i pericoli all' Italia per la negata dispensa al duca di Mantova, e molto più per aversi portato il papa in modo che ha disgustato tutti i principi grandi e piccioli, che nessuno gli è amico: onde si è reso incapace di poter esercitar con essi loro quelle parti di autorità o di paterno consiglio che potrebbe pacificarli et unirli insieme alla difesa della religione: parti che sono state così esattamente maneggiate e conosciute proprie de' pontefici che per sostenere il nome di padre comune, dal quale proviene loro ogni veneratione, e per mantenere l'unione tra i principi cristiani, che cagiona in essi molta autorità, si sono esposti ad azzardi, a viaggi, a pericoli, non militando nel nome di padre quei puntigli che nell'intrmissione degli altri principi possono facilmente incontrarsi.

"Si è sempre professato il papa presente ne-



trale, attribuendo a sua gloria l'aver arricchita et ingrandita la sua casa senza comprar stati in regno di Napoli né sottomettersi a favori dei principi grandi. Nell' interno però suo egli è affezionato a Francesi, le loro prontezze e risoluzioni essendo più conformi al genio di S. S<sup>ta</sup>, in ordine di che ha fatto le maggiori dimostrazioni quando seguì l'acquisto della Roscella. Persuase la pace con Inglesi, affinché la Francia potesse accorrer al soccorso di Casale allora assediata dai Spagnoli: consigliò ai medesimi l'acquisto o la conservazione di Pinarolo per necessario equilibrio alle cose d'Italia: trovò sempre pretesti di differir o diminuir i soccorsi in Alemagna, con opinione, la qual vive tuttavia, che a S. S<sup>ta</sup> sia dispiaciuta la morte del re di Svezia e che più goda o per dir meglio manco tema i progressi de' protestanti che degli Austriaci. Anzi è opinione comune che quando anche fosse portato il papa dal card<sup>l</sup> Barberino tutto Spagnolo a qualche unione con essi, tornerebbe facilmente a maggior rottura di prima. E la causa è questa: perchè governandosi il papa con artificio o credendo che Spagnoli facciano il medesimo, saranno sempre tra di loro anzi gelosie d'inganni che confidenza di ben vera unione."

[Pope Urban VIII. was born in April 1567, (others say 68) whence he is going on for 69; he has preserved the vigour of his constitution unsubject to any malady, and the vivacity of his intellect. He is of middle height, his complexion brown, his hair white, his eye quick, his speech rapid, his temperament sanguine and bilious. He lives strictly by rule. He regulates his actions in a great measure by the movements of the heavens, with which he is very well acquainted, though he has forbidden the study of them by others under the severest censures. His gestures are sudden and vehement, sometimes even to the verge of absurdity, for he cannot have patience and restrain them, but even says that this commotion of the bile from time to time is of much use in exciting the natural heat for the preservation of his health. He rides, makes excursions into the country, walks, and is fond of exercise. He does not distress himself about unpleasant matters; and all these circumstances combine to promise him some years more of life, notwithstanding that he broke very much during my sojourn in Rome.

[He arrived at the papacy after a continual career of court service of thirty years and more. He was first a prelate of signatura, and afterwards governor of Fano. Shortly afterwards, through the aid of Francesco Barberini his maternal uncle, a prelate who made no great noise in the world, but of great wealth, accumulated with Florentine parsimony, he purchased offices at court, and finally a clerkship of the camera. Clement VIII. employed him in various posts, particularly about the new cut of the Po, and hence in a great measure have arisen the present disputes about the boundaries between the Roman states and the republic, in consequence of the knowledge he professes to have of the matter, and his displeasure, because his own conclusions were not adopted at that time. He was afterwards sent by Clement as nuncio to France, first as nuncio extraordinary to baptize the present king, and afterwards as ordinary nuncio to the father of the latter, Henry IV., in which post he displayed the greatest zeal for the ecclesiastical immunities. Paul V., Clement's successor, confirmed

him in the same nunciature to France; next he made him cardinal, legate of Bologna, and on his return to Rome prefect of the signatura of justice, a post of honour and a very important employment; finally in 1623, by means of very crafty practices, he became pope in the place of Gregory XV. in the fifty-sixth year of his age. It is now the thirteenth year since then, to the annoyance of the whole court, which, no less than the sovereigns, finds its account in short pontificates, because in these there is more regard paid to every one, a more abundant bestowal of favours, and the popes do not behave as though they held their see by hereditary succession; and in fine the court finds occupation and fortune in the frequency of change.

[In every situation the pope always had a high opinion of himself, affecting to rule over others, and undervaluing the counsel of all men. He seems to indulge this disposition at present the more freely, as his position is pre-eminent above all. He has great talents, but not judgment: talents, because in those things which depend on him alone, and which pertain to his own person and family, he has always accomplished his ends, without omitting the tricks and artifices most congenial to him; of which a particular instance was given in his canvass for the papacy, in which he contrived to unite in his own favour the two opposite factions of Borghese and Ludovisio, only by making each believe that he was hostile to the other: but in general affairs, in which judgment was required aptly to make the interests of the apostolic see coalesce with those of the other sovereigns, the pope has been always found deficient in that quality. Such he proved in the affair of the Valtelline; in the war of Mantua, which would not have taken place if the pope had declared against the first innovator; in the loss of Mantua, attributed to the supplies the Germans received from the ecclesiastical state, and without which they must have raised the siege or perished; in the bestowal of the prefecture of Rome on his nephew, depriving the apostolic see of the presence of so many ministers of sovereigns who constitute its finest ornament, and loading his nephew himself with envy, with watchful cares, and with a place absolutely untenable after the death of the pope; in the ill-treatment of your serenity's ambassador my predecessor, and allowing him to depart without satisfaction; in the last joint protection of France, first advised and consented to through his nephew cardinal Antonio, and afterwards retracted and prohibited, to the flagrant exposure of his very artful, not to say fraudulent conduct, and to the division of his own house. I pass over the great injury the catholic religion has sustained under the present pope in Flanders and Germany, the dangers to Italy from the refusal of the dispensation to the duke of Mantua, and still more in consequence of the pope having conducted himself in a manner which has disgusted all princes great and small, so that no one is friendly to him, whence he is become incapable of exercising with them those offices of authority and of paternal counsel which might pacify them, and unite them together in the defence of religion; offices which have been so sedulously exercised, and recognised as peculiarly their own by the pontiffs, that to uphold the title of common father, from which they derive all reverence, and to maintain union among Chris-



tian princes, which is a great source of authority to themselves, they have exposed themselves to hazards, journeys, and perils; those punctilios having no force under the name of father, which might present themselves upon the interference of other sovereigns.

[The present pope has always professed neutrality, esteeming it to his glory that he has enriched and aggrandized his house without purchasing estates in the kingdom of Naples, or submitting to receive favours from great princes. Inwardly, however, he has a leaning to the French, whose promptness and determination are more congenial to the character of his holiness, in accordance with which he made the greatest demonstrations on the capture of Rochelle. He advised peace with the English, in order that France might be able to succour Casale, which was then besieged by the Spaniards; he recommended to the same power to take and keep Pinarolo, in order to the necessary equilibrium of the affairs of Italy; he always formed pretexts for postponing and diminishing the succours to Germany, thereby countenancing the opinion, which still prevails, that his holiness was sorry for the death of the king of Sweden, and that he is better pleased with, or rather is less afraid of, the progress of the protestants than that of the Austrians. It is also the common opinion, that even though the pope were induced by cardinal Barberini, who is wholly for Spain, to some union with that power, it would be very likely to end in a more decided rupture than before. The reason is this, that the pope pursuing a system of stratagem, and thinking that the Spaniards do the same, there will always be more of jealous apprehension found between them, than of confidence such as belongs to a sincere union.]

It is not necessary to quote the description given of the nephews by Aluise Contarini. Even Francesco Barberini, though he was the most loved by the pope, and though he devoted himself entirely to public business, was nevertheless wholly dependent on his uncle. "Nessuno nipote di papa fu giamai alle fatiche del negotio assiduo come egli è, non avendo minimo divertimento: ma egli è anche vero che nessuno manco di lui ha operato." [No pope's nephew was ever so assiduous in business as he is, not taking the least recreation; yet it is true that none has ever effected less than he.]

He ceases to portray the cardinals individually. He finds a general tone of hypocrisy pervading the body. "Sarà tal cardle sanissimo che per facilitarsi il papato vorrà esser creduto inferno: camminando zoppica, discorrendo tosse, uscendo si sta tutto in una seggiotta racchiuso. Tal altro che sarà buon politico, si mostrerà lontano da ogni negotio, nei discorsi s'ammuttisce, ne' quesiti si stringe le spalle, nelle risposte generalizza." [Such a cardinal shall be in perfect health, yet to facilitate his attainment of the papacy he will endeavour to be thought infirm: he will limp as he walks, cough in speaking, and when he goes out he will be shut up close in his litter. Another who is an able statesman will feign to have no familiarity with business, in conversation he will be dumb, when questions are asked he will shrug his shoulders, and if he answers it will be in general terms.] The thought strikes us that this is the original, from which the fabulous account of the elevation of Sixtus V. was derived.

The third part relates to the political relations of Rome; it is full of acute and vivid observations; it is, as I have said, for us the most important portion of the document.

Strongly as was Urban's leaning to the French, the ecclesiastical demands of the latter were not always complied with. "Bisogna anche confessare, ch' essi hanno addimandato delle grazie difficili, come la dispositione dell' abbazie di Lorena, la nullità de' matrimonj tanto del duca Carlo di Lorena come di monsieur et altre simili." [It must be confessed too that they have demanded favours not easy to grant, such as the right to dispose of the abbeyes of Lorraine, the annulling of the marriages of duke Charles of Lorraine, and of monsieur, and others like these.] Francesco Barberini was not so much attached to the French party as his uncle. The French no longer hoped for any striking declaration in their favour, but they knew too that the pope would not be against them; it was in itself a great advantage for them that he was reputed a friend to France, and that the opposite party did not trust him.

The Spaniards, on the other hand, were highly discontented. They made it a matter of reproach against cardinal Borgia that he had suffered Urban VIII. to be elected, and it was asserted that the cardinal could only have been gained over by promises of manifold favours. They pretended to see the influence of the pope's ill-will in the negotiations respecting the Valtelline, in the policy of the French, and the position assumed by Bavaria. On the other hand, Barberini on his part asserted that the concessions he had made them, had been met by no return of gratitude. The misunderstanding we see was mutual.

Contarini is most copious on the relations of Rome to Venice; he imputes the differences between them chiefly to this, that whilst other states were feared by Rome as more powerful, or neglected as less so, Venice was regarded and treated as an equal.

Some soreness was felt at Rome, because the English and the Dutch enjoyed some privileges there. But if once the temporal jurisdiction laid hands on a clerical person, a general storm burst out.

The ambassador nevertheless is of opinion that his countrymen must beware of being duped. The nuncio's orders were to maintain the closest intercourse with those Venetian priests above all who were most popular, and who had most penitents to shrieve, "E VV EE tengano per costante, che col mezzo di questi tali vengono i nuncii a risapere il midollo delli arcani." [And your excellency may be assured, that by means of such men the nuncios contrive to suck out the marrow of secrets.] So much the more necessary was it that the republic should not surrender its authority over them.

But besides this, there were continual disputes about the boundaries. Urban VIII. is by no means regarded as a patron of the Venetians. In particular he sought to advance Ancona to the prejudice of Venice.

116. *Discorso della malattia e morte del card. Ippolyto Aldobrandino camerlengo di S<sup>a</sup> Chiesa col fine della grandezza del papa Clemente VIII. 1638.*  
[Discourse on the illness and death of cardinal

Ippolyto Aldobrandino, chamberlain of the holy church, and the extinction of the greatness of pope Clement VIII.]

The rapid downfall of the family of Aldobrandino, so recently founded, produced an extraordinary sensation in Rome.

The little work before us is written under these feelings. "E stato superato della morte quel gran ingegno!" it begins. There survived of the whole house only the daughter of John George Aldobrandino, who would necessarily inherit enormous wealth.

The following passage gives no bad idea of the state of Roman society: "Il marchese Lodovico Lanti, il conte Gio. Francesco da Bagui, Berginieri Gessi e Bernardino Biscia, aspettando tutti quattro a gara il pontificato de' loro zii, ambivano le nozze della principessa Aldobrandina." In the hope of their uncle's promotion to the papacy, these nephews presumptive vied for the hand of the wealthiest heiress.

But not one of them attained either to this match or to the power of a *nipote*.

Ippolyta married a Borghese. Our author is in the utmost amazement. Paul V. had persecuted the Aldobrandini, and had even imprisoned the father of Ippolyta; and now she wedded his grand-nephew.

But subsequently, as is well known, she was actually united to the nephew of a reigning pope, Innocent X., a match which was determined by the circumstances and conveniences of the court of Rome.

117. *Relatione di q. Zuanne Nani K<sup>r</sup> Pro<sup>r</sup> ritornato di ambasciatore straordinario da Roma 1641 10 Anglio.*—(Arch. Ven.) [Report of Zuanne Nani, late extraordinary ambassador to Rome.]

There were numerous and incessant disagreements between Rome and Venice; a new one of the most peculiar kind arose in the year 1635.

A magnificent inscription in pompous terms, set up in the Sala regia of the Vatican, recorded a fact of the Venetians of which their annals boasted, and on which they always prided themselves much; this was a victory over Frederick Barbarossa, by which they affirmed that they had saved pope Alexander III. from destruction.

In Rome, however, the terms used in this inscription were gradually conceived to be inadmissible. The words "Pontifici Venetæ reipublice beneficio sua dignitas restituta," were pronounced by the increasing rigour of Roman orthodoxy, to be something of an insult. The spirit of captious contention for rank which ruled the world fastened on this obsolete and almost forgotten incident. But besides this, doubts began to be started as to the truth of the story, as it was set forth in the Venetian books of history. Writings appeared on both sides of the question.

It is one that has been constantly revived even up to this day.

I cannot imagine that there can be any doubt about the matter, for any one who has the least idea of historical criticism.

Be this as it may, it was at any rate not merely historical conviction, but also political jealousy,

that induced Urban VIII. first to change the inscription, and at last to obliterate it entirely.

The republic, too, viewed the matter in the same light; and as the disputes about the boundaries, and about the precedence of the new prefetto, were at that very time becoming more and more rancorous, Venice for a while sent no regular ambassadors to Rome.

Nani, who went thither in the year 1631, was only an extraordinary ambassador. He remained, however, nearly three years and a half, and his report proves that he had made himself well acquainted with that court.

The main object of his mission was to induce the pope to aid the republic in case they were attacked by the Turks, a contingency which then seemed very probable.

Strange to say, this request was even welcome to the pope. He could set off this need, of the republic against the continued calls for help on the part of the house of Austria, which was pressed so hard by the protestants and the French.

The ambassador would also have gladly induced the pope to use his mediation between the militant powers, but he did not possess the general confidence requisite to that end. "Pullulando tante amarezze colle corone, restava faccia, per non dir quasi odiosa l'autorità del pontefice."

Nani also remarks Urban's disposition to display military strength. Those who wished to stand well with him found it expedient to talk with him about his fortifications. He often mentioned them himself. He said, that within twenty days he would bring together more than twenty thousand men. He reckoned up the treasures he possessed. For immediate necessities he had put by 400,000 scudi; it was thought that there still remained in the castle three out of the five millions amassed by Sixtus.

Let us see how Nani portrays the person and the government of Urban VIII.

"Il pontefice è nel principio del settantesimo terzo della sua età e nel fine del XVII del pontificato, dopo un spatio di 324 anni che altro papa non ha goduto così lungo governo. E di forze robusto e gagliardo, e per tale li piace di esser creduto: et in effetto, levato qualche dubbio di flussioni e d'accidenti improvvisi ai quali pare sottoposto, è in tale costituzione di buona salute che può mantenersi più anni. Usa governo esquisito nella sua cura. Al presente, ch'è più grave l'età, manco s'applica alle faccende, delle quali non suole però prendersi più disturbo di quello che vuole. La mattina è dispensata in audienze et in negotii, il dopo pranzo è riservato alla quiete et alla conversazione domestica, nella quale è allegro e faetto, come in ogni altro discorso erudito e facondo, e nelle audienze stesse passa volentieri dal negoziare al parlare di cose piacevoli e di studio, al quale è dedito assai. Possede gran talenti e gran qualità. Ha memoria meravigliosa, petto e vigore che lo rende alle volte troppo costante nelli suoi sensi. Ha spiriti grandi accresciuti dall'esperienza del governo e dei negotii. Defersco assai al suo proprio parere, perciò non ama di consultare nè cura le qualità dei ministri, che possono maggiormente far risplendere le sue risoluzioni. Non molto inclina al gratiar. E ardente, et alle volte con li ministri medesimi dei principi non ha potuto dissimulare il suo fervore. Ama che sia trattato seco

con destrezza e soavità : e se vi è strada di poter far declinare dai suoi sensi l'animo di Sua S<sup>ta</sup> questa è sola, la quale, se pure alle volte non può profittare, avanza certo, che se non si piega, almeno non si rompe. . . . .

“ Nel governo presente è desiderata maggior o miglior consulta, perchè dove manca il discorso, suole mancar la ragione : e veramente pochissimi sono li ministri e pochi quelli che habbino autorità e confidenza a palazzo. Appresso il pontefice non si sa alcuno che possi, e proponendo S. S<sup>ta</sup> il proprio parere a quello di tutti, sogliono li altri o lodarlo o secondarlo. Si usò in altri tempi che havevano i papi appresso di se tre e quattro cardinali e con la loro discussione risolvevano i più gravi negotii, e si teneva per arcano dei nepoti medesimi introdurre suoi dipendenti nella confidenza del zio, per condurlo poi e guadagnarlo dove o non potevano essi spuntare o non volevano scoprire gli affetti loro proprij.

“ Barberino non ha voluto circuire in tal modo la libertà del papa : ma riservando a se solo il posto più vicino alle orecchie di S. S<sup>ta</sup>, obbliga gli altri a stare ritirati et al solo parer di lui sottoporre le proprie opinioni, non mostrando gusto che da chi si sia si parli al pontefice di negotio senza sua precedente participatione. Non si serve però nè anco di questa autorità, che gode solo con quella libertà che per avventura compirebbe al ben pubblico et al suo proprio interesse : ma non osando respirare contro le risoluzioni e li sensi del papa, prende molte volte l'habito della costanza medesima di S. S<sup>ta</sup>, essendosi in tal maniera sottoposto al disgusto delle corone e d'altri principii e di loro ministri per non divertire e non sopire molti strani accidenti.

“ Appresso di questo li cardinali pur si dogliono e massimo le creature di non haver apertura nè confidenza. Di pochissimi ministri si serve il sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>e</sup>, mentre la mole dei negotii et altre circostanze di molti lo possono render bisognevole. l'ancirolo e Ricchi, auditori di rota, sono li più domestici e li più adoperati.

Pancirolo è soggetto maturo e di molta esperienza, che fu impiegato in Piemonte per la pace sin nel principio delle guerre di Mantova. Serve per li negotii del governo dello stato ecclesiastico, e non havendo havuto che trattar meco, non mi resta che dire delle sue condizioni.

Ricchi è di gran spirito, pronto et sagace : dirige quasi tutti li negotii dei principii, e particolarmente ha in mano quelli della Republica. E dipenditissimo da Barberino, qualità che lo rende oltre modo grato al sig<sup>r</sup> cardinale. Ha incontrato disgusto di molti ministri de' principii, nemeno è amato dall' universale. Non ha altra esperienza che quella che li concede l'impiego presente, che è grande. Ha egli sempre trattato meco, e nelle mie lettere e nella forma dei suoi officii l'averanno più volte veduto descritto VV. EE. Tratta con destrezza e con flemma e con altrettanto ingegno e solertia. Della serenissima Republica parla con tutte le espressioni di riverenza e divotione. Tiene a cuore certo interesse di pensioni del cardinal suo fratello, del quale ho scritto altre volte.

“ A questi aggiungerò mon<sup>s</sup> Cecca, segretario di stato, perchè assiste al presente alla trattazione della lega. Non ha egli talenti più che ordinarij : ma per la lunga esperienza della sua carica tiene buona informatione de' negotii. E vecchio assai,

e si crede vicino al cardinalato, se ben dalli nepoti è poco amato, ma molto rispettato per l'affetto che li porta la S<sup>ta</sup> Sua. Servi il segretario del pontefice mentre fu nuntio in Francia, e con passaggio mostruoso di fortuna ma solito della corte occupò il luogo del padrone medesimo, e mentre questo vivo ancora con poco buona sorte, Cecca gode carico, rendite e speranze più che ordinarie. Appresso Barberino non vi sono altri di credito e di talenti che meritino d'esser osservati.

“ Per il governo dello stato vi è consulta dei cardinali e dei prelati, che in due giorni della settimana discute diverse occorrenze. Altre congregazioni sono dell' inquisitione, de propaganda fide, del concilio, de' regolari, de' riti e d'altri simili interessi. Tutto però serve a discorso, perchè la resolutione resta al gusto di S. S<sup>ta</sup> e del nipote. Una congregazione di stato si tiene di quando in quando avanti il papa per le occorrenze più gravi, e non v'intervengono che le creature e i più confidenti che hanno servito nelle nuntiature : ma anco questa suole servire ad accreditare le deliberazioni più che a risolverle, perchè nè si discorre nè si forma il decreto che per quell' opinione nella quale si sottrage o si lascia intendere esser S. S<sup>ta</sup>, et in effetto si querelano i pontefici di non haver di chi confidare, perchè tutti li cardinali vivono con li loro interessi e rispetti verso i principii stranieri.”

[The pope is in the beginning of his seventy-third year, and is drawing to the close of the seventeenth of his pontificate, the longest that has been enjoyed by any pope for the last 324 years. He is robust and active, and likes to be thought so ; and indeed, with the exception of fluxes and sudden attacks to which he appears liable, his constitution is so hale that he may last several years. He uses the utmost refinement in the regulation of his health. At present, being more burthened with years, he applies less to business, though indeed he is not used to let them trouble him more than he has a mind. The morning is spent in audiences and in business ; the afternoon is reserved for quiet and domestic converse, in which he is cheerful and witty, as in all other discourses he is erudite and eloquent ; and in his audiences even he gladly passes from negotiating, to talk of interesting matters and subjects of study, to which he is much devoted. He possesses great talents and great qualities. He has a marvellous memory, and a courage and energy that render him at times too fixed to his own notions. He has great powers of mind, increased by experience in government and in state affairs. He is somewhat wedded to his own opinion, therefore he is not fond of taking counsel, nor does he regard the qualities of ministers who can give greater brilliancy to his own measures. He is not much inclined to bestow favours. He is impetuous, and at times he has not been able, even with the ministers of sovereigns, to conceal his warmth. He likes to be dealt with with address and smoothness, and if there is any way of bending the mind of his holiness from his own way of thinking, it is this alone ; and though it is not always successful, it is sure of this good result, that if the pope does not yield, at least he does not break with the speaker.

[The present government has need of more frequent and better consultation, for where there is lack of discussion there is usually lack of reason ; and in truth the ministers are very few, and they

are few who have influence in the palace. No one is known to have any weight with the pope; but as his holiness prefers his own opinion to that of all the others, they do nothing but praise or second his suggestions. In other times it was customary for the popes to have about them three or four cardinals, with whom they discussed and determined the most important matters; and it was a secret device of the nephews themselves to introduce their own dependents into their uncle's confidence, so as to gain him over to such things as they could not bring about by themselves, or such as they did not like to be seen in.

[Barberino has not chosen thus to circumvent the pope's freedom; but reserving to himself alone the immediate approach to the ear of his holiness, he obliges all others to stand aloof, and to submit their opinions to his own sole will, not liking that any one should speak to the pope on business without his own previous knowledge. Nevertheless he does not use even that influence which he possesses alone with that freedom which would, perhaps, be conducive to the public good and to his own interest; but, not venturing to utter a breath in opposition to the pope's decisions, he frequently identifies himself in appearance with the obstinacy of his holiness, and in this way has incurred the aversion of the crowned heads, the other princes, and their ministers, for not warding off or suppressing many unpleasant occurrences.]

[The other cardinals, particularly those of the present pope's creation, complain that they have not access to Barberino or credit with him. He employs very few ministers, whereas the mass of business and other circumstances seem to require that he should have many. Pancirola and Ricchi, auditors of the rota, are most in his intimacy, and most employed.]

[Pancirola is a man of mature and large experience, who was employed in Piedmont, about the peace from the beginning of the wars of Mantua. He is employed in the internal affairs of the ecclesiastical state, and, as I had no occasion to transact business with him, I have nothing to say respecting his personal qualities.]

[Ricchi is a man of great talents, prompt and sagacious; he has the management of almost all affairs connected with foreign princes, and particularly those pertaining to the republic. He is very obsequious to Barberino, a quality which renders him very acceptable to that cardinal. He has met with unfavourable treatment from many foreign ministers, nevertheless he is liked in general. He has had no other experience than that derived from his present employment, which is considerable. He has always transacted business with me, and your excellencies will have frequently seen him described in my letters. In his official dealings he displays address and coolness, and no less capacity and diligence. He speaks with all reverence and devotion of the most serene republic. He has at heart a certain matter touching his brother the cardinal's pensions, of which I have written on other occasions.]

[To these I will add monsignor Cecca, secretary of state, because he assists at present in the affairs of the league. His talents are not above the common order; but, from his long experience in his post, he is well acquainted with business. He is somewhat aged, and is thought to be near the

cardinalship, though he is little liked by the nephews; but he is much respected on account of the regard borne him by his holiness. He was in the service of the pope's secretary during his nunciature in France, and by a prodigious vicissitude of fortune, though a common one at the court, he supplanted his master, and whilst the latter still lives in no very prosperous a condition, Cecca enjoys his place, and revenues, and expectancies more than common. There are no other persons about Barberino whose credit and talents are worth mentioning.]

[For the administration of the state there is a *consulta* of the cardinals and prelates, which meets twice a week to discuss sundry occurrences. Other congregations are those of the inquisition, of the propaganda, of the council, of the monastic orders, of rites, and so forth. But all tends only to talking; for the determination of all measures is at the discretion of his holiness and the nephew. A congregation of state is held from time to time in presence of the pope, upon occasions of greater magnitude, in which none others take part than the pope's creatures, and those persons of trust who have served in nunciatures. But even this assembly serves more to ratify resolutions taken, than to arrive at them by discussion; because nothing is argued or embodied in the form of a decree except in conformity with what his holiness proposes, or gives to be understood as his opinion: and, in fact, the popes complain that they have none in whom they can confide, for all the cardinals have their own interests and schemes in view in connexion with foreign princes.]

118. *Racconto delle cose più considerabili che sono occorse nel governo di Roma in tempo di mons<sup>r</sup> Gio. Batt<sup>a</sup> Spada.* [Account of the matters of most note which occurred in the government of Rome in the time of monsignor Gio. Battista Spada.]

Belonging to the latter times of Urban VIII., full of traits of life and manners, such as fall within the range of police and justice, and which are here related in the most authentic and unquestionable manner.

The contests between the old families still continued,—for instance, between the Gactani and the Colonnese: it was not only difficult to effect an accommodation between them, but it even took several days to draw up a document, wherein the requisite narrative of their quarrels should be set forth in a manner at which the one or the other did not take offence.

Quarrels between the French and the Spaniards. They meet in hostilities; each party drinks to the prosperity of its own king; insults are given, still the weaker party behaves with tolerable moderation; but as soon as it has received an accession of strength, as soon as the two parties meet in the open streets, they come to blows. The bargello has the greatest difficulty in separating them.

But if they quarrel among themselves, on the other hand they vie with each other in opposing the court and the police of Rome.

The ambassadors were particularly hard to deal with. They gradually put forward those pretensions which led to such serious disputes at a subsequent period. Not only did they declare their palaces free and privileged places, and allowed for-

bidden games to take place in them, but they even claimed the right of taking the neighbouring houses under their protection. Monsignor Spada was naturally opposed to this. "Che se si era usata cortesia con i S<sup>ti</sup> ambasciatori di non entrare nelle case loro e delle loro famiglie, era una troppo grande estensione quella che volevano introdurre hora, che nè anche nello case vicini e comprese nella medesima isola si potesse far esecuzione."

The most important incidents in a historical point of view are two attempts on the life of Urban VIII., which are here related with all desirable authenticity.

§1. Del processo di Giacinto Centini, nepote del cardl d'Ascoli, e d'alcuni complici. . . la sostanza era, ch'essendo stato pronosticato ch'al presente pontefice dovesse succedere il cardinal d'Ascoli, invaghito Giacinto del pronostico e desiderando di vederne prestamente l'effetto avesse trattato con fra Serafino Cherubini d'Ancona minor osservante, fra Pietro da Palermo eremita, che si faceva chiamare fra Bernardino, e fra Domenico da Fermo Agostiniano, di procurare con arte diabolica d'abbreviare la vita a N. S<sup>re</sup>, et a quest' effetto fu risoluto di fare una statua di cera rappresentante il papa, come si essequi, e dopo molte invocazioni di demoni e sacrifici fattigli la fluire, distruggere e consumare al fuoco, con ferma credenza che distrutta quella dovesse terminare la vita di papa Urbano e farsi loco alla successione del cardl d'Ascoli zio di Giacinto.

2. "La confessione di Tomaso Orsolini da Recanate. Che per instigazione di fra Domenico Brancaccio da Bagnarea Augustiniano era andato a Napoli per scoprire al viceré un supposto trattato di principi d'invadere il regno di Napoli con interessarsi ancora S. S<sup>ta</sup>, e ch'il rimedio era di far morire uno de' collegati o il papa: al che fare s'offeriva il padre Bagnarea sudotto, mentre se li dessero sc. 3000, quali voleva dare al sagrista di N. S<sup>re</sup>, già reso inhabile, e succedendo egli in quel carico, li haverebbe posto il veleno nell' hostia ch'avesse dovuto consecrare S. S<sup>ta</sup> nella messa, o pure quando non fosse succeduto sagrista, haverebbe operato che lo speciale Carcurasio suo parente, mentre medicava le fontanelle a S. S<sup>ta</sup>, vi ponesse il veleno: non passò però ad esprimere al viceré questi particolari, poiche havendogli accennato di dover far morire il papa, vide ch'il viceré non si applicò."

[1. Of the trial of Giacinto Centini, nephew of cardinal d'Ascoli, and of some accomplices, . . . The substance was, that it having been prognosticated that cardinal d'Ascoli would be the successor of the present pope, Giacinto, fired by the prophecy and desiring to see its immediate fulfilment, made arrangements with fra Serafino Cherubini of Ancona, a minorite, fra Pietro of Palermo, a hermit, who went by the name of fra Bernardino, and fra Domenico of Fermo, an Augustine, to abridge by diabolical art the life of his holiness; and to this end it was resolved to make a wax statue representing the pope, as was actually done; and after many invocations of demons and sacrifices performed, to melt, destroy, and consume it in the flames, with the firm belief that when it was destroyed, the life of pope Urban would terminate, and room would be made for the succession of cardinal d'Ascoli, the uncle of Giacinto.

[2. The confession of Tomaso Orsolini of Recan-

nate. That at the instigation of fra Domenico Brancaccio of Bagnarea, an Augustinian, he went to Naples, to disclose to the viceroy a supposed plot of the princes to attack the kingdom of Naples with the co-operation of his holiness; and that the remedy was to put to death one of the confederates or the pope; and this the aforesaid father Bagnarea offered himself to do, provided there were given him 3000 sc., which he would give to the pope's sacristan, who was now become incapacitated, and upon himself succeeding to that post he would put poison in the host his holiness would have to consecrate in the mass; or if he could not get the place of sacristan, he would contrive that his relation the apothecary Carcurasio in dressing his holiness's issues should put poison in them. He did not, however, proceed to state these particulars to the viceroy, because he saw that when he hinted at the expediency of putting the pope to death, the viceroy did not attend to the hint.]

119. *Historica relatione dell' origine e progressi delle rotture nate tra la casa Barberina et Odoardo Farnese duca di Parma e Piacenza.* (Vienna library.) *Historia Prof. n. 899. 224 leaves.* [Historical report of the origin and progress of the breach between the Barberini family and Odoardo Farnese, duke of Parma and Piacenza.]

A partisan work in the form of a letter, in which the origin of those disputes is attributed entirely to the bad will of the Barberini. This author too couples the barons' monti with those of the state: the pope had readily granted the required permission; he thereby made the barons but more subservient to him. "Nella cessione di simili monti il principe era mallevadore, riservatosi il beneplacito di poterne dimandare l'estinzione a suo piacimento." [On the establishment of such monti the sovereign made himself bondsman, reserving to himself the right of calling for their extinction whenever he pleased.]

I do not find that this work, notwithstanding its bulk, gives any very remarkable clue to the events of the time; and as we do not in this case happen to want any such, it does not appear to me of much value. The most remarkable of its contents are the accounts it gives of the anti-Austrian, and in a certain sense anti-catholic, tendencies of pope Urban VIII.

"Si lasciava tal volta intendere, essergli ben grati li progressi de' cattolici contra li heretici, ma esservi insieme da temere che un giorno queste prosperità cadessero a danno e precipitio de' medesimi per le gelosie che si sarebbero svegliate in tutto il mondo, che il imperio dovesse assorbir ogni residuo di libertà che vi rimaneva. Corse fama per tutte la corti che dalli impulsi d'Urbano originassero quelle ombre del duca Massimiliano di Baviera, che apersero una gran scisma nell' unione de' principi cattolici posti su i balzi, che domati li heretici fosse per convertirsi lo sforzo delle armi Austriache a danni di quei medesimi che erano stati ministri delle grandezze di quella casa: e per dir tutto, vi fu chi in quei tempi si vantò di sapere che la missione di Ceva, confidente ministro della casa Barberina, in Francia con titolo di nontio straordinario, avesse ne' suoi più reconditi arcani secreto commissioni d'ecceitare il re di

Francia a mischiarsi nelle turbolenze di Germania, a fine che intendendosi con Baviera si pensasse al modo di alzare qualche argine alla crescente potenza della casa d'Austria." [Expressions dropped from him at times to the effect that he rejoiced at the progress of the catholics against the heretics; but that at the same time there was reason to fear that one day this prosperity would turn to their own downfall, from the jealousies that would be excited throughout the world, lest the empire should absorb every remnant yet left of liberty. The report was current at all the courts, that it was at the suggestion of Urban that duke Maximilian of Bavaria conceived those suspicions, which caused a great schism in the union of the catholic princes; namely, that when the heretics were put down, the Austrian arms were to be turned against those very powers that had ministered to the greatness of that house; and, to say the whole truth, there were some in those days who boasted their knowledge, that the mission of Ceva, the confidential minister of the house of Barberino, with the title of nuncio extraordinary to France, had for one of its most secret objects to excite the king of France to mingle in the disturbances of Germany, so that in concert with Bavaria he might devise means of throwing up some dam to stem the increasing power of the house of Austria.]

This is evidence, at least, that such views prevailed at that period.

120. *Della vita di papa Urbano VIII e historia del suo pontificato scritte da Andrea Nicoletti.* 8 vols. folio MS. [Life and pontificate of pope Urban VIII. by Andrea Nicoletti.]

It is very much to be regretted that there are so few good or even available biographies of eminent historical personages.

This defect is not to be imputed to any indifference for their memory, which we usually find highly esteemed, if not overrated, by those connected with them: it is rather to be ascribed to the following causes.

In the beginning, when the memory of the deceased is yet fresh, and materials are still to be had, regard is had to contemporaries; the whole truth cannot be spoken out; a multitude of individuals would be compromised, and a thousand animosities aroused against the subject of the memoir himself.

At a later period, when the contemporaries are also departed, and when a writer may think himself free to speak out, the memory too of the individual has faded away, the materials are dispersed, the interest even of the subject has declined, and only awakes in those who wish to investigate it in the way of historical research.

The following expedient therefore was often adopted in Italy.

The materials for a biography were committed to a confidential friend or servant of the family, who had been privy to and was well acquainted with every thing pertaining to the subject: he put them together, and arranged them into a connected narrative, which however was not intended for the press, but was preserved in MS. in the family archives.

In this way the susceptibility of contemporaries was spared, and at the same time the possibility was

attained of the revival of a fast-fading memory in full truth at some future time.

The work of Andrea Nicoletti belongs to this class.

It contains the family reminiscences respecting the personal history and the public transactions of Urban VIII.; but that which makes up its chief bulk is the entire correspondence between the pope and the ambassadors during the twenty-one years of his pontificate.

This biography consists essentially of a compilation of the despatches of the nunciatures.

Its contents are not the final reports, the so-called *relationi*, but the despatches themselves, as is fitting in a biography: the pope always appears therein as personally directing, determining, and acting.

I saw that similar compilations had also been attempted in Venice: but as the doings of the republic are thrown into the background, and nothing is put before us but the bulk of the received reports, whilst we have no evidence of any effect produced, the attention soon wanders and grows weary.

In the case before us it is quite otherwise. The vocation of the papacy, the complicated political position of Urban VIII., the immediate significance of every particular as to some great point in history, produce unity and excite interest.

It is manifest how surpassingly important, as regards the period of the thirty years' war in Germany, are all the particulars here related. They elucidate it in every point.

Where the author pronounces an opinion, or reports a fact on his own authority, we cannot indeed follow him implicitly. Here and there he lacked authentic information: the official complexion is apparent in the origin and first conception of such a work. I will only give one example. In the 3rd vol. of his work, p. 673, Nicoletti asserts that Urban VIII. heard with poignant grief (*il rammarico fu acerbissimo*) of the conclusion of a peace between England and France, in the year 1629; yet we learn from Aluise Contarini, who had a personal share in all the negotiations, that the pope had even recommenced those negotiations, and the conclusion of the treaty. Nicoletti's error arose from this, that this fact escaped his observation amidst the enormous mass of the correspondence before him, and that he judged of the pope in conformity with his ecclesiastical position. There are many other instances of the kind. This, however, need not prevent our believing our author where he only makes extracts.

His practice is to insert the papers in their full extent, only with such alterations as the form of a narrative required. The most, then, he can have done in any instance is to have omitted or misplaced something. But from the nature of his task, which only consisted in compiling what was put before him, and from the character of his work, which was not intended for the public, this is not necessarily to be anticipated, and I have not found any trace of it.

Although I have gone diligently through all these volumes, and have not neglected the opportunity of making myself acquainted with such important historical materials, yet it would be impossible to give any further account of them in this place. Whoever has had to examine correspondences



knows how much it is necessary to read through, in order to come clearly to the truth of any fact. I may, however, extract the description of the last moments of Urban VIII., which is very deserving of attention, and of his personal character as conceived by our author.

Tomo ottavo at the conclusion. "Erano in quei giorni nel fine di Giugno caldi eccessivi in Roma e molto più del solito pericolosi: nondimeno, parendo al papa di essersi alquanto rihavuto, e sapendo che diciassette chiese erano senza i loro vescovi, e non havere il cardinale Grimaldi, tornato dalla nuntiatura di Francia, ricevuto il capello cardinalizio, si dichiarò di volere tenere il concistoro nel prossimo lunedì. Il cardinale Barberino credette di poterlo indurre anche alla promozione de' cardinali: perciò non gli oppose la pericolosa sua debolezza e la febbre lenta che se gli poteva raddoppiare, anzi lodò il pensiero e confortollo, che fosse quasi in sicuro della sanità. Divulgatasi la voce del futuro concistoro, mentre si teneva il papa da alcuni moribondo e da altri indubitamente morto ma che per alcuni giorni si fosse la morte di lui occultata, si vide la maggiore parte di Roma impaurita, benché ciascuno fingesse nel viso allegrezza e contento per la recuperata salute. Accortosi dappoi il cardinale Barberino che il papa non voleva venire alla promozione di alcun cardinale, giacché ne mancavano otto nel sacro collegio, o perché non rimanesse soddisfatto de' soggetti che se gli proponevano, o perché lasciava voleva al successore quella cura, fece con ragioni efficacissime e con preghiere l'ultima pruova di dissuadergli in quei giorni il concistoro, e tanto più si adoperò quanto vedeva, oltre il danno del papa, che egli sarebbe rimasto in disappunto della stima e del credito suo, perché non facendosi i cardinali si sarebbe confermata l'opinione che universalmente correva, che egli per cagione delle guerre fosse caduto dalla potenza che aveva appresso il papa, e che se avesse la S<sup>ta</sup> Sua allungata la vita, avrebbe dominato il cardinale Antonio. Non essendosi a quelle preghiere e ragioni mosso il papa, monsignor Roscioli, conoscendo di dare gusto al cardinale Barberino e di giovare alla vita di Sua S<sup>ta</sup> col rinuoverlo dalla detta deliberazione, confidato nella benevolenza di Sua B<sup>ne</sup> verso di se, stabili di adoperarsi con ogni efficacia possibile, anche a nome pubblico de' cardinali e della città di Roma, di volerlo dissuadere dal concistoro. Preso adunque il tempo opportuno, entrò dal papa, e postosi gli inginocchioni gli disse di non volerlo supplicare a nome de' suoi ministri nè per parte de' suoi nipoti nè della casa Barberina, ma della città tutta di Roma: imperciocché essendo la S<sup>ta</sup> Sua stata eletta per la salute de' popoli e per governare la chiesa, abbandonando la cura di se medesima con esporsi inferma a pericoloso accidente veniva insieme a lasciare in abbandono la città et il governo commessole della chiesa, non senza grandissimo dolore di tutti: importare più il suo bene o il suo male alla christianità che alla casa Barberina o alla S<sup>ta</sup> Sua medesima: che perciò se non voleva diffondere quella fatica alle preghiere de' nipoti, lo facesse almeno per l'istanza della città di Roma, che la supplicava. Il papa dopo di essere stato alquanto pensoso rispose di non curarsi di prolungare più la vita, conoscendo il pontificato non esser più peso delle sue forze, et iddio avrebbe provveduto alla sua chiesa. Dopo

questa risposta essendosi alquanto trattenuto, si accorse monsignore Roscioli che il papa aveva gli occhi pieni di lagrime e sospirando si rivolse al cielo e proruppe in ferventi preghiere a dio acciocché la maestà sua divina lo volesse liberare dalla vita presente, mostrandosene grandemente annojato.

Venuto finalmente il lunedì determinato per tenere il concistoro, concorse al palazzo gran moltitudine di popolo curioso di vedere il papa, che poco avanti aveva creduto per morto. Appena entrato, i cardinali si accorsero havere egli ormai finita la vita, imperciocché comparve languido, pallido e quasi smarrito nelle parole, e particolarmente nel fine del concistoro mostrava di essere rimasto quasi senza intendimento. Fu data la cagione all' eccessivo caldo della stagione accresciuto dalla calea della gente penetrata dentro: e non andarono senza biasimo i ministri più intimi del palazzo et anche il cardinale Barberino per non havere impedito il papa da quella sì faticosa funzione, non sapendo il popolo le manovre che si erano fatte per distorlo: imperciocché ognuno dal vederlo in così grande squallore et abbattimento di forze si sarebbe mosso a pietà, poichè chiaramente conoscevasi che il male gli aveva ingombrata la mente et il vero sentimento del governo delle cose. Dopo la proposizione delle chiese e dopo havere dato il cappello al cardinale Grimaldi partissi dal concistoro sommamente aggravato dal male, come gli fu predetto.

"Nel di seguente fece un' azione con la quale si acquistò fama di gran pietà e degna di rimanere per esempio a tutti i principi ecclesiastici. Questa fu di chiamare alla sua presenza alcuni theologhi in quella scienza e nella probità riguardevolissimi e dal papa erediti lontani dall' adulazione, a quali fatta prima dare piena cognizione di tutti li beni et entrate ecclesiastiche delle quali in tempo del suo pontificato aveva arricchita la casa Barberina, ordinò che gli riferissero se in alcuna cosa egli haveva trapassato il potere e l'autorità sua: perchè era preparato a ripigliare da' nepoti tutto ciò che aggravare gli poteva la coscienza avanti al tribunale di dio. Li theologhi furono il cardinale de Lugo, il padre Torquato de Cupis della compagnia di Gesù, et alcuni altri. E si animò il papa a fare questa azione dal sereno che vide in fronte al cardinale Barberino, quando chiamatolo prima di tutti lo fece partecipe di questo suo pensiero, che non ostanti l'ombre passate quasi volle parere di volere da lui prenderne consiglio. Lodò il cardinale la pietà della S<sup>ta</sup> Sua, e mostrò di haverne particolare contento, sperando maggiori felicità dalla mano liberalissima di dio, mentre solo per soddisfare a Sua Divina Maestà tutto ciò si faceva. Dicesi che il parere uniforme de' theologhi fu, che havendo Sua S<sup>ta</sup> arricchiti li suoi nipoti, poteva con sicura coscienza lasciarli godere tutti li beni che haveva loro conceduti, e ciò per due ragioni: l'una perchè havendo promossi al cardinalato una quantità di soggetti quali non haveva provveduti di entrate secondo il loro grado, li medesimi nipoti havessero comodità di accomodarli secondo il loro bisogno: l'altro motivo per quietare la coscienza del papa fu, che havendo li sopradetti nipoti in sì lungo principato e nelle passate guerre contratto l'odio e l'inimicizie con diversi principi, era ragionevole di lasciarli ben comodi per mantenere il loro grado, anche per riputazione della sede apostolica,



e non essere vilipesi, come suole accadere a quelli che dalla cima del dominare si riducono a stato inferiore: onde l'essere bene provisti di ricchezze e di beni di fortuna gli avrebbe fatti maggiormente rispettare: et oltre di ciò li medesimi nepoti avevano di loro natura tali viscere di cristiana pietà che avrebbero erogate l'entrante in beneficio de' poveri et in altri usi pii. E con queste et altre ragioni mostrò il papa di quietarsi.

“ Si andava dunque preparando alla morte, che da se stesso conosceva essergli vicina: ma fra questi pensieri e disposizioni si mostrava in tutti i ragionamenti pieno di giusto sdegno contro i principi d'Italia, sentendo immenso dolore che avesse a restare memoria che in tempo del suo pontificato si fossero collegati contro di lui et avessero assalito con eserciti lo stato della chiesa: onde talvolta prorompeva in parole acerbe, come se fossero stati senza pietà, senza religione o senza legge, et implorava dal cielo giusta vendetta per vederli da dio castigati prima di morire o almeno pentiti. Già, come altrove si è detto, si era con loro fatta la pace, firmata dalla S<sup>a</sup> Sua e sottoscritta: ma in essa non venivano li due cardinali Barberini nè compresi nè nominati: onde le creature più fedeli giudicarono che mentre la casa Barberina era per la vita del papa ancora temuta, si dovesse impiegare ogni industria perche i principi Italiani li dichiarassero inclusi nella medesima pace. Et il cardinal Biechi, che agli stessi principi andò plenipotenziario per parte di Francia, affermò che per non essere certi della morte del papa non sarebbero stati lontani dal trattarla o dall' accettarla. Ma il cardinal Barberino con ordini precisi vietollo, ordinando al Biechi che di ciò non ne trattasse punto, ancorche i principi spontaneamente gliel' avessero offerto: nè volle mai sopra di ciò sentire consigli di alcuno, allegando per ragione che il volere loro essere inclusi ne' capitoli della pace o nominati in essa altro non era che un farsi dichiarare per autori di haver mosso la guerra, conciossiachè non' trattati di pace non sia mai solito nè si costumi di nominare i ministri, ma i principi o capi che a parte della guerra sono venuti.

“ Vacavano in quel tempo, come dianzi fu detto, otto luoghi nel sacro collegio de' cardinali: onde grande era l'agitazione in che stava la corte, potendo così gran numero cagionare non picciola mutazione nelle cose de' capi di fazioni già stabilite. Il papa, come più volte disse a noi il cardinal Barberino, desiderando che i cardinali fossero in maggiore estimazione e meglio provveduti di entrate, pensò di ridurre con particolare costituzione tutto il sacro collegio al numero di cinquanta: onde stava fisso in non fare altra promozione. Barberino però, conoscendo che col lasciare tanti luoghi vacanti non avrebbe il papa ottenuto l'intento et avrebbe servito d'ingrandimento alla fazione del successore, più volte supplicollo che si lasciasse vincere dal consentimento comune in promuovere tanti soggetti che vi erano meritevoli della porpora. Ma il tutto gli riuscì vano, rispondendogli il papa di non volere che alcuni de' suoi successori col suo esempio potessero nel fine della vita privatamente senza decoro e stando in letto creare cardinali, e che questo esempio da Gregorio Decimoquinto ricevuto aveva e voleva con uguale gloria lasciare a' posteri. Vi si adoperarono altri personaggi e particolarmente il cardinale de Lugo, il quale per render efficaci l'istanze del cardinale

Barberino suggerì al papa il decreto concistoriale delli tre cardinali fatti già spedito dopo il concistoro in cui fu fatta l'ultima promozione, e che il cardinale Barberino come vicecancelliere era obbligato a ricordarlo a Sua S<sup>a</sup>, non perche promuovesse, come fu il caso di Gregorio, ma solo acciòche dichiarasse i cardinali già creati e riservati in petto, la quale publicatione a tutto il sacro collegio pareva ragionevole, nè vi era bisogno di altro concistoro. Ma il papa, o che fosse sdegnato perche il cardinale Barberino gli aveva proposti alcuni soggetti che non erano di soddisfazione di Sua S<sup>a</sup>, o credesse di lasciare più gloriosa la memoria di se, stette saldo a tutte le istanze, ordinando che niuno più ardisse di parlargli di promozione. . . .

“ Era l'aspetto di papa Urbano giocondissimo, ma pieno di maestà: e sebbene nel suo temperamento vi era alquanto di malinconico, sicché quando si veniva all' emissione del sangue, che per l'ordinario era ne' tempi di primavera, gli uscivano dalle vene pezzetti come gelati di quell' humore, nè senza questo avrebbe potuto profittare tanto nelle lettere, dicendo il filosofo che la malinconia contribuisce assai per apprendere le scienze o ritenere le impressioni nell' animo. La disposizione poi del corpo e dello membra era nobilmente compartita. La statura piuttosto grande che mediocre: le carni di colore olivastro o più tosto piene di succo che grasse: il capo grande, che dinotava un maraviglioso ingegno et una vivacissima memoria: la fronte spatiosa e serena: gli occhi di colore fra l'azzurro et il bianco: il naso proportionato: le guancie rotonde, ma negli ultimi anni notabilmente estenuate: la bocca piena di gratia: la voce sonora, ma soave, onde con la favella Toscana, che sempre ritenne finche visse, uscivano da essa dolcissime parole piene di eloquenza e sparse di fiori di buone lettere o di erudizioni sacre e di antichi esempi: nutrì infino da prelato la barba honestamente lunga e riquadrata, la quale con la canitie rendeva il suo aspetto più venerabile. . . .

“ Veramente era tanto amabile che da una troppa apertura in poi che dimostrava, se pure l'importanza del negotio non lo tratteneva, non vi era altro che da critici bene attenti vi fosse da tacciare. E se talvolta saliva in collera, ben presto tornava alla giocondità di prima. . . . L'opinione de' saggi era che con esso lui stimavasi necessario di essere o di altro sapere o di niuno o di poco: poiche siccome non isdegnava di essere guadagnato dalla saviezza dell' uno, così compativa tanto all' altro che egli stesso lo soccorreva e sollevava, se però questo non fosse stato presuntuoso o orgoglioso, abusandosi della humanità e buona condizione del papa, il quale duro et inflessibile fu sempre con gli orgogliosi et arroganti, siccome altrettanto amorevole o benigno mostravasi verso i rispettosi e modesti. . . . Verso i sopradetti servitori e verso anche i parenti propri era discretissimo in scegliere i tempi per valcersene più comodi a quelli che a se stesso, non isdegnando talvolta di udire con pazienza qualche parola o atto di sentimento o di doglienze loro. E nelle sue malattie pareva che pigliasse più dispiacere de' patimenti e vigilie degli assistenti a lui che del proprio male o de' suoi dolori. Così anche non era facile a sfogamenti o lamenti delle persone: ma gli era grave il negare o vedere partire da se alcuno discontento. Coi suoi più confidenti servitori era giocondissimo, e talvolta con essi usava de'

motti o come si suol dire de' sali ingegnosi. . . . . Non si scordò mai de' gli amici antichi, o fossero assenti o morti, et in questo fu ammirabile la sua benevolenza: onde ordinò al cardinale Biscia sua creatura, che era stato uno di quelli suoi più confidenti, acciòche avesse la cura di dargli spesso nuova di loro, e se fossero morti, che pigliasse nota de' loro discendenti per provvederli all'occasione. . . . .

" Fiorì in Roma nel suo tempo grandissima abbondanza di tutte le cose: e soleva dire che egli da Firenze aveva havuto il suo nascimento, ma da Roma tutta la sua grandezza, et havrebbe voluto che ogni persona godesse la felicità del suo pontificato, che gli ufficj venali della cancelleria fruttassero copiosamente, e perciò egli era gratiosissimo nelle spedizioni della dataria, che gli artigiani nelle loro faccende facessero grossi ma leciti guadagni, e lo stesso facessero anche i mercanti di ogni sorte: e quindi era che nel suo pontificato correva tanto il danaro che ogn'uno di qualsivoglia professione rimaneva soddisfatto e contento. Diede tali ordini per l'annona che perdoni a spesa per mantenere l'abbondanza. Così il suo maggiore godimento era che gli agricoltori non restassero privi di quei guadagni che a lui pareva si richiedessero dal pericolo della vita e della facoltà che impiegavano nella vastità delle campagne di Roma e nell'acre insalubre: e quando quasi a niun' altro impiego pareva atta la maritima che della agricoltura, quivi fissò il pensiero, e tenne più volte proposito di seccare le paludi Pontine, per guadagnare quelle immensità de' paesi che hora sono sott' acqua, e ciò per beneficio publico: ma altre cure gravi non gli lasciarono godere l'effetto di sì glorioso disegno. Nè volle mai, per mantenere la detta abbondanza, che si stabilisse il prezzo del grano e dell' altre vittovaglie, ma che ogni cosa fosse libera, ovviando in questo modo ai monopolj: onde i mercanti riempiendo i granari, ciascuno faceva a gara di venderlo a buon mercato, e così la città di Roma diveniva opulenta.

" Se poi nel suo pontificato fiorirono le lettere, non è meraviglia: poichè non aveva migliore divertimento che coi letterati, quali accoglieva sempre con benignità e rimunerolli. Così anche dell' altre professioni nobili fu amatissimo, come della pittura, scoltura et altre buone arti, sicchè non isdegnò più volte, e particolarmente un giorno, andando alla visita delle sette chiese con tutto il sacro collegio, giunto a Santa Maria Maggiore, doppo havere fatta oratione in quella basilica, di entrare con la stessa comitiva de' cardinali in casa del cavaliere Giovanni Lorenzo Bernino colà vicina, per vedere alcuni lavori di celebre scoltura del suo scalpello.

" L'essere egli stato necessitato per la medesima cagione d'imporre loro le gravetze e le gabelle: onde tal volta a tali avvisi si vide piangere, dicendo che volentieri avrebbe dato il proprio sangue o de' suoi congiunti più tosto che di sentire le afflizioni de' popoli e di Roma e gl'incomodi della camera apostolica. Et a monsignore Lorenzo Raggi, tesoriere di essa, il quale in tempo della sua ultima infermità andò alla audienza, disse che desiderava di vivere ancora due soli mesi per tre cagioni: l'una per havere più lungo tempo di penitenza e chiedere a dio il perdono de' suoi peccati: l'altra per finire di rimettere in castel Sant' Angelo tutto il denaro che fu levato per la guerra di Castro: la terza per vedere finita la fabbrica delle mura di

Borgo e di Trastevere et assicurata la città di Roma.

" Se le azioni eroiche del papa per debolezza della mia penna saranno senza eloquenza, senza nobiltà di stile et in somma improporzionate per un pontefice sì grande, nondimeno sono state scritte con pura e sincera verità: il che particolarmente mi fu imposto et inculcato da chi teneva sopra di me suprema autorità, cioè che io scrivessi semplicemente da istorico, e mi tenessi totalmente lontano da ogni adulazione e vanità e da rettorici ingrandimenti, attendendo più alle cose che alle parole.

" Ma tornando alla sua applicatione intorno alle cose sacre, oltre l'havere fatto emendare e ristampare il ceremoniale Romano, non mancò di dare molti ordini per la cappella pontificia: però o per negligenza de' ministri o per distrattione ad altri gravi affari solo alcune cose principali sono rimaste in osservanza. Vero si fu che riformò anche l'uso delle indulgenze per chiudere la bocca agli heretici.

" Finalmente se Urbano non avesse intrapresa la guerra, o, per ineglio dire, se non vi fosse stato provocato e tirato a forza, il che gli accelerò anche notabilmente la morte, non si poteva desiderare nè pontefice più glorioso nè principe di più egregie qualità, per mezzo delle quali per molti anni del suo pontificato conservò verso di se l'amore universale di tutto il cristianesimo, sicchè fino ad hora si benedice dai popoli la sua rimembranza per quegli anni felici nè quali godettero la tranquillità e la pace."

[Towards the end of June in those days the heat was excessive in Rome, and much more dangerous than usual; nevertheless the pope, thinking himself somewhat better, and knowing there were seventeen churches without their bishops, and that cardinal Grimaldi, who had returned from the nunciature in France, had not received the cardinal's hat, declared his intention of holding a consistory on the following Monday. Cardinal Barberino expected also to induce him to the promotion of the cardinals: for this reason he did not oppose his design nor represent to him his dangerous debility and the risk of increasing his slow fever; but even praised his intention, and encouraged him in it, as though he were in sound health. The rumour spreading of the intended consistory, whilst the pope was thought by some to be dying, and by some actually dead, but that his death was kept concealed for some days, alarm seized upon the greater part of Rome, though every one feigned in his countenance joy and delight at the recovery of his holiness's health. When cardinal Barberino subsequently became aware that the pope would not proceed to the promotion of any cardinal, there being now wanting eight in the sacred college, either because he was not satisfied with those who were proposed to him, or because he wished to leave that duty to his successor, the cardinal, with the most cogent arguments and entreaties, made a last effort to dissuade him from going then to the consistory; and he strove the harder, because he saw that, in addition to the mischief to the pope, his own credit would suffer much; for, if the cardinals were not created, it would confirm the universally prevailing opinion that he had lost the influence he had possessed with his holiness in consequence of the war, and that had the latter lived longer, cardinal Antonio would have obtained supremacy. As the pope was

not moved by these arguments and entreaties, Monsignor Roscioli, thinking to gratify cardinal Barberino, and to aid in prolonging the life of his holiness by dissuading him from his purpose, confiding in the pope's good will towards him, determined to use every effort in the name of the cardinals and of the whole city to dissuade him from holding the consistory. Taking, then, a fit opportunity, he presented himself to the pope, and kneeling before him, he told him that he was come to supplicate him, not in the name of his ministers, nor on the part of his nephews, or of the house of Barberini, but in the name of the whole city of Rome ; because his holiness, having been elected for the good of the nations and to govern the church, if he neglected the due care of his own person, and exposed himself in his weak state to great risk, he would in so doing abandon the city and the government committed to him by the church, to the extreme grief of all ; his weal or ill was of more moment to Christendom than to the house of Barberini or to his holiness himself ; if therefore he would not forego that dangerous effort at the entreaties of his nephews, he should at least do so for the urgent prayers of the city of Rome. The pope, after pondering somewhat for a while, replied, that he was not desirous of prolonging his life, knowing that the papacy was a burthen no longer adapted to his strength, and that God would provide for his church. Having made this reply, he conversed a little, and Monsignor Roscioli perceived that his eyes were full of tears ; and raising his eyes to heaven with a sigh, he burst into fervent prayer to God that He would be pleased to release him from this life, with which he seemed sorely disgusted.

[At last the Monday appointed for holding the consistory being arrived, a great multitude flocked to the palace, curious to see the pope, who shortly before had been thought dead. No sooner was he entered than the cardinals perceived his days were numbered, for he appeared languid, pale, and almost wandering in his speech ; and particularly towards the close of the consistory he seemed almost insensible. This was attributed to the excessive heat of the place, increased by the crowd that had forced their way in ; nor did the more intimate ministers of the palace, and even cardinal Barberino, escape blame for not having hindered the pope from going through such a trying scene, the people not being aware of the endeavours that had been made to dissuade him ; for no one could behold him so haggard and so broken down without being moved to pity, for it was manifest that disease had impaired his intellects and deprived him of all real judgment in business. After the propositions of the churches, and after having given the hat to cardinal Grimaldi, he left the consistory with his disorder excessively augmented, as it was foretold him would be the case.

[On the following day he did an act whereby he acquired the fame of great piety, and one which deserves to remain for an example to all ecclesiastical princes. This was to call before him some theologians deeply versed in that science, and of scrupulous piety, and whom the pope believed incapable of adulation : having first caused a full statement to be made to them of all the estates and ecclesiastical revenues wherewith in his time he had enriched the house of Barberini, he ordered

them to declare whether he had in any particular overstepped his power and authority ; for he was prepared to take back from his nephews all that might lie heavy on his conscience before God's judgment-seat. The theologians were cardinal de Lugo, padre Torquato de Cupis, of the society of Jesus, and some others. And the pope was cheered on to do this by the serenity displayed in the countenance of cardinal Barberino, when on summoning him first of all he made known to him that intention of his, on which, notwithstanding the past umbrage, he seemed as it were disposed to ask his nephew's advice. The cardinal extolled the piety of his holiness, and manifested his particular satisfaction, hoping for greater blessings from the bountiful hand of God, since all this was done solely to please his Divine majesty. It is said that the unanimous opinion of the theologians was, that his holiness, having enriched his nephews, might with a safe conscience leave them to enjoy all the wealth he had bestowed on them ; and this for two reasons, the one because having promoted to the cardinalship a number of persons whom he had not provided with incomes suitable to their rank, his nephews themselves would be in a condition to supply them according to their need ; the other argument to quiet the pope's conscience was, that the said nephews having, during so long a reign and in past wars, incurred the hatred and hostility of various princes, it was reasonable to leave them sufficient means to maintain their rank suitably to the credit of the apostolic see, and not to be scorned as commonly happens to those who are reduced from the highest command to an inferior station ; hence their being well provided with wealth and with the goods of fortune would make them more respected : and besides this, the said nephews had by nature such bowels of Christian compassion, that they would expend their incomes for the benefit of the poor and in other pious uses. These and other arguments appeared to quiet the pope.

[He proceeded then to prepare for his death, which he knew to be near at hand ; but amidst all these thoughts and considerations he showed himself filled with just indignation against the princes of Italy, and was intensely grieved to think it should remain on record, that, during his pontificate, they had confederated against him, and had assailed the states of the church with their armies : hence he sometimes broke out into bitter language against them as men without piety, without religion, and without laws, and he implored the just vengeance of Heaven that he might see them chastised before he died, or at least penitent. Already, as has been said elsewhere, peace had been made with them, and ratified and subscribed by his holiness ; but there were not included or named in it either of the two cardinals Barberini : whence the most trusty of the pope's creatures judged that whilst the house of Barberini was still feared during the pope's lifetime, every effort should be used to make the Italian princes include the cardinals in the said treaty. And cardinal Biechi, who went as plenipotentiary to the said princes on the part of France, averred, that not being certain of the pope's death they would not be averse to treat of the matter and to concede it. But cardinal Barberino forbade it in strict terms, ordering Biechi not to move in the matter at all, even though the

princes should offer it of their own accord : nor would he ever listen to any advice on this topic, alleging as his reason, that to have them two included by name in the treaty would be nothing less than declaring them to have been instigators of the war, since it is not usual or customary in treaties of peace to name ministers, but only the princes and leaders who have taken part in the war.

[There were at this time, as before-mentioned, eight vacancies in the college of cardinals, great, therefore, was the excitement at court, since so great a number of creations might cause no slight change in the established position of parties. The pope, as cardinal Barberino repeatedly told us, desirous that the cardinals should enjoy higher consideration and better incomes, thought of reducing the whole sacred college by a special constitution to the number of fifty ; hence he was resolute in his determination not to make any promotion. But Barberino, knowing that to leave so many places vacant would not be the means of effecting the pope's intention, and would serve to aggrandize the faction of his successor, repeatedly besought him that he would yield to the general desire, and promote as many candidates as were worthy of the purple. But it was all to no purpose, the pope making answer that he would not have any of his successors allege his example for privately and indecorously creating cardinals on his death-bed ; that he himself followed the example set by Gregory XV., and would transmit it with equal lustre to posterity. Other personages lent their aid, particularly cardinal de Luzo, who, to give force to the arguments of cardinal Barberino, suggested to the pope the consistorial decree of the three already elected cardinals, which had been made out since the consistory in which the last promotion had been made, saying, that cardinal Barberino, as vice-chancellor, was bound to lay it before his holiness, not that he might make a promotion, as was Gregory's case, but only that he might declare the cardinals who had been already elected, and who were kept in reserve, which publication appeared reasonable to the whole college, nor did it require another consistory. But, whether it was that the pope felt indignant that cardinal Barberino had proposed to him some persons unsatisfactory to his holiness, or that he thought he would leave behind him so much the more glorious a memory, he was proof against importunity, and ordered that no one should venture to say another word to him on the subject of promotion. . . . .

[Pope Urban's aspect was very pleasing but full of majesty, although there was somewhat of melancholy in his temperament, so that when he was let blood, which was usually in the spring time, there issued from his veins small congealed pieces as it were of that humour. Nor could he but for this have made such advance in letters, philosophers telling us that melancholy contributes much to the apprehension of the sciences, and to the retaining of them in the memory. The symmetry of his body and his limbs was nobly adjusted. His stature was rather tall than otherwise ; his flesh was of a colour inclining to olive, and lymphatic rather than fat ; his head was large, which denoted a marvellous intellect and a very lively memory ; his forehead was ample and serene ;

the colour of the eyes was between blue and white ; his nose well proportioned ; his cheeks round, but in his latter years much thinner ; his voice was sonorous but mellow, so that, with the Tuscan accent, which he retained all through his life, there issued from it the sweetest words, full of eloquence, and interspersed with flowers of polite letters, of sacred erudition, and of antique examples : from the time he became a prelate he wore his beard of a respectable length and squared, which with his white hair gave him a most venerable aspect. . . .

[In truth he was so amiable, that, except a too great openness, unless when checked by the importance of the affair, there was nothing in his character to conceal from the keenest critic. And if at times he broke out in a passion, he very soon resumed his former good humour . . . . It was the opinion of sagacious persons, that with him a man should be either profoundly learned or not at all so : for whereas he did not disdain to be won by a man's knowledge in the former case, so he had such compassion for a person in the latter condition, that he himself aided and assisted him, provided the latter were not presumptuous or proud, abusing the conduct and good nature of the pope, who was always stern and inflexible with the proud and the arrogant, whilst he was equally friendly and benevolent to the respectful and the modest. . . . Towards the aforesaid servants, and also towards his own relations he was very courteous, in choosing times to employ them, more with regard to their convenience than his own ; not disdaining at times to listen patiently to what they had to say, either as to their feelings or their troubles. And in his illnesses he seemed more afflicted at the fatigue and the sleepless nights of his attendants than at his own disorder and sufferings. He was not indulgent withal to those who were clamorous in their complaints and lamentations ; but it went hard with him to deny, or to see any one leave his presence dissatisfied. Among his most intimate servants he was very cheerful, and would sometimes jest with them, and utter ingenious witticisms . . . . He never forgot his old friends, whether absent or dead, and his benevolence in this respect was admirable : accordingly he gave orders to cardinal Biscia his creature, who had been one of his most intimate friends, to give him frequent news of them, and if they were dead to take note of their descendants, in order to provide for them as opportunity occurred.

[The greatest plenty of all things prevailed in Rome at his time : he was used to say that he had derived his birth from Florence, but from Rome all his greatness, and that he wished every one to enjoy the prosperity of his pontificate ; that the vendible offices of the chancery should bring in large profits to the purchasers, and he was therefore highly gratified in the contracts of the dataria ; that the artisans should make large but legitimate gains by their employments, and that the merchants too of every kind should do the same : hence it was that during his reign there was so much money in circulation, that every body of every calling was content and happy. His orders respecting the annona were such, that he excused expense with a view to maintain plenty. It was his greatest pleasure that the agriculturists should not be deprived of those gains which he thought

were demanded by their dangerous way of life, and by the capital employed on the great extent of the Roman lands, and in an unwholesome atmosphere. And as the sea coast seemed fit to him for nothing else than agriculture, he fixed his thoughts on this, and frequently entertained the design of draining the Pontine marshes, to recover that immense tract of land which is now under water, and that for the public benefit; but other weighty cares did not allow him an opportunity to enjoy the execution of so glorious a design. To maintain the said plenty, he would never consent that the price of grain or of other provision should have a fixed standard; but that every thing should be free, to the avoidance of monopoly. Hence the merchants filling their granaries, every one vied in selling cheap, and thus the city of Rome became wealthy.

[It is no wonder if letters flourished in his pontificate, for he had no more favourite recreation than the company of men of letters, whom he always received with kindness and munificence. In like manner he was very fond of the other noble professions, such as painting, sculpture, and the other fine arts; so that he did not disdain frequently, and in particular one day, as he went to visit the seven churches with the whole said college, on coming to Santa Maria Maggiore, after praying in that church, to enter with the same retinue of cardinals into the house of the cavalier Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini, which was near that spot, to see some celebrated productions of his chisel.]

[He was compelled by the same cause to impose taxes and burthens upon them; wherefore he was sometimes seen to weep at such news: saying that he would willingly give his own blood and that of his relations, rather than hear of the affliction of the people of Rome, and the distresses of the apostolic treasury: and he said to monsignor Lorenzo Raggi, the treasurer, who had an audience of him in his last illness, that he wished to live only two months longer for three reasons: first, to have a longer time for repentance, and to implore God's pardon on his sins; secondly, to complete the re-deposit in the castle of St. Angelo of all the money that had been taken from it for the war of Castro; and thirdly, to see the completion of the walls of the Borgo and of Trastevere, and the city of Rome secured.]

[If the heroic acts of the pope be described by my feeble pen without eloquence, without grandeur of style, and in a manner altogether disproportioned to the greatness of such a pontiff, nevertheless they will have been recorded with pure and sincere truth: this was particularly enjoined and inculcated upon me, by those who had supreme authority over me; namely, that *I should write simply as a historian, and should totally abstain from all adulation and rancies, and from rhetorical amplifications, attending more to the matter than to the language.*

[But to speak of his application to sacred matters, besides his having caused the Roman ritual to be corrected and reprinted, he did not neglect to give many orders respecting the papal chapel: only a few however of the chief of these have been carried into effect, whether from the inattention of the ministers, or from the interference of other serious matters. It is a fact, however, that he reformed

the custom of indulgences, to stop the mouths of the heretics.

[Finally, if Urban had not engaged in war, or rather if he had not been provoked and dragged into it by force,—which, moreover, conduced in a great measure to hasten his death,—there could not be desired a more glorious pope or a prince of more exalted qualities, through which, for many years of his pontificate he won the love of all Christendom, so that to this day his memory is blessed by nations for those happy years in which they enjoyed peace and tranquillity.]

## SECTION VI.

### LATER EPOCHS.

WE have in the preceding section collected all that relates directly to Urban VIII.; there remain some writings that connect his times with those that succeeded them.

121. *Relazione della vita del card<sup>e</sup> Cecchini composta da lui medesimo.* (Barb. 275 pages.) [Life of Cardinal Cecchini by himself.]

Personal memoirs, which do not exactly throw much light on important matters of state, but which certainly give a very instructive example of the private life of an ecclesiastic, passed under remarkable circumstances.

The author hints that he composed them for his own amusement. "Tra tutte le cose che apportano all' uomo sommo piacere, una è la memoria delle cose passate."

When fifteen years of age Cecchini went, in the year 1604, from Perugia to Rome.

He had built his hopes on the Aldobrandini, to whom he was distantly related; but Clement VIII. died too soon for his welfare, and after his death the Aldobrandini had no longer any power. Cecchini indeed might at once have formed new hopes; he had already been acquainted in Perugia with Scipioni Cafarelli, the same who made such a profitable use of his position as nephew under Paul V.; but Cafarelli would not remember his former acquaintance, and the young man was obliged to look elsewhere for a patron.

It was now his good fortune to attach himself to two monsignori, who both of them afterwards attained to supreme dignity—Ludovisio and Pamfilio.

The opinion very early prevailed in Rome that Ludovisio would obtain the tiara. When Ludovico the latter's nephew entered the prelature in 1619, many looked on him as the future cardinal padrone. All eyes were turned upon him; his friends and servants began to strive to oust each other. Cecchini himself complains that attempts were made to displace him; but he contrived to stand his ground: he was even able to render his master important service; being a relation of the Aldobrandini family, he was able to effect a junction between the two houses. Cardinal Aldobrandino promised his vote to Ludovisio.

All measures were soon taken in anticipation of that cardinal's election. Cardinal Ludovisio for a

long while scrupled to accept a Spanish pension of 1200 scudi, offered him after the conclusion of the peace with Savoy: he was afraid lest he should thereby incur the enmity of the French. Ceechini was obliged to speak to the French ambassador, and allay any suspicion he might have conceived from that cause.

Under these circumstances cardinal Ludovico came to the conclave in Rome, after the death of Paul V., with the full expectation of being elected. Ceechini hastened to meet him. "I conduct the pope to Rome," he said in the gladness of his zeal. "Only let us beware of cardinal d'Aquino, and all will be well," replied Ludovico. "Ludovico aveva tal sicurezza del pontificato che domandommi per burla chi saria stato papa: rispondevogli che il papa non era in Roma e che io l'avrei condotto, con gran fiducia mi soggiunse queste parole: Guardatemi del card<sup>e</sup> d'Aquino, che faremo bene."

Everything succeeded to their wishes: Ludovico was actually elected. The nephew embraced Ceechini in his joy, and made him his auditor.

The latter was now thus brought in contact with the supreme authority. He was not without some share in business of state, at least he was privy to it to some extent; but his chief occupation was the management of the cardinal's money matters. The revenues from Avignon and Fermo passed through his hands: the cardinal did not choose it to be generally known how much he spent, for he was exceedingly sumptuous. When Ludovico obtained the chamberlainship, Ceechini was made auditor of that office.

Strange are the abuses that are here made known to us. Orders were issued in the name of the cardinal nephew, called "non gravetur." Whoever possessed them was not to be molested by the officers of justice. People sought to secure themselves from their creditors by a "non gravetur;" there were even working men so protected. But our author relates still worse things. Suits were instituted under pope Paul V. against the prior and the prince Aldobrandini. Ceechini asserts that the fiscal general employed false testimony to obtain a conviction against them. Their death, however, had not been intended: the object had only been to compel the Aldobrandini to cede certain castles to the Borghesi. The fiscal general was imprisoned for this under Gregory XV. "Era vivente Gregorio stato carcerato Pier Maria Ciocchi, che vivente papa Paolo fu fiscale generale, per molte imputationi, tra le quali la principale era che nella causa criminale intentata al principe e priore Aldobrandino, nella quale furono condannati in pena della vita e della robba, egli avesse procurato di far esaminar testimonj falsi, sicome in effetto fece. La detta sentenza non fu data per altro se non perche il card<sup>e</sup> Pietro Aldobrandino si disponesse a cedere al card<sup>e</sup> Borghese li castelli di Montefortino e di Olevano, che aveva comprati dal duca di Zagarolo, sicome se volese la gratia della detta condennatione delli nepoti, lo convenne fare, con farli anco constituir prigionj in castello, dove stettero quattro mesi." Detestable villanies these. Historical truth forbids us to suppress them: at the same time we must remark, that Ceechini was naturally an adherent of the Aldobrandini.

After Gregory XV. Urban VIII. was elected. Ceechini had already had an opportunity of doing

him a great service, though merely by keeping silence. When cardinal, Urban had once said in a moment of violent anger, that something should be borne in mind against cardinal Ludovico, and nothing was calculated to do him more hurt in the conclave than the threat, since Ludovico had so much power in it: but at Magalotto's request Ceechini kept silence.

Urban appears very characteristically on another occasion in this biography.

Urban VIII. was deeply offended at Borgia's protest: he imputed a participation in it to cardinals Ubaldini and Ludovico, and wished to punish them for it. Ubaldini would have been thrown into prison, had not the fiscal strenuously opposed the act; but at any rate that cardinal was obliged to quit Rome, nor would the pope suffer Ludovico to remain there. He sent on that account for Ceechini, who was still in the service of Ludovico, and ordered him to tell the cardinal he must betake himself within fourteen days to his archbishopric of Bologna. He accompanied this command with violent demonstrations of anger. "I had to listen to him for a good hour," says Ceechini, "while he threatened with all sorts of abuse to punish Borgia also: I did not venture to interrupt him: he then repeated that Ludovico must withdraw, or he should be forced to do so by the shirr." Ceechini would have done better to have held his peace on this occasion too; but he thought it necessary to report what had passed to his master. It marks very strongly the character of the court, that he thus ruined himself with all parties. Ludovico thought that Ceechini should not have endured the pope's language, but should rather have come to an open rupture with him. Cardinal Barberino was incensed that Ceechini had not first spoken with him, the cardinal nephew. But the most furious of all was Urban himself, particularly as the matter was reported in a somewhat disfigured shape. He sent once more for poor Ceechini, and made a scene in which his old rage against his enemies, and regret for his expressions—at what he had done and what he wished undone—his conviction of his omnipotence as pope, and his feeling that others, after all, had not done wrong, were curiously mixed up together. But Urban VIII. was one who came to himself at last. Ludovico had left Rome, and died soon after; Ceechini had indeed lost his former place, but he had got a new one, which even gave him an opportunity of sometimes seeing the pope. "Monsieur Ceechini," said the latter to him one day, "forgive us; we went too far in our conduct towards you." Ceechini says, that tears rushed into his eyes at this, and that he replied with deep emotion. The pope's major domo visited him in the course of the same day, and told him that the pope had for four years looked forward to that hour, and was heartily glad it had come at last.

Ceechini now adhered as before to the Aldobrandini; we find him very actively concerned about the marriage of the rich heiress of that house, Olimpia. Cardinal Ippolito died without having made any definite arrangement on the subject, and it was feared that the Barberini would not let so large an inheritance escape them. Olimpia was obliged to feign sickness. With the aid of the general of the Jesuits, with whom it was necessary to consult on the whole matter, it was con-

trived to effect the marriage with young Borghese, which the cardinal had finally desired, six days after his death.

The Barberini did not however drop Ceechini on this account: after they had inquired whether or not he had any connexion with the Farnesi, they employed him in the arming of Rome.

Ceechini immediately found that the tax upon the wine of the country was unpopular. He explained to cardinal Barberino that it was a tax the Romans had never endured, and for which they had revolted against Eugenius IV., and he actually succeeded, although a monte had already been founded on the proceeds of the tax, in having the contractor forthwith summoned. The latter readily abandoned the contract, as he found it exceedingly difficult to levy the tax. Ceechini hastened to the capitol, where the Romanists were holding an assembly, and communicated this news to them. At first they would not believe him, but he had the contractor called, who confirmed his statement. Every one shouted "Viva papa Urbano, viva monsignor Ceechini!" and they kissed his hand and his garments.

But Ceechini had not yet reached his highest promotion. He had the further good fortune to see one of his oldest patrons, and perhaps the warmest of them all, cardinal Pamfilj, ascend the pontifical throne.

At first the Barberini were in favour with Innocent X.: Ceechini was invited to present himself with the two cardinals before the pope. "Has cardinal Barberino said anything to you?" Innocent asked him.—"No."—"The pope then turned first to Francesco and then to Antonio, and desired them to speak. They declined to do so. At last the pope said, "We will not keep you longer in suspense: we have made you our datario; for this you are indebted to the cardinals Barberini, who have made the request of us: we have cheerfully complied with it."

This place was accompanied however with much that was unpleasant. The pope was unstable, obstinate, and distrustful. We know from other sources that Ceechini's administration did not altogether escape censure. Donna Olimpia Maidalchini could not bear him, if it were only because her sister-in-law Donna Clementia also received presents from him; but I have already alluded to these matters: they are of a certain importance as regards the administration of Innocent X.: the most disgusting, scandalous scenes ensued: Ceechini was rejoiced when Donna Olimpia was finally expelled from court. It was during her disgrace, shortly after the decease of Panzirolo, who died in November 1561, consequently about the year 1562, that he wrote this work.

It strikes me, that not only in its sentiments, but even in its several expressions, there prevails quite a modern character, the tone of daily life among the Roman prelates of the present or very recent times.

122. *Diario veridico e spassionato della città e corte di Roma, dove si legge tutti li successi della suddetta città incominciando dal primo d'Agosto 1640 fino all' ultimo dell' anno 1644, notato e scritto fedelmente da Deone hora Temi Dio, e copiato dal proprio originale. Informatt. Politt.* tom. xl. to the end of 1642; tom. xlvii.

to the end of 1644; tom. xlii. continuation 1645—1647; tom. xliii. 1648—1650. (Altogether more than 2000 leaves.) [A veracious and dispassionate diary of the city and court of Rome, wherein are set down all the events of the said city from the 1st of August 1640, to the close of the year 1644, noted and faithfully recorded by Deone, now Temi Dio, and copied from his own original.]

I have not been able to obtain any further account of the author of this unusually voluminous diary, besides what he himself gives here and there.

It appears that he was in the Spanish service, and that he was employed in the affairs between the Netherlands and Rome, particularly those connected with the dataria. I should think he was really a Spaniard and not a Netherlander. He translated comedies for the carnival from Spanish into Italian, and had them performed by young persons before a very brilliant audience. He entertained a religious reverence for the Spanish monarchy, to which he belonged; he speaks frequently of "the holy monarchy," but for which Peter's bark would soon founder. He manifests vehement and undisguised hatred to its opponents and deserters. He declares the Catalans, who for a while remained independent, to be a barbarous nation: somebody had solicited from him a recommendation to the dataria; he told them they must first become good subjects again to their king. Still less could he endure that the Portuguese had even set up for themselves another king; his book is full of invectives against that nation. He states, that at least all of them who were settled in Rome were inclined to lapse into Judaism. Bad as matters were, however, he did not lose courage. He still hoped that Holland would in his own day submit again to the king: heresy had its periods; only wait and they would come to an end. He was a most enthusiastic and orthodox believer in the Spanish monarchy!

Every fourteen days the earnest servant of Philip IV. dictated a letter or report of whatever had happened worthy of note during that interval, and then dispatched it to some grandee of Spain. These were originally avvisi, such as were so common at that time; collected together they formed a journal.

Thus the whole work is composed in the spirit natural to the author. The leaning of pope Urban VIII. to France, and the entire political position he had assumed, are regarded in an evil light by him. Pope Innocent X. on the other hand, who had struck into a different line of policy, is looked on by him with a much more favourable eye.

The author left no subject untouched; ecclesiastical and literary matters; histories of the orders and of the court; domestic affairs and politics; general political considerations and accounts of cities.

If we inquire more closely into the sources of his information, I think we shall find them to be principally as follows.—All who had any business in the palace used to assemble on the appointed days in the antechamber of the cardinal nephew: a general conversation took place; every one related his news; there was nothing that could arrest attention that was not mentioned there; as far as I can conclude



from some hints, it was in these meetings that our author collected the chief part of his intelligence.

He goes to work with great honesty in the matter: he endeavours to come accurately at the truth; he frequently adds information received at a later period.

Sometimes, however, he saw the pope too, the nephews, and the most influential statesmen: he is most careful in marking what he collected from their discourse; occasionally this is remarkable enough.

It cannot be said that the reading of so diffuse a work is precisely speaking very interesting; still it now and then makes us acquainted with persons and things almost as if we saw them, they are set before us so frequently and in such diversified lights.

It would be impossible to make anything like a satisfactory abstract of so voluminous a work; we must be content with those passages to which I have already referred.

"1. Una delle più belle memorie di questa già dominatrice del mondo è un monumento antico in forma rotonda di circonferenza grandissima e di bellissimo marmo presso a San Sebastiano detto Capo di bove. Il Bernino, statuario famosissimo del papa per suo utile, ha posto in considerazione di fare una facciata sontuosa all' Acqua Vergine detta di Trevi: ottenne un breve di poter buttare a terra quella macchina sì bella, et incominciò a metterla in esecuzione: ma fu dal popolo Romano avvedutosene impedito, e l'opera cessa per non cagionare rumori.

"2. Martedì mattina tenne concilio generale in Campidoglio il popolo Romano, che fu numerosissimo più che mai, atteso che vi concorsero molti titolati, che per il passato non mai intervennero. La proposta fu che sendo il popolo Romano supposto dalle gabelle imposte da papa Urbano si dovesse supplicare Sua S<sup>ta</sup> per levare almeno la gabella della macina, tanto più che fu imposta fin che durasse la guerra all'ora in piedi, la quale hoggi è terminata. Passò il partito, e furono deputati sei gentiluomini Romani per esporre al papa la petitione incontinenti. Comparve Don Cesare Colonna, zio del principe di Galliciano, il quale dimandò udienza da popolo Romano da parte della signora Donna Anna Barberina. Gli fu risposto che venisse, e postosi allo scabelletto trasse dal seno un memoriale, dicendo che era di Donna Anna Colonna, e chiedeva che si legesse. Fu letto, e diceva che non si dovesse mandare al papa per levar gabelle giuridiche e con legittima causa imposte da papa Urbano, il cui zelo verso la giustizia e meriti che ha con questa città non permettono che si ritratti il disposto di lui. Restò ogn'uno meravigliato da simil dimandata, volente impedire il sollevamento del popolo: ma fu però subito penetrato che la buona signora aveva perinteso che si levarebbe la gabella colli beni de' Barberini. Fu risposto al Colonna che'l senato e popolo non faceva altro che esporre alla Sua S<sup>ta</sup> il bisogno della città. Questa risposta il Colonna portò correndo a Donna Anna, che stava aspettando per quest' effetto alla chiesa d'Araceli. . . . . Mercoledì il cardinal Colonna avendo inteso la disorbitante proposta della sorella, mandò al senato Romano a farli sapere ch'egli non hebbe in quella sciocchezza parte alcuna, ma che era pronto di assistere alla giusta petitione del popolo. . . . .

Venerdì mattina il popolo Romano di nuovo convocò consiglio pieno, e fu riferito che S. S<sup>ta</sup> s'era contentato di levar la gabella della macina con l'effetto di Don Taddeo Barberini, di modo che fu ben divisata la pretensione di Donna Anna Barberina."

[1. One of the most beautiful monuments of this city, formerly the mistress of the world, is an ancient monument of a round form, of vast circumference and of very beautiful marble (an error undoubtedly, for the monument is of Travertine) near San Sebastiano, called the Capo di bove. Bernino, a very famous and able statuary of the pope, has proposed to make a sumptuous façade to the Acqua Vergine named di Trevi: he obtained a brief from the pope authorizing him to pull down that beautiful structure, and he began to do so; but on the Roman people perceiving it, he was interrupted by them, and the work is stopped to avoid disturbances.

[2. On Tuesday morning the Roman people held a general council in Campidoglio, which was exceedingly thronged, more so than ever, seeing that many titled persons went thither who on former occasions had never been present. The subject for consideration was, that the Roman people being borne down by the taxes imposed by pope Urban, they should supplicate his holiness to take off at least the tax on grist, the more as it was imposed for the duration of the war then waged, which had now ceased. The resolution was carried, and six Roman gentlemen were deputed immediately to lay the petition before the pope. Don Cesare Colonna, nephew of the prince di Galliciano, presented himself, and demanded to be heard by the Roman people on behalf of signora Donna Anna Barberina. He was directed to come forward, upon which he advanced, and drawing out a memorial which he said was from Donna Anna Colonna, he asked permission to read it. It was read, and its tenour was, that the pope should not be asked to take off lawful taxes imposed for a legitimate cause by pope Urban, whose zeal in the cause of justice, and whose deserts towards this city, forbade the repeal of his arrangements. Every one was amazed at such a proposal to hinder the relief of the people: but it was immediately seen through, that the good lady had understood that the tax was to be taken off at the expense of the estates of the Barberini. Answer was made to Colonna, that the senate and people did no more than lay the wants of the city before his holiness. Colonna ran with this reply to Donna Anna, who remained waiting at the church of Araceli.—On Wednesday cardinal Colonna, having heard of his sister's extravagant proposition, sent to acquaint the Roman senate that he had no part in that absurdity, but that he was ready to aid the just petition of the people. . . . On Friday morning the Roman people again convoked a full assembly, and it was reported that his holiness was pleased to take off the tax on grist at the cost of Don Taddeo Barberini, so that Donna Anna Barberina's scheme was shrewd enough.]

123. *Del stato di Roma presente.* (MS. Vindob. Fosc. n. 147,) also under the title, *Relatione di Roma fatta dall' Alnuden.* [Report of the present state of Rome.]

I will not pretend to determine whether this

belongs to the latter part of the reign of Urban VIII, or to the beginning of that of Innocent X. : it is very important as to the internal affairs of Rome during that period, the Tiber and the Anio, the increase of the aria cattiva, the incomes of the Romans, money matters in general, and the condition of families. It is not impossible that this little work may have been composed by the author of the diary : some indications seem to point to this conclusion.

I will not, however, make any lengthened extracts from it, since, if I am not mistaken, I have seen an old printed copy of it in the possession of the late Fea. I will only quote one passage, to which I have alluded above, at page 303.

"Gregorio XIII considerando che quantità grande di danaro usciva da Roma e dallo stato per prezzo di grani che venivano per mare da Barberia ed altri luoghi, spesso volte riscaldati e guasti, e tal volta non giungevano a tempo o si restavano affatto, per sottrarsi da tutti questi mancamenti, fece smacchiare per molte miglia riducendo la campagna a coltura, sicché Roma da quel tempo di rado ha avuto bisogno di grano forestiero : ed il buon pontefice Gregorio ha conseguito il suo intento : ma lo smacchiare ha aperto il passo a' venti cattivi, da quali nasce ogni intemperie, che cagiona certo morbo chiamato da Alessandro da Cività medico, trattando de' morbi de' Romani, capiplenium, cosa sopra modo fastidiosa e più alli forestieri ch'alli nativi, morbo anco cresciuto dopo la condotta di tanti fonti, dalli quali Roma, sendo bassa ed umida di sua positura, vien resa più umida per la moltitudine dell' acque delle fontane. Siccome Gregorio XIII smacchiò la campagna sotto Roma verso il mare grassa ed attissima per la coltivazione del grano, così Sisto Quinto smacchiò la campagna sopra Roma meno fertile, per torre il picevero a' masnadieri che infestavano le strade, e ben riusciva il disegno, perché li sradicò affatto."

[Gregory XIII. taking into consideration that a great deal of money was sent out from Rome and from the state, in payment of the corn imported by sea from Barbary and other places, which was frequently heated and spoiled, and sometimes did not arrive in time or at all, to prevent all these inconveniences caused many miles of country to be cleared and put in cultivation, so that since that time Rome has rarely needed foreign corn ; and the good pope Gregory obtained his object. But the clearing the country opened a passage for the unwholesome winds, which occasion all kinds of atmospheric evils, and a certain disease called by Alessandro da Cività the physician, in his treatise on the diseases of the Romans, Capiplenium, a most distressing complaint, and more so to foreigners than to natives, and one which has increased since the formation of so many water works, by which Rome, which by its position is low and humid, is rendered still more moist with the abundance of water flowing from the fountains. As Gregory XIII. cleared the country below Rome towards the sea, which was rich and very fit for the cultivation of corn, so Sixtus V. cleared that above Rome which was less fertile, to destroy the haunts of the robbers who infested the roads. And he fully succeeded, for he completely extirpated them.] The author approves of the proceeding of Sixtus V., because it gave more free passage to the Tramontana : but how many evils have been attri-

buted to this Tramontana in later times ! (Cancellieri sopra il tarantismo p. 88.)

124. *Compendio delli casi più degni e memorandi occorsi nelli pontificati da Gregorio XIII. fino alla creazione di Clemente IX. (50 leaves).* [Compendium of the most memorable events in the pontificates from Gregory XIII. up to the election of Clement IX.]

The author asserts he saw the clouds that obscured the Quirinal at the death of Sixtus V. (Aug. 1590). As this little work extends to the year 1667, it is plain it cannot be the production of one writer ; it must have been continued at a later period in a similar style to that in which it was begun, that is, as a collection of Roman memorabilia and anecdotes. For instance, we read in it that the French monks in Trinità di Monte quarrelled with those from Calabria and elsewhere, and drove them out, so that the latter built Andrea della Fratte, which was then situated among gardens ; how the Jesuits roused all the other orders again to do their duty ; the miracles that took place ; accounts of the buildings of the popes.

We meet, however, with many things worthy of remark, for instance, the following account of the death of Bianca Capello : " Volendo la granduchessa di Toscana Bianca Capelli avvelenare il cardl Ferdinand suo cognato in certa confezione, il GD Francesco suo marito ne mangiò prima : il che inteso da lei, ne mangiò essa ancora, e tutti due morirono subito, et il cardl si fece granduca." [Bianca Capello, grand duchess of Tuscany, wishing to poison her brother-in-law cardinal Ferdinand with a certain confection, the grand duke Francesco her husband ate of it first. Upon her discovering this, she also ate of it, and they both died immediately, and the cardinal became grand duke ;] and this of the dismissal of cardinal Clesel from Vienna, which the Jesuit confessor of Ferdinand II. would never consent to : " Verospi ebbe un giorno commodità d'essere coll' imp<sup>re</sup> senza il Giesuita, e con bella maniera fece capace l'impr<sup>e</sup> che non poteva ritenere detto cardl<sup>o</sup> e solo il papa esser suo vero giudice, e talmente commosse Cesare che lo fece piangere e glielo fece consignare." [Verospi found one day an opportunity to be with the emperor without the presence of the Jesuit, and he cleverly persuaded the emperor that he could not retain the said cardinal, and that the pope alone was his proper judge ; and he so wrought on the emperor that he made him weep, and caused the cardinal to be consigned to him.] Traits of manners too. A rich prelate introduces a clause into his will, that his nephew shall inherit his property only in case he dies a natural death, otherwise it should be devoted to pious purposes. Duke Cesarini never paid any one till preparations were made for putting up to auction the pledge that had been taken from him. An Orsino threatened to fling a troublesome creditor out of the window : the creditor begged he would let him confess first ; Orsino replied that no one had any business to come to him unshriven (che bisognava venirci confessata). A necromancer rode into Rome in a carriage drawn by two dogs : it was said they were two fiends that carried him wherever he pleased. The courier from Milan asserted that he had left him

in that city, and found him in Rome on his arrival. The supposed wizard was seized and put to death.

Had these notices but been written by a man of somewhat more ability, they would have been invaluable; they would have brought manners and times vividly before us, without such wearisome research as we are forced to by the above mentioned diary.

Let us now proceed to the works immediately relating to Innocent X.

REMARKS ON GUALDI VITA DI DONNA OLIMPIA  
MALDACHINA, 1666.

When we learn that Gregorio Leti, with whom we have become sufficiently acquainted, is the author of this work, we have hardly an inducement to go into the question of its credibility; there is the strongest presumption against it.

But as there appeared a French translation of it in 1770, and a German in 1783, and as Schröckh gives it as his opinion that its main facts at least may be relied on, since they never were disputed, it will not perhaps be superfluous to say a word on the subject. The author, be it observed, boldly avers he will relate nothing he had not himself seen, or of which he had not obtained the most certain evidence.

At the very first start he tells the tale that the Maldachini family, which he considered Roman, once made a pilgrimage to Loreto, and they met at Borghetto with young Pamfilj, who fell in love with Donna Olimpia, the daughter of the house, and after the return from the pilgrimage he married her: but very soon Olimpia became more familiar with his brother, the subsequent pope, then a young abbate, than with her husband. On this connection was founded the influence which Donna Olimpia possessed over Innocent X.

Now we may confidently assert, that there is not a word of truth in this.

The Maldachini family was not Roman, but from Acquapendente. Donna Olimpia was a widow when she married Pamfilj. Her first husband was Paolo Nini of Viterbo, the last of that family: as she inherited his property she brought a rich dower into the house of Pamfilj. Upon this, and not upon an imaginary intimacy with the pope, was founded the influence she enjoyed in the family. When the marriage took place, Innocent X. was far from being a young abbate. In an inscription set up by the senior of the house in the Villa Maldachina at Viterbo, it is stated that he had decorated that villa in the year 1625, before his sister married into the house of Pamfilj. "Marchio Andreas Maldachinus . . . villam hanc ante nuptias sororem suam Olympiam cum Innocentii X germano fratre . . . extruxit ornavitque anno Domini MDCXXV." The entire inscription is given in Bussi's *Istoria di Viterbo*, p. 332. Hence the marriage could not have taken place till about the year 1626, at which period Giambattista Pamfilj, afterwards Innocent X., was already fifty-four years of age, and no longer an abbate, but a prelate of twenty years' standing. Just then he was engaged in numerous nunciatures. If we may draw any conclusion from some expressions of his, Donna Olimpia's claims on his gratitude will have consisted in her aiding him on these occasions as well as subsequently out of her private fortune.

He was enabled by her to maintain the splendour which was required in those days for the success of an aspirant. The whole tenour of their intercourse was in keeping with this beginning of Donna Olimpia, who as she had aided the prelate, and contributed in a certain extent to his attainment of the papacy, was resolved to have her share in the advantages of that dignity.

In the minute journal already spoken of, which keeps pace step by step with Donna Olimpia's proceedings, and in which mention is made of all the secrets of the papal household, there is not a hint of any illegitimate intimacy between the pope and his sister-in-law.

This little work of Leti's is another romance put together from apocryphal tales and chimerical fictions.

125. *Relazione degli ambasciatori straordinarij a Roma al sommo pontefice Innocentio X, Pietro Foscarini K<sup>r</sup>, Zuanne Nani K<sup>r</sup> Proce, Aluise Moenigo I fu di q. Aluise, e Bertucci Valier K<sup>r</sup>. 1645 3 Ott.* [Report of the ambassadors extraordinary to Innocent X., Pietro Foscarini, &c.]

A complete change ensued after the death of Urban. Innocent X. was disliked by the French; he would gladly succour the emperor if he could; he was a friend to the Venetians. It was possible, however, that he wavered in his measures from natural indecision of character. The ambassadors thought it, therefore, doubly necessary not to break with him on private grounds, nor to forfeit the good will of the pope for the sake of a dissolute monk.

The previous history of Innocent X. is thus represented.

"Nasce il presente sommo pontefice Innocentio X, chiamato prima Gio. Batt. card<sup>le</sup> Pamfilio, della famiglia de' Pamfilj originata già in Ugubbio città dello stato d'Urbino. Questa venne habitare in Roma sotto il pontificato d'Innocentio VIII, si apparentò con le prime case della città, visse sempre in molta riputatione et honorevolezza. La madre di S. B<sup>ne</sup> fu della famiglia de' marchesi dal Buffolo, nobile e principale, della quale ne fa il papa hoggi di molto conto, ritrovandosene più d'uno al suo servizio in palazzo. Fu la S<sup>ta</sup> Sua allevata dal card<sup>le</sup> Gerolamo Pamfilio, suo zio paterno, che visse in gran concetto e fu vicino ad esser papa o che fu fatto card<sup>le</sup> da Clemente VIII, mentre si trovava auditor decano della rota chiaro per la virtù et innocenza de' suoi costumi. Si trova la S<sup>ta</sup> Sua in età di 72 anni, di statura più che ordinaria, ben proportionata, maestosa nella persona, piena di grande mansuetudine e benignità: onde sempre che esce dalle sue stanze per occasione di concistorj, capelle o altre occasioni, da prontamente e volentieri audienza a tutti di ogni conditione, benché poveri e miserabili, che se gli fanno innanzi, riceve i lor memoriali, o con molta pazienza e carità procura di sollevare ognuno, consolar tutti con grande acclamation dei sudditi e con gran differenza dal pontificato antecedente. Fu il papa prima avvocato concistoriale, poi auditor di rota eletto da Clemente VIII. Fu da Gregorio XV mandato nuncio a Napoli e da Urbano VIII impiegato nelle legationi di Franza e Spagna del card<sup>le</sup> Barberino con titolo di datario, fu dallo stesso Urbano eletto patriarca d'Antiochia, man-

dato noncio in Spagna, e poi promosso al cardinalato li 9 Novembre 1627. Come cardinale è stato in concetto di natura severa, inclinato al rigore, puntuale nelle cose ecclesiastiche. È stato sempre adoperato in tutte le congregazioni principali, e si può dire che ha esercitate tutte le cariche più principali di Roma con universale sodisfazione, havendo nell' animo suo fatta sempre particular sede la modestia, la pazienza, l'integrità, la virtù, la mira di non disgustare alcuno, accarezzando tutti e condonando le ingiurie. Gode una buona salute, ha complessione assai robusta, va sobrio nel cibo, fa volentieri esercizio, assiste alle capelle et altre funzioni con gran maestà, e fa tutte le cose ecclesiastiche con pompa, decoro, particular godimento suo e puntualità. Va pesato assai in tutti li negotii gravi, vuol tempo ad esaminarli e risolverli. È stato solito nella sua passata fortuna andar tardi e tardi levarsi dal letto, osserva il medesimo stile nel pontificato, onde rare volte è ritirato avanti la mezza notte nè lavato la mattina avanti qualche hora del giorno. Ha nei tempi andati fatta molta stima dei principi: ha desiderate le loro giuste sodisfazioni: si dichiara preservare ne' stessi concetti, non voler esser parziale d'alcuna delle due corone, ma padre universale amorevole di tutti: si risente non incontrar bene nè con l'una nè con l'altra di esse al presente, e se n'è esalata con grande confidenza più d'una volta con noi: crede però che ognuno si dolga per avvantaggiare i proprij interessi, non perchè ambedue non conoscano la necessità della sua indipendenza, o come che sia amica della pace naturalment e la obblighi a questa il posto di pontefice in cui si trova costituito. Va nutrendosi con simili concetti ricevendo a grande alimento suo la confidenza con la Serenissima Repubblica, come questa con l'autorità, consigli et amor suo possa esserle del maggior presiglio: anzi soggetto di grand' eminenza e della maggior confidenza nostra ha confidato ad alcuno di noi, forse d'ordine della S<sup>ta</sup> Sua, la intenzione ch' ella havrebbe di stringersi con l'EEFVV con particolare alleanza, quando credesse incontrare la publica disposizione: sopra di che con termini generali ufficiosi fu risposto, nessun nodo poter maggiormente legare i principi che la sincerità e corrispondenza de' cuori e la uniformità de' fini et interessi."

[Pope Innocent X., formerly Gio. Batt., cardinal Pamfilio, is sprung from the family of Pamfilio, originally of Ugubbio, a town in the state of Urbino. The family migrated to Rome under the pontificate of Innocent VIII., intermixed with the first houses of the city, and always lived in much repute and honour. The mother of his holiness was of the family of the marquises of Buffolo, a noble and exalted race, of which the pope now makes much account, having more than one member of it in his service in the palace. His holiness was brought up by cardinal Gerolamo Pamfilio, his paternal uncle, who was in high consideration, was near to being made pope, and was created cardinal by Clement VIII., and who, when auditor dean of the rota, was renowned for his virtue and guileless morals. His holiness is aged seventy-two, in stature below the middle height, of a well proportioned and majestic person, and of exceeding gentleness and benignity. Accordingly whenever he quits his apartments, on occasions of consistories, chapels, or others, he readily and

cheerfully gives audience to all of every condition, however poor and miserable, who present themselves to him, receives their memorials, and strives with great patience and charity to relieve every one, and to comfort all, to the loudly expressed admiration of his subjects, and with a marked difference from the preceding pontificate. The pope was first consistorial advocate, then auditor di rota, elected by Clement VIII. He was sent as nuncio to Naples by Gregory XV. and employed by Urban VIII. in the legations of France and Spain of cardinal Barberino with the title of datary; he was elected by the same Urban patriarch of Antioch, sent as nuncio into Spain, and afterwards promoted to the cardinalship, Nov. 9, 1627. As cardinal he was reputed of a stern character, inclined to rigour, punctual in ecclesiastical matters. He was always employed in all the principal congregations, and it may be asserted that he has filled all the most important posts in Rome with universal satisfaction; his mind having always been the special abode of modesty, patience, integrity, virtue, careful to avoid offending any, caressing all, and pardoning injuries. He enjoys good health, has a very robust constitution, is moderate in his diet, is fond of exercise, attends chapels and other public duties with great majesty, and performs all ecclesiastical matters with pomp, decorum, punctuality, and special personal satisfaction. He proceeds very ploddingly in all serious matters of business, and requires time to examine and determine them. In his past way of life he was accustomed to go late to bed and rise late; he pursues the same course in his pontificate, seldom retiring before midnight or rising before the day is some hours old. In past times he made much esteem of the sovereigns; he wished them all reasonable satisfaction; he declares his persistence in the same feelings, and that he does not wish to be partial to either of the two crowns, but to be the common loving father of all. He feels that he is not favourably regarded by either at present, and he has given vent to his thoughts on the subject very frankly to us more than once: still he thinks that each complains with a regard only to his own interests, not that both do not know the necessity of his independence, and how, besides his natural inclination to peace, he is further bound to it by his position as pope. He feeds his mind on such thoughts, receiving to his great sustenance the confidential regard of the most serene republic, as thinking it capable by its weight, its counsels, and its love, of proving his greatest safeguard: accordingly a person of great eminence, and one on very confidential terms with us, has confided to one of us, perhaps by order of his holiness, that he would be disposed to bind himself to your excellencies in a special alliance, if he thought it would meet with public approbation. To this we replied, in courteous general terms, that no bond could more strictly unite princes than sincerity, reciprocity of feeling, and unanimity in aims and interests.]

126. *Relazione dell' ambasciatore Veneto Aluise Contarini fatta al senato dopo il ritorno della sua ambasciaria appresso Innocentio X. 1648.* (22 leaves.) [Report of the Venetian ambassador, Aluise Contarini, after his return from the court of Innocent X.]

This pontificate too for a long while turned out

by no means so advantageous as had been expected. To the first rather honourable report Aluise Contarini, the son of Nicolo,—the former Aluise was a son of Tommaso,—adds many far less favourable passages.

In his youth Innocent had preferred knightly exercises and amorous pastimes (passatempi amorevoli) to study; he had gained little respect in his nunciature in France, where he was nicknamed, on account of his perpetual refusals, "Monsignor It can't be" (M<sup>r</sup> Non si puol). In Spain, on the other hand, his chariness of words gained him the reputation of a wise man.

• What made him pope? Answer: these three things,—that he talked little, dissembled much, and did nothing at all. "Da corteggiani fu detto che tre cose l'avevano fatto papa, il parlar poco, simulare assai, e non far niente."

"Si fa conoscere hora poco inclinato alle gratic, delicato e vetriolo, (?)—ripuntato da tutti d'ingegno tardo nell' apprendere e poco capace di gran machine, ma ostinato nell' apprensioni:—procura di non farsi conoscere parziale di alcuna corona:—[He shows little disposition at present to confer favours . . . . he is considered by every body to be of slow apprehension, and of small capacity for great combinations, but obstinate in his conceptions; he endeavours to avoid the appearance of partiality to any crown.] He was a friend to quiet and justice, not bloodthirsty, and was a good economist.

Persons immediately about the pope.—Donna Olimpia, a favourite with him, because she had brought a large fortune into the house, and assisted him with it: "donna d'ingegno e spirito virile, solo si fa conoscere donna per la superbia e l'avaritia" [a woman of masculine mind and feelings,—she proves herself a woman only by her pride and avarice]; Pancirolo: "di tratti manerosi, d'ingegno vivace, cortese di viso e di parole" [of polished manners, of quick understanding, courteous in his bearing and his speech]; Capponi: "a bocca ridente ricuopre la sua malitiosa industria" [he hides his active malevolence under a mask of smiles]; Spada: "si pavoneggia delli suoi stimabili talenti" [he plumes himself on his estimable talents]. Our author, as we see, does not express himself in very respectful terms. With a pope of such a character, the want of a nephew was doubly felt.

Some traits of his administration are recorded. "Tra li corteggiani si suol dire che chi tratta col papa d'alcuno affare, nelle prime audienze lo reputa quasi perfectionato, nella seconda conosce esser totalmente da farsi, e nella terza si scuopre con stupore sconsuolo.—Crede disprezzabile quel principe che non conserva appresso di se un buon numero di contanti da valersene in un' urgente bisogno. Per non spendere si contenta di soffrire dell' avversa fortuna ogni più opprobrioso strappazzo.—Trovandosi l'annata di Roma spogliata di quelli assegnamenti de' quali si valse in altri tempi, come proprii per essere stati dissipati nella guerra Barberina, Sua S<sup>ta</sup> conoscendo l'annata presente penuriosa di grano ha più volte assegnato di esser pronto di sovvenirli di grossa somma di contanti: ma ripugnando la sua natura allo sborso, ha cercato aggiustarlo in altra forma, sebene non a sufficienza.—Tutte le comunità si trovano talmente esauste e ruinate per cagione della guerra Barberina che gl'è impossibile giammai risorgere e rihav-

versi.—Particolare entrata del papa di 800 m. scudi consistente negli emolumenti delle componenti della dataria e nelle vacabilità degli officii di quella e della cancelleria, come ancora di una sorte di monti vacabili dell' auditore o tesoriere di camera, chiericati di essa, et altri simili officii, di tutta questa somma, che entra nella borsa secreta e non nella publica, ne è assoluto patrono S. S<sup>ta</sup>, potendone disporre al suo arbitrio e donarla a chi più li piace senza temere che siano richieste dal successore." [It is a common saying among the courtiers, that whoever treats with the pope about any affair, at the first audience thinks it all but completed, in the second he perceives that his work is all before him, in the third he finds to his consternation that his suit is rejected.—He thinks that sovereign contemptible who does not keep by him a good sum in ready money to be used upon an emergency. To avoid expenditure, he is content to submit to the most contumelious buffetings of adverse fortune. The yearly supplies of Rome having fallen short of those assignments enjoyed in former years, in consequence of the Barberini war, and his holiness finding the supply of corn deficient this year, has frequently announced his intention of advancing a large sum of ready money to make up the deficiency; but being by nature averse to disbursing money, he has endeavoured to arrange the matter in another way, though imperfectly.—All the corporations are so exhausted and ruined by the effects of the Barberini war, that it is impossible they can ever recover themselves.—Private revenue of the pope, 800,000 scudi, consisting of the gains on the compositions of the datario, and the vacancies occurring in that office, and in the chancery, as also on a sort of monti vacabili of the auditor and treasurer of the camera, the chiericati of the camera, and other like posts. Of this entire sum which enters the privy purse, not the public, his holiness is absolute master, being able to dispose of it at his pleasure, and to give it to whomsoever he pleases, without fearing that any account of it shall be called for by his successor.] His buildings: on the capitol, in St. Peter's, in the Lateran, "in cui rimovendosi con nuovo modello le tre navate della chiesa, rimane nel suo essere l'adornamento di quel vago e ben inteso soffitto;" in the Piazza Navona, "con il gettato di alcune case per la parte di S. Giacomo de' Spagnuoli restando in quadro la piazza."

Notwithstanding the unfavourable impression he had conceived of the court, we see that Contarini is on the whole impartial and instructive.

127. *Memoriale presentato alla S<sup>ta</sup> di N. S<sup>ta</sup> papa Innocenzo X dai deputati della città di Fermo per il tumulto ivi seguito alli 6 di Luglio 1648.* [Memorial presented to pope Innocent X. by the deputies of the city of Florence, with regard to the riots there on the 6th of July, 1648.]

In Majolino Bisaccioni's "Historia delle guerre civili di questi ultimi tempi," Ven. 1664, along with the most important events, along with the history of Charles I. and Cromwell, and the insurrections of Portugal and Catalonia, there is likewise given a "Historia della guerra civile di Fermo," that is, the history of a riot, in which Visconti, the papal governor, was killed.

The document before us is the memorial with which two deputies—Lorenzo Nobile and Lucio Guerrieri—presented themselves before the pope to solicit his pardon for the deed.

According to their account, which is much more authentic and graphic than that of Bisacconi, and which gives us a glimpse into the internal economy of the towns in those times, the crops had failed, and bread was unusually dear; notwithstanding this, the governor resolved on exporting grain from the district of Fermo. He listened to no warning. With his carbine by his side, and pistols on his table, he declared he would rather die, as became a governor and a soldier, than give way. He prohibited the consiglio, deputies to which arrived even from the neighbouring boroughs, and he assembled troops. But his soldiers "came from the fields where they reaped, from the barns where they thrashed;" they knew the want under which the land laboured, and instead of withstanding the riotous populace, they took part with them. In spite of his bravadoes, the governor found himself compelled to give way, and to suffer his corn to remain within the limits of the state.

But hardly was tranquillity restored, when Corsican troops, summoned by the governor, appeared before the gates. The people fully believed that Visconti intended, with their assistance, to carry his purpose through. A riot ensued: the mob cried, "We are betrayed,—to arms!" The bells were rung, the palace was stormed, and the governor killed.

The deputies protested their fidelity, and bewailed this event, . . . at which the nobles were above all distressed "di vedere, senza potervi rimediare, da persone del popolo ucciso il prelato di Vra S<sup>ta</sup> datogli per suo governo" [to see, without any help for it, the prelate appointed by your holiness as their governor slain by individuals of the populace.]

128. *Relazione della corte di Roma del Carro Giustiniani data in senato l'anno 1652.* [Giustiniani's report on Rome.] (Copy in the Magliabechiana in Florence, 24, 65.)

Under Innocent, too, admiration and expectation changed first into doubt and disapprobation, and finally into clamour and execration.

Zuan Zustinian—for so the Venetians write and pronounce this name—after having filled many other embassies, proceeded from Vienna to Rome, where he resided from 1648 to 1651. The events of these years fill up his despatches, and form the matter of his report.

The description he gives of the court is not very cheering.

Whatever there is good in the pope, he says, turns to the advantage of the city of Rome, and at the very most of the ecclesiastical state; his bad qualities are injurious to all Christendom. But even in the states of the church the remission of the severest punishments for money is a great evil. "Mi si afferma per massima indubitata che in sette anni di pontificato habbia estratto dalle compositioni di persone processate come ree il valore di 1200 m. scudi, che s'accosta a due milioni di ducati." [It has been affirmed to me, on the most unquestionable authority, that in the seven

years of his pontificate he has extracted, by way of composition, from persons prosecuted as criminals, the value of 1,200,000 scudi, which is nearly two millions of ducats.] The influence of Donna Olimpia Maldachina is here represented as a kind of public calamity. "Donna di gran spirito, prepotente per solo titolo di esatta economia. Se vacavano officj nella corte, niente si deliberaba senza il beneplacito di lei: se vi erano beneficj da distribuire, i ministri della dataria tenevano ordine di trattenere ogni spedizione sinche datagli notizia della qualità delle vacanze scegliesse a sua disposizione ciò che più tenesse di gusto: se vi erano chiese episcopali da provvedere, ad essa ricorrevano i pretendenti: e quello che rendeva nausca a tutti gli uomini onorati, era il vedere che erano preferiti quelli che più allargavano la mano a donativi." [A very clever woman, whose paramount power is founded solely on her rigid economy. If offices were vacant at court, nothing was decided without her consent; if there were benefices to bestow, the ministers of the dataria had orders to delay all appointments to them till notice had been given to her of the nature of the vacancies, so that she might select for her own disposal such as were most to her taste; if there were bishoprics to be filled up, the candidates applied to her; and what nauseated all honourable men was, to see that those were preferred who were most liberal of gifts.]

So he goes on: but I am not certain whether the report is genuine.

It is not to be found in the Venetian archives. There are two copies in the Magliabechiana in Florence, but they do not agree throughout. I have kept to the more moderate of the two.

Fortunately I was not forced to have recourse to this report, since the diary of Deone, and the notices given by Pallavicini in his life of Alexander VII., afforded me far better information.

129. *Relazione dell'ambascceria straordinaria fatta in Roma alla S<sup>ta</sup> di N. S<sup>se</sup> Alessandro VII dagli E<sup>ss</sup>mi S<sup>ss</sup>i Pesaro, Contarini, Valuro e Sagredo per rendere a nome della Ser<sup>ma</sup> Republica di Venetia la solita obediienza al sommo pontefice l'anno 1656.* [Report of the extraordinary embassy to pope Alexander VII., to tender him the customary obedience on the part of the most serene republic.]

The same Pesaro—during whose embassy occurred the breach between Urban VIII. and the republic, and who ever since then had been regarded rather as inimical to the clergy—was placed at the head of the embassy of congratulation, and was left by his colleagues to draw up their joint report. Whether it be that his tone of thought was, as he says, very moderate from the first, or that the lapse of years had produced a change in it, certain it is his report is very rational, well-meaning, and instructive.

He expresses his disapprobation of the government of Innocent X., but not in terms of such strong reprobation as others. "Oltre la cupidità insatiabile ch'è regnata in quella casa, vi si è aggiunto che essendo mancato di ministri valevoli al sostentamento di così gran principato, non havendo luogo nell' animo suspicaco di quel pontefice la fede di chi si sia, ogni cosa per lo più si regolava



secondo gli appetiti immoderati di una donna, che ha aperto largo campo alle penne satiriche di fare comparire i disordini di quel governo maggiori ancora di quel che in fatti si fossero." [Besides the insatiable cupidity which reigned in that house, there was a want of ministers competent to uphold so great a sovereignty, there being no place in the suspicious mind of that pope for trust in any one: so that every thing almost was regulated by the immoderate cravings of a woman, whereby ample scope was afforded satirical pens to make the disorders of that government appear even greater than they really were.]

• Little as this sounds like a panegyric, still, as we have seen, it is a very mild judgment, in comparison with the violent exclamations of others.

But the most important subject of this report is the new pope, Alexander VII.

It is Pesaro's opinion, and indeed the rest of the world was convinced of the fact, that the belief in Fabio Chigi's virtues, and the fame of his nunciature, had effected his promotion, though the Medici were in reality not well pleased to witness the elevation of one of their subjects. "Più santa elezione non si poteva aspettare da un senato di soggetti che per quanto havessero distratta la volontà da mondani interessi, non potevano di meno di non lasciarsi in fine guidare da quel spirito santo che essi presumono assistere ad un' azione di tanta rilevanza." [A holier election could not have been expected from a senate of persons who, however their minds may be bewildered by worldly interests, could not yet fail in the end to be guided by that Holy Spirit whom they believe to be present at an act of so great moment.]

He sketches his rise and the general character of his first proceedings: "he appeared to understand but little of financial matters, but much more of ecclesiastical, and was not inflexibly wedded to his own opinions." He also describes his retainers; but it is not necessary to repeat his statements, for things soon took a different turn from what had been expected.

"Troppo per tempo parmi," says Pesaro, "che il mondo canonizzi questi sentimenti del papa, e che per farne più accertato giudizio faccia di mestiere osservarsi quanto con il tratto del tempo si sia per mostrarsi costante nel resistere alle mantellate dell' affetto." [The world seems to me premature in canonizing these sentiments of the pope; to judge more certainly of them, methinks it were expedient to observe what firmness he shall display in the course of time in resisting the simulations of affection.] Already so many representations were made to the pope from all sides, it seemed inevitable that his constancy would be shaken.

The mission had by no means for its sole object to congratulate the pope, but furthermore to solicit aid towards the Candian war.

The ambassador enlarged upon the efforts Venice had made to resist the foe,—above all to defray the immediate expenses of the war; taking up loans at heavy interest in the way of annuities, or permanently, selling allodial or feudal estates, imparting to a great number the dignities of the state, which had previously been confined to a narrow circle,—nay, even the honours of Venetian nobility, though its value was the greater the less

it was rendered common. But the means of the republic were now quite exhausted; nothing was to be expected from the other potentates of Europe, since there were too many mutual quarrels among them: the only refuge was to the see of Rome.

The pope listened to them not without some show of sympathy, and in reply pronounced a splendid eulogium on the republic which resisted the savage rage of the barbarians, not only with iron, but also with gold; but as to the main point, he told them it was out of his power to help them. The papal treasury was so exhausted, he did not even know how he should provide the city with bread.

The ambassadors did not give up their cause; they represented that the danger was such as fairly to justify having recourse to the old treasure of Sixtus V.: "prima che l'urgenza degli accidenti che possono sopravvenire, maggiormente stringa, e per sostentamento della religione e per sicurezza del proprio dominio ecclesiastico" [before events reach a more disastrous pitch, and for the maintenance of religion, and the safety of the territory of the church itself]. The pope was particularly impressed by the argument, that the enemy would be animated to still more boldness when he saw that a new pope also refused the aid which was so urgently required. Alexander saw plainly that something must be done: he proposed a confiscation of church property.

It is most remarkable that the Roman court was the first to suggest measures of this kind. Already Innocent X. had proposed to the Venetians the suppression of two orders, the Canonici di S. Spirito and the Cruciferi: it was his intention to found secular canonicates with their funds. But in the first place, the Venetians were afraid that the court of Rome would arrogate to itself the patronage of those canonicates, and besides this, it looked on the institutions in question as provisions for poor nobili. This proposal was now renewed by Alexander.

"Il papa postosi in atto di volerci rappresentare cosa di nostro sollievo, prese a dire che, da qualche tempo in qua essendosi dalla sede apostolica fatto riflesso non meno all' abbondanza che alla superfluità degli istituti religiosi, haveva trovato che alcuni di essi degenerando dalla primiera intenzione de' loro fondatori erano trascorsi in una total rilassazione di costumi: che compiva non meno al servizio della chiesa che de' medesimi secolari il pigliare quegli espedienti che sogliono usare gli accorti agricoltori quando vedono in modo lussuriar la vite che la copia de' rampolli serve più tosto ad isterilirla che a renderla più fruttifera: che a ciò s'era dato in qualche parto principio con la soppressione di alcune religioni, ma che ciò non bastava, conoscendosi in tutto necessario restringer questo gran numero a quei solamente che ritengono o che meglio possono ridursi a ritenere la prima forma della loro istituzione: che per farsi strada a ciò s'era soppresso un numero grande di conventi piccoli ove con minor riguardo si rallentava il freno alla ritrattazione regolare, e che si persisteva nel primo pensiero di procedere alla finale abolizione d'alcuni altri ordini che con il loro licenzioso modo di vivere riempivano il mondo anzi di scandoli e di mormorazioni che di buon esempio e di edificazione, ma che si camminava lentamente, perche in negotio



di tal rilevanza s'haverebbe voluto incontrare anche nella soddisfazione de' principi, i quali, non ben esaminati i veri motivi che inducevano la sede apostolica in questa risoluzione, havevano dato segno di qualche repugnanza all' esecuzione de' brevi pontefici: ma che sperandosi ad ogni modo che in fine avesse ogn'uno a dar mano al proseguimento di così ben ponderata risoluzione, li metteva intanto in considerazione alla Serenissima Republica che abbondando il dominio Veneto di questa qualità di religioni, s'apriva un modo facile che venisse dato luogo alla retta intenzione di chi ha la suprema direzione degli affari ecclesiastici et insieme a poter somministrare un considerabile ajuto in soccorso della presente guerra contro gl'inferditi: che nessuno meglio di noi poteva sapere a che estremità di dissolutezza e di scandoli siano giunti li canonici di San Spirito di Venezia, essendosi la Serenissima Republica veduta in necessità di metter freno alle scortecioni di quel convento, che non contento d'haver postergata ogni osservanza regolare abusava anco sì scionciamente delle ricchezze che havebbono potuto servire a comodi alimenti di un numero quintuplicatamente maggiore di religiosi, che sempre grossamente si trovava indebitato: che il simile si poteva dire de' Cruciferi, ne quali appena si discerneva vestigio di vita claustrale: che per tanto anteponeva che procedendosi alla soppressione di queste due religioni, s'havrebbe potuto andar pensando al modo di passare alla vendita de' beni da esse posseduti, et il ritratto si convertisse in sostentamento di questa guerra, giacche era diretta contro il nemico fierissimo del nome cristiano.<sup>2</sup>

[The pope, casting about for means to relieve us, stated, that for some time past, the apostolic see, having reflected not only on the abundance but even superfluity of religious institutions, had come to the conclusion that some of these had degenerated from the first intention of their founders, and had fallen into a total relaxation of discipline: that it was no less for the benefit of the church than of the laity themselves to adopt the course pursued by judicious agriculturists, when they see their vines becoming so luxurious that the multitude of their shoots serves rather to impoverish than to render them fruitful; that a beginning had been partially made in this respect by the suppression of some orders, but that this was not enough, it being absolutely necessary to curtail that great number, and limit it to such only as retained, or were in a condition to recur more nearly to the primitive form of their institution; that to make way for this, a great number of lesser convents had been suppressed, in which the strictness of monastic seclusion had been negligently suffered to relax; and that he persisted in his original intention of proceeding to the final abolition of some other orders, which, by their licentious lives, filled the world rather with scandal and murmuring than with good examples and edification: but that he proceeded slowly, because in a matter of so great import he could have wished to meet with the consent of sovereigns, who, not having well examined into the true motives that induced the apostolic see to adopt this resolution, had shown some symptoms of repugnance to execute the pontifical briefs; but that as he confidently hoped, that in the end all would assuredly lend a hand to the prosecution of so well

weighed a design, he, therefore, submitted it to the consideration of the most serene republic, that as the Venetian territory abounded with religious orders of this character, an easy way presented itself of giving effect to the upright intentions of him who had the supreme direction of the affairs of the church, and at the same time of supplying a considerable succour towards the present war against the infidels; that none better than ourselves knew the scandalous and profligate extremes at which the Canonici di San Spirito of Venice had arrived, the most serene republic having been forced to bridle the disorders of that convent, which, not content with casting behind it all monastic observance, had so indecently abused the wealth which might have sufficed for the ample maintenance of five times the number of monks, that it was always heavily in debt: that the same thing might be said of the Cruciferi, in whom hardly a trace of monastic life was discernible; that accordingly he thought it preferable that these two orders should be suppressed, and that it should be taken into consideration how their possessions might be sold, and the proceeds applied to the expenses of this war, since it was waged against the fiercest enemy of the Christian name.]

This time the ambassadors thought that such a proposal was not to be rejected. They calculated how large a capital would accrue from the sale of these estates, compared with the small interest, which would moreover soon drop, and what advantage the secularization of such considerable estates might afford to the cultivation of the country. Their reflections on a scheme which was then so novel, and which afterwards became so general, are also worthy of being considered in their own words.

"In realtà fatti anche congrui assegnamenti a' frati esclusi per il loro vivere, che non ascenderanno mai fra l'una e l'altra religione 10 m. ducati all'anno, se de' loro beni ascendenti alla somma di 26 m. ducati se ne ritireranno 600 mila nella vendita, come verisimilmente si può credere, non sentirà il pubblico maggiore interesse di due per cento vitalitii e qualche cosa meno: et ogni altro motivo altre volte portato in dissuasione di negotio simile va per bene, supposti gli alimenti che annualmente si prestaranno a superstiti: e così smembrandosi dall'ordine ecclesiastico questa grossa somma di porzione di fondi collocati ne' migliori siti di questo dominio, vengono li laici a rimettere in possesso, senza far torto alla pietà di quelle anime grandi che ebbero onore di appropriare le descendenze loro di così opulenti patrimoni, per fondare e stabilire in questo stato la religione: che se hora veder potessero quanto ella sia ben radicata, altra interpretazione non darebbono a' loro sentimenti se non che se gli fu grato di esser fondatori di tanti monasteri per ricovero di persone sacre, niente meno goderebbono che l'istesse ricchezze, giacche sovrabondano, si convertissero in propulsare l'impietà minacciante la distruzione di quella pietà che con le proprie sostanze cercaron di promuovere."

[In fact, even allowing the ejected monks suitable pensions for their subsistence, which for both orders can never exceed on the whole 10,000 ducats a year, if their estates of the yearly value of 26,000 ducats realize on being sold 600,000, as may reasonably be expected, the public will not have to pay more than two per cent. in annuities, or rather less. All the arguments too that have

been alleged on other occasions, against such a measure, go for nothing, supposing an annual provision be thus made for the incumbents during their lifetime. Now, when upon this vast amount of landed property, situated in the best part of the republic's dominions, being severed from the ecclesiastical body, the laity shall enter into possession thereof, they may do so without wronging the piety of those great souls who chose to digest their descendants of such opulent patrimonies, for the foundation and permanent establishment of religion in this state. For could those generous persons now see how well rooted it is among us, none other exposition would they give to their sentiments than this, that if it was grateful to their feelings to be the founders of such great monasteries for the reception of holy persons, no less would it delight them that the same wealth, now become superabundant, should be turned to the repulsion of the impiety which threatens destruction to that piety they sought to promote with their substance.]

After the affairs of Venice, which on this occasion were once more of higher interest, those of Europe in general are discussed.

The enterprises of Charles X. and Gustavus produced the greatest sensation in Rome, and money was collected to aid king Casimir.

But the court of Rome felt it still more sorely that the French not only showed a disinclination to peace with Spain, but that cardinal Mazarin even entered into a league with England—a cardinal with a protestant, the most Christian king with an usurper, who had expelled the legitimate monarch—and that he did this without any necessity, without having been impelled to it by any alarming danger.

Had it not been for these sources of uneasiness the pope would have turned his whole attention to bring Germany, where his personal reputation stood so high, back to catholicism. The conversion of the queen of Sweden excited all his hopes.

The ambassadors saw the splendid preparations that were made for the reception of that queen. They could not reconcile themselves to the vagrant life she led ("fuori forse della convenienza dell'età e dello stato virginal" [hardly consistent with her age and her maiden state] as they modestly express it) but they do full justice to the vigour and boldness of her resolution.

"Ecco in compendio ciò che ci è parso di poter riferire" says Pesaro at this point.

To this closing phrase he subjoins the good advice, always to maintain the best possible understanding with the pope.

The pope had spoken at full length on the satisfaction it would afford him if at his request the Jesuits were again received in Venice. The ambassador is in favour of conceding this point. "Parmi che sia giunto il tempo di decidere se s'habbia a dar luogo a questo regresso, o pure, per non haver di quando in quando ad urtare per questa causa in male sodisfattioni con i pontefici, s'habbia da imporsi perpetuo silenzio. . . . A sodisfare intorno a ciò al desiderio del papa par che possa esser motivo il conoscersi che essendo questi huomini grandi istrumenti a sostenere le ragioni della chiesa, i papi pro tempore rinnovaranno le medesime istanze, le quali reiette daranno ne' principj de' pontificati materia a male sodisfattioni." [It appears to me that the time is come for deciding

whether the return of the order is to be permitted, or whether the proposal is to be silenced for ever, to avoid continually falling into disagreements with the pope from time to time on this subject. . . . It may be a motive for satisfying the pope's wishes in this respect to consider that these men being highly instrumental in upholding the cause of the church, the popes will be likely successively to renew the same request, the rejection of which in the beginning of each pontificate will give occasion of ill will.]

130. *Vita, attioni et operationi di Alessandro VII, opera del C. Pallavicini.* 2 vols. folio. (Bibl. Cors.) [Life and actions of Alexander VII. by cardinal Pallavicini.]

A MS. was one day put into my hands in the Barberini library in Rome with the title "Alexandri VII de vita propria liber primus et tertius cum fragmentis libri secundi:" it consisted of about 300 leaves, as full of corrections as any autograph could possibly be, but by an unfortunate accident in utter confusion. The binder had arranged the sheets, which were to have been read separately, in quaterns. It was hardly possible to make anything of it.

The beginning runs thus, "Res suo tempore gestas literis commendare, quamvis et nunc et olim usitatum, plerisque tamen eo nomine minus probatur quod arduum scriptori sit procul habere spem, metum, amorem, odium animi, nubes que historian, lucem veritatis, infuscant." [Although the habit of recording the events of one's own day has always been frequent, such works are generally looked on with suspicion, on the ground that it is difficult for the writer to divest his mind of hope, fear, affection, and hatred, clouds that obscure history, that light of truth.] Wherever I opened the book, I met with interesting particulars, derived from good authority, concerning Alexander's youth, the summons of his nephews to Rome, the arrival of Christina. . . . Can it really have been that the pope found time, amidst the occupations incident to the highest spiritual authority, to write the history of his life, and to correct the style throughout with such extreme care?

It was soon apparent, in spite of the title, that this could not have been the case.

The author declares among other things that he had been induced to undertake this work by his intimate acquaintance with the pope. "Fortunae obscurantis beneficium fuit ut cum hoc princeps inferiores gradus obtinente singularis interesseret mihi animorum consensio et mutua tum ore tum literis consiliorum communicatio." [It was my good fortune that there subsisted between me and this pontiff, when he occupied a lower rank, a remarkable congeniality of mind, and an interchange of opinions both by word of mouth and by letter.]

The question was, who was this intimate friend, nay confidant, of Alexander's.

Muratori relates, at the date 1656, that in the beginning of Alexander's reign, which awakened such brilliant hopes, the Jesuit Pallavicini had set about writing the life of that pope, but that after the call of the nephews to court, and the changes which thence ensued, the pen fell from his hand. Pallavicini was certainly on terms of personal intimacy with Alexander VII.: in the

di tal rilevanza s'haverebbe voluto incontrare anche nella soddisfazione de' principi, i quali, non ben esaminati i veri motivi che inducevano la sede apostolica in questa risoluzione, avevano dato segno di qualche repugnanza all' esecuzione de' brevi pontificii: ma che sperandosi ad ogni modo che in fine avesse ogn'uno a dar mano al proseguimento di così ben ponderata risoluzione, li metteva intanto in considerazione alla Serenissima Repubblica che abbondando il dominio Veneto di questa qualità di religioni, s'apriva un modo facile che venisse dato luogo alla retta intenzione di chi ha la suprema direzione degli affari ecclesiastici et insieme a poter somministrare un considerabile ajuto in soccorso della presente guerra contro gl'infideli: che nessuno meglio di noi poteva sapere a che estremità di dissolutezza e di scandoli siano giunti li canonici di San Spirito di Venezia, essendosi la Serenissima Repubblica veduta in necessità di metter freno alle scorrerie di quel convento, che non contento d'haver postergata ogni osservanza regolare abusava anco sì sconciamente delle ricchezze che haverebbono potuto servire a comodi alimenti di un numero quintuplicatamente maggiore di religiosi, che sempre grossamente si trovava indebitato: che il simile si poteva dire de' Cruciferi, ne' quali appena si discerneva vestigio di vita claustrale: che per tanto anteponeva che procedendosi alla soppressione di queste due religioni, s'haverebbe potuto andar pensando al modo di passare alla vendita de' beni da esse possesi, et il ritratto si convertisse in sostentamento di questa guerra, giacche era diretta contro il nemico fierissimo del nome cristiano."

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This time the ambassadors thought that such a proposal was not to be rejected. They calculated how large a capital would accrue from the sale of these estates, compared with the small interest, which would moreover soon drop, and what advantage the secularization of such considerable estates might afford to the cultivation of the country. Their reflections on a scheme which was then so novel, and which afterwards became so general, are also worthy of being considered in their own words.

"In realtà fatti anche congrui assegnamenti a' frati esclusi per il loro vivere, che non ascendano mai fra l'una e l'altra religione 10 m. ducati all'anno, se de' loro beni ascendenti alla somma di 26 m. ducati se ne ritireranno 600 mila nella vendita, come verisimilmente si può credere, non sentirà il pubblico maggiore interesse di due per cento vitalitù e qualche cosa meno: et ogni altro motivo altre volte portato in dissuasion di negotio simile va per bene, supposti gli alimenti che annualmente si prestaranno a superstiti: e così sncimbrandosi dall'ordine ecclesiastico questa grossa somma di porzione di fondi collocati ne' migliori siti di questo dominio, vengono li laici a rimettere in possesso, senza far torto alla pietà di quelle anime grandi che ebbero cuore di spropriare le discendenze loro di così opulenti patrimoni, per fondare e stabilire in questo stato la religione: che se hora veder potessero quanto ella sia ben radicata, altra interpretazione non darebbono a' loro sentimenti se non che se gli fu grato di esser fondatori di tanti monasteri per ricovero di persone sacre, niente meno goderebbono che l'istesse ricchezze, giacche sovrabondano, si convertissero in propulsare l'impietà minacciante la distruzione di quella pietà che con le proprie sostanze cercaron di promuovere."

[In fact, even allowing the ejected monks suitable pensions for their subsistence, which for both orders can never exceed on the whole 10,000 ducats a year, if their estates of the yearly value of 26,000 ducats realize on being sold 600,000, as may reasonably be expected, the public will not have to pay more than two per cent. in annuities, or rather less. All the arguments too that have

been alleged on other occasions, against such a measure, go for nothing, supposing an annual provision be thus made for the incumbents during their lifetime. Now, when upon this vast amount of landed property, situated in the best part of the republic's dominions, being severed from the ecclesiastical body, the laity shall enter into possession thereof, they may do so without wronging the piety of those great souls who chose to divest their descendants of such opulent patrimonies, for the foundation and permanent establishment of religion in this state. For could those generous persons now see how well rooted it is among us, none other exposition would they give to their sentiments than this, that if it was grateful to their feelings to be the founders of such great monasteries for the reception of holy persons, no less would it delight them that the same wealth, now become superabundant, should be turned to the repulsion of the impiety which threatens destruction to that piety they sought to promote with their substance.]

After the affairs of Venice, which on this occasion were once more of higher interest, those of Europe in general are discussed.

The enterprises of Charles X. and Gustavus produced the greatest sensation in Rome, and money was collected to aid king Casimir.

But the court of Rome felt it still more sorely that the French not only showed a disinclination to peace with Spain, but that cardinal Mazarin even entered into a league with England—a cardinal with a protestant, the most Christian king with an usurper, who had expelled the legitimate monarch—and that he did this without any necessity, without having been impelled to it by any alarming danger.

Had it not been for these sources of uneasiness the pope would have turned his whole attention to bring Germany, where his personal reputation stood so high, back to catholicism. The conversion of the queen of Sweden excited all his hopes.

The ambassadors saw the splendid preparations that were made for the reception of that queen. They could not reconcile themselves to the vagrant life she led ("fuori forse della convenienza dell'età e dello stato virginal" [hardly consistent with her age and her maiden state] as they modestly express it) but they do full justice to the vigour and boldness of her resolution.

"Ecco in compendio ciò che ci è parso di poter riferir" says Pesaro at this point.

To this closing phrase he subjoins the good advice, always to maintain the best possible understanding with the pope.

The pope had spoken at full length on the satisfaction it would afford him if at his request the Jesuits were again received in Venice. The ambassador is in favour of conceding this point. "Parmi che sia giunto il tempo di decidere se s'abbia a dar luogo a questo regresso, o pure, per non haver di quando in quando ad urtare per questa causa in male soddisfattioni con i pontefici, s'abbia da imporsi perpetuo silentio . . . . A solisfare intorno a ciò al desiderio del papa par che possa esser motivo il conoscersi che essendo questi huomini grandi istrumenti a sostenere le ragioni della chiesa, i papi pro tempore rinnoveranno le medesime istanze, le quali reiette daranno ne' principj de' pontificati materia a male soddisfattioni." [It appears to me that the time is come for deciding

whether the return of the order is to be permitted, or whether the proposal is to be silenced for ever, to avoid continually falling into disagreements with the pope from time to time on this subject. . . . It may be a motive for satisfying the pope's wishes in this respect to consider that these men being highly instrumental in upholding the cause of the church, the popes will be likely successively to renew the same request, the rejection of which in the beginning of each pontificate will give occasion of ill will.]

130. *Vita, attioni et operationi di Alessandro VII, opera del C. Pallavicini.* 2 vols. folio. (Bibl. Cors.) [Life and actions of Alexander VII. by cardinal Pallavicini.]

A MS. was one day put into my hands in the Barberini library in Rome with the title "Alexandri VII de vita propria liber primus et tertius cum fragmentis libri secundi;" it consisted of about 300 leaves, as full of corrections as any autograph could possibly be, but by an unfortunate accident in utter confusion. The binder had arranged the sheets, which were to have been read separately, in quaterns. It was hardly possible to make anything of it.

The beginning runs thus, "Res suo tempore gestas literis commendare, quamvis et nunc et olim usitatum, plerisque tamen eo nomine minus probatur quod arduum scriptori sit procul habere spem, metum, amorem, odium animi, nubes quæ historiam, lucem veritatis, infuscant." [Although the habit of recording the events of one's own day has always been frequent, such works are generally looked on with suspicion, on the ground that it is difficult for the writer to divest his mind of hope, fear, affection, and hatred, clouds that obscure history, that light of truth.] Wherever I opened the book, I met with interesting particulars, derived from good authority, concerning Alexander's youth, the summons of his nephews to Rome, the arrival of Christina. . . . Can it really have been that the pope found time, amidst the occupations incident to the highest spiritual authority, to write the history of his life, and to correct the style throughout with such extreme care?

It was soon apparent, in spite of the title, that this could not have been the case.

The author declares among other things that he had been induced to undertake this work by his intimate acquaintance with the pope. "Fortunæ obsecundantis beneficium fuit ut cum hoc principe inferiores gradus obtinente singularis interesseret mihi animorum consensio et nutua tum ore tum literis consiliorum communicatio." [It was my good fortune that there subsisted between me and this pontiff, when he occupied a lower rank, a remarkable congeniality of mind, and an interchange of opinions both by word of mouth and by letter.]

The question was, who was this intimate friend, nay confidant, of Alexander's?

Muratori relates, at the date 1656, that in the beginning of Alexander's reign, which awakened such brilliant hopes, the Jesuit Pallavicini had set about writing the life of that pope, but that after the call of the nephews to court, and the changes which thence ensued, the pen fell from his hand. Pallavicini was certainly on terms of personal intimacy with Alexander VII.: in the

beginning of the latter's pontificate he saw him daily. It appeared possible that this fragment might be the work of Pallavicini.

After some further research I met in the same library with a biography of Alexander VII. which was attributed to cardinal Pallavicini. It was in Italian indeed, but the thing was worth the trouble of collation.

The first glance showed me that the Italian was identical with the Latin work. The first sentence runs, "E opinione di molti che non si debba scrivere historie se non delle cose antiche, intorno alle quali la speranza e la paura, l'amore e l'odio verso le persone commemorate non habbian luogo nè possono infoscare la verità." The second passage I have quoted, is in the Italian version, "Imperò che m'è toccato a sorte d'habber con questo principe nella sua minor fortuna una singolare e corrispondenza d'affetto e confidenza di communicationi hor con la lingua hor con la penna per lo spatio già di 30 anni."

So it goes on. The Latin copy turned out to be manifestly a translation from the Italian, somewhat free indeed, with a slight difference in the tone of thought.

Unfortunately, however, the resemblance was stronger than I could have wished. As the Latin copy was a fragment, as its title bespoke, so the Italian too was quite fragmentary. After some account of his early youth, the narrative passed abruptly to the election and first pontifical proceedings of Alexander.

An unsatisfied search only whets desire: I made inquiries in every direction. I found another copy in the Albini library, but this was likewise fragmentary.

And now I thought I must rest satisfied, since I found in an anonymous biography of Pallavicini only a fragment of this history cited, the very books I already knew. At last I was fortunate enough to fall in with a more complete copy in the Corsini library, the same of which I have given the title above, in two thick folio volumes.

The work here bears the name of Pallavicini on its front, and continues without interruption to the second chapter of the sixth book. It is of course from this copy alone that we can learn the value of this work for the history of the period.

The first book contains the early history of Alexander VII., "Stirpe, parentelle, natali, fanciullezza di Fabio Chigi: . . . studj, avvenimenti della pueritia: . . . studj filosofici e legali: . . . amicizie particolari:" all which chapters I found in the first copies, both the Latin and the Italian, but to which the Corsini copy adds: "azioni et esercitii pii: . . . vicelegatione di Ferrara sotto Sacchetti: . . . nuntiatura di Colonia."

In the second book the administration of Innocent X., and the part taken in it by Chigi, are related in fourteen chapters up to the conclave.

The third book contains the beginning of the pontificate: general account of the position of Europe, of the ecclesiastical estates, and of the first financial measures, also of those relating to the monti vacabili; conversion of queen Christina of Sweden, a subject handled with minuteness and special good will. I am of opinion that the assertion, made for instance by Arckenholtz in his "Mémoires de Christine," iv. 39, that Pallavicini wrote a *Historia di Christina regina di Svezia*, was founded on an obscure report of these fragments.

The motives of the queen's conversion are thus set forth in the Latin copy. "In libris Tullii de Natura Deorum animadvertens veram religionem nonnisi unam, omnes falsas esse posse, super hac parte diu multumque cogitando laboravit. Sollicita quoque fuit dubitare de liberorum operum bonorum pravorumque discrimine, nisi quantum alia salubria mundo sunt, alia pernicioiosa, ejusmodi naturalia sunt, et de divina providentie cura vel incuria circa humanas actiones, deque voluntate divina num certum cultum et statutam fidem requiratur. Nullus fuit nobilis antor qui ea de re scripsisset, quem illa non perlustraret, non vir apprimè doctus harum in borealibus plagis cum quo sermocinari non stunderet. Et proclivis interdum fuit ad opinandum, satis esse sue regionis palam colere religionem, ceterum vivere convenienter naturæ. Ad extremum in hanc venit sententiam, Deum, hoc est optimum, tyranno quovis pejorem fore si conscientie morsibus acerbis sed falsis humanum genus universum cruciaret, si mortalibus ab eodem insita notione communi grata sibi esse eorum sacrificia, eorumque votis annuere nihil ea cuncta curaret." . . . . . [See page 298.]

In the fourth book, of which but a part is given in the Latin and in the older copies, the author begins with the invitation of the nephews to Rome. "Ragioni che persuasero al papa di chiamare i nepoti. Discorsi di Roma." So far from its being true that the pen dropped from Pallavicini's hand when this event took place, on the contrary he narrates the matter circumstantially and states all the opinions that were entertained respecting it in Rome. Next he speaks of the position of queen Christina in Rome, and the support granted her by the pope. "La reina, ch'era vissuta con quella prodigalità la quale impoverisce senza il piacere e l'onore di spendere e che si esercita non in dare ma in lasciarsi rubare, nel tempo della sua dimora haveva impegnato tutte le gioje con la speranza delle future rimesse, nè per ciò li restava un scudo onde provvedere al destinato viaggio. Però, siccome la necessità vince la vergogna, convenne che ella si facesse violenza in dimandar soccorso al pontefice, ma nelle maniere più lontane che seppe dal limosinare: e perche la lettera non arrossisce, il pregò per mezzo di questa a fare che alcun mercante le prestasse danaro con promessa d'intera restitutione." [The queen, who had lived with that prodigality which impoverishes without affording the pleasure or the credit of expenditure, and which is displayed not in giving, but in suffering oneself to be robbed, during the period of her stay had pledged all her jewels and mortgaged her future remittances, so that she had not a scudo left to defray the expenses of her intended journey. But as necessity is stronger than shame, she was forced to do herself violence and to ask aid of the pope, but in the most remote way she could devise from begging: and as a paper cannot blush, she asked him by letter to cause some merchant to advance her the money under her promise that it should be fully repaid.] The pope did not think it very proper to take upon himself, as surety, the whole weight of her debts without any advantage to himself. Accordingly he sent her through a confidential ecclesiastic, probably Pallavicini himself, along with some gold and silver medals then struck in honour of the queen's entry into Rome, a purse with a thousand scudi as a present, "con

escusarne la pochezza per l'angustia dell'erario. La reina nel ringraziare pianse alle volte per quella mistura d'affetti che sorgono in questi casi." [excusing himself for the smallness of the sum by reason of the low state of the treasury. The queen, on returning thanks, wept more than once from that mixture of feelings which arises in such cases.] Pallavicini also enters into detailed explanations respecting the restoration of the Jesuits in Venice, written quite in the spirit manifested in his history of the council of Trent.

In the fifth book is given the history of the year 1657. Promotions to cardinalates.—Buildings in S. Maria del Popolo, and della Pace, and on the piazza di S. Pietro.—Queen Christina in France.—Monaldeschi, whose tragic end is thus described. "Mentre la regina si tratteneva in Fontanabò, Ludovico, il fratello di lui, emulo nella gratia della padrona di Gian Rinaldo Monaldeschi principal gentil'uomo di questi paesi, per notizie, come si disse, mandategli di Roma del prenomato fratello, scopersse a lei alcuni trattati del Monaldeschi per cui le appariva poco fedele: onde ella dopo haverlo convinto e trattare dalla sua bocca la confessione gli diede un'ora solamente di spatio per provvedere alla coscienza con l'opera d'un sacerdote, e di poi, cio che appena le sarebbe stato permesso in Stockholm quando vi dominava, il fe uccidere per mano dell'istesso suo emulo." [While the queen resided at Fontainebleau, Ludovico, his brother, the rival in his mistress's favour of Gian Rinaldo Monaldeschi, principal gentleman from these parts, communicated to her intelligence, sent him, as he said, from Rome by his brother, respecting some negotiations of Monaldeschi's that showed him guilty of breach of faith. Upon this she having convicted him and extracted a confession from his own lips, gave him but one hour to set his conscience in order with the aid of a priest, and then—what would hardly have been permitted her in Stockholm when she reigned there—she caused him to be put to death by his rival's own hand.]

In the sixth book the author returns to the internal affairs of Rome. He concludes with the arrangements respecting the prelature for which Alexander demanded a specific portion of the revenues.

Even this the most complete copy of this biography is far from containing the whole life of Alexander.

131. *Paolo Casati ad Alessandro VII sopra la regina di Svezia.*—(Bibl. Alb.) [Paolo Casati to Alexander VII. respecting the queen of Sweden.]

Malines and Casati were the two Jesuits who were dispatched to Stockholm by the general of the order to convert the queen.

There is a private letter of Malines on this subject in Arkenholtz, tom. iv. app. n. 27.

Casati forwarded to Alexander VII. a far more detailed, and, so to speak, official report, dedicated "Alla Santità di N<sup>ro</sup> Signore Alessandro VII.," dated "dal Collegio Romano li 5 Dec. 1655," and signed "Della S. V<sup>ra</sup> umilissimo servitore ed obedientissimo figlio in X<sup>to</sup> Paolo Casati della Compagnia di Gesù." This document gives a far more

circumstantial and satisfactory account of all the particulars.

"Per ubbidire," he begins, "ai cenni di V. S<sup>ta</sup>, che desiderato una breve memoria di quello è passato nella risoluzione presa dalla regina Christina di Svezia di rinunciare il regno per rendersi cattolica, sono necessitato farmi un passo a dietro per spiegarne l'occasione, conforme alle notizie havute dalla bocca della stessa regina, alla quale mi assicuro non sia per essere se non di gusto che la S<sup>ta</sup> Vostra sia del tutto sinceramente informata."

[In obedience to the wish expressed by your holiness to have a brief account of what passed regarding the resolution of queen Christina of Sweden to resign the crown and become catholic, I must go back a step to explain the cause thereof, conformably with the statements I had from the queen's own lips, being assured that it cannot but be gratifying to your holiness to be truly informed of the whole matter.]

His first notices, however, of the early stages of this transaction are not of much importance: the author understood nothing of the affairs of Sweden: it is not till he touches upon religious interests that he is deserving of attention.

"Havendo acquistato tanto di cognizione, comincio far riflessione che molte delle cose della setta Luterana, in cui era stata allevata, non potevano sussistere, e cominciando ad esaminarle, più le teneva inconvenienti. Quindi comincio con più diligenza a studiare nelle cose della religione e delle controversie, e trovando che quella in cui era nutrita non aveva apparenza di vera, si diede con straordinaria curiosità ad informarsi di tutte et a ponderare la difficoltà di ciascuna. Impiegò in questo lo spatio di cinque anni incirca con grande perturbatione interna d'animo, poiche non trovava dove fermarsi: e misurando ogni cosa con discorso meramente humano, parevale che molte cose potessero essere mere inventioni politiche per trattener la gente più semplice: e degl'argomenti che quelli d'una setta si servono contro d'un'altra, ella si serviva per ritorcerli contro quella stessa: così paragonava le cose di Mosè nel popolo Ebreo a ciò che fece Maometto negli Arabi. Dal che nasceva che non trovava alcuna religione che vera le paresse. Et io l'ho molte volte udita che s'accusava d'essere stata troppo profana in volere investigare i più alti misterj della divinità: poiche non ha lasciato a dietro alcun mistero della nostra fede che non habbia voluto esaminare, mentre cercava di quietare l'anima sua con trovare finalmente una religione, essendo che ogni sorte di libro che trattasse di cosa appartenente a ciò, ella leggeva, le capitavano anche molte cose degli antichi e de' gentili e d'athei. E se bene ella non giunse mai a tal cecità che dubitasse dell'esistenza di dio e sua unità con furne concetto come di cosa maggiore di tutte le altre, pure si lasciò empire la mente di molte difficoltà, delle quali poi varie volte discorresimo. E finalmente non trovava altra conclusione se non che nell'esterno conveniva far ciò che fanno gl'altri, stimando tutte le cose indifferenti, e non importar più seguir questa che quell'altra religione o setta, e bastar di non far cosa che fosse contro il dettame della ragione e di cui la persona potesse una volta arrossirsi d'haverla fatta. Con questo s'andò qualche tempo governando, e parevale d'haver trovato qualche riposo, massime che haveva scoperte altre persone (anche chiamate di lontano)



da lei stimata per dotte e savie essere di poco differente parere, giacche erano fuori della vera religione cattolica da loro riprovata sin dalla fanciullezza. Ma il signore iddio, che voleva havere misericordia della regina ne lasciaria perire negli errori dell'intelletto, giacche per l'altra parte aveva ottima volontà e desiderio di conoscere il vero e nell'oprare talmente si lasciava guidare dal lume della retta ragione, che più volte m'ha assicurato di non haver mai fatto cosa che giudicasse non doversi fare nè di cui possa arrrossire (che queste sono le sue formole di parlare), cominciò a farle apprendere che dove si tratta della salute eterna dell'anima, ogn'altro interesse deve cedere e che l'errore in cosa tanto importante è d'eterno pregiudizio: onde ripigliò di nuovo il pensiero che doveva esservi qualche religione, e posto che l'uomo doveva avere pure una religione, tra tutte quelle che si sapeva fossero nel mondo, niuna le sembrava più ragionevole della cattolica; perciò facendosi più attenta riflessione, trovò che li suoi dogmi e istituti non sono così sciocchi come li ministri Luterani (li chiamano pastori) vorriano far credere."

[Having acquired thus much knowledge, she began to reflect that many things of the Lutheran sect, in which she had been brought up, could not hold, and beginning to examine them, she found them more and more incorrect. Hence she began to give more thought to matters of religion and of controversy, and finding that the religion in which she had been reared did not wear the appearance of truth, she applied herself with unusual curiosity to inquire into all, and to weigh the difficulties of each. She thus employed about five years with great perturbation of mind, because she found no point at which she could stop: and estimating all things upon merely human principles, she thought that many things might have been mere political inventions to amuse the commoner order of minds; and those arguments which one sect employs against another she turned back against those who used them: thus she matched with the acts of Moses among the Hebrew people those of Mahomet among the Arabs. Hence she found no religion that appeared to her to be true. And many times I have heard her accuse herself of having been too profane in seeking to fathom the profoundest mysteries of the Godhead: for she did not pass over one mystery of our faith which she did not seek to examine in her endeavours to give rest to her mind by at last discovering a religion; and forasmuch as she read every kind of book treating on matters pertaining to this subject, she lighted upon many things of the ancients, and of the gentiles, and of the atheists. And though she never fell into such blindness as to doubt of the existence of God and of his unity, which she esteemed superior to everything else, still she suffered her mind to be beset by many difficulties, on which we had discourse at various times. Finally she arrived at no other conclusion but that it was expedient to do outwardly like others, thinking all matters indifferent, and that it signified nothing whether one followed this or that religion or sect, and that it was enough not to do anything contrary to the dictates of reason, and which the individual might one day blush for having done. She acted on these principles for some time, and thought she had found some rest, particularly when she found other persons (likewise invited from a distance)

whom she esteemed learned and wise, to be very nearly of the same way of thinking, since they were out of the pale of the true catholic faith, which they repudiated even as childishness. But God, who was willing to have mercy on the queen, and not to leave her to perish in the errors of her intellect, since on the other hand she had the best will and desire to know the truth, and in acting thus submitted herself to the guidance of sound reason,—for she frequently assured me she had never done anything which she judged she ought not to do, or for which she should have reason to blush (these were her own expressions),—began to let her perceive that when the eternal salvation of the soul is in question, all other interests ought to give way, and that error upon so momentous a point is of eternal injury. She therefore reverted to the thought that there must be some religion, and granting that man must have a religion, of all those she knew to exist in the world, none appeared to her more rational than the catholic. Thereupon reflecting more attentively upon the subject, she found that its dogmas and institutions are not so silly as the Lutheran ministers (they call them pastors) would make them appear.]

As we cannot think of inserting the whole work, we must be content with the following circumstantial account of the first meeting of the Jesuits with the queen.

"Partiti d'Hamburg doppo due giornate a Rendsburg ci accompagnammo col signor senatore Rosenhan, che ritornava in Suecia, e con lui andammo sino a Roschild, dove sono sepolti li re di Danimarca, foltone S. Canuto, il cui capo è a Ringsted. Egli tirò dritto a Elsenor per passare lo stretto, e noi andammo a Copenhagen. Questa cognizione fatta col sig<sup>r</sup> Rosenhan ci giovò poi in Stockholm per esser meno sospetti: e la regina un giorno dicendogli che non sapeva che concetto dovesse farsi di quei due Italiani, egli disse che non v'era di che temere, che erano buona gente, e ci usò sempre gran cortesia. Hebbimo pure fortuna nel viaggio d'unirci per alcune giornate col generale Wachtmeister gran scudiere del regno, il quale parimente ci fu di non poca utilità: perche essendo noi in Stockholm alli 24 di Febbraro conforme lo stile antico, et havendo io il giorno seguente cercato di parlare a Gio. Holm, valetto di camera di Sua Maestà, per esser introdotto a presentare la lettera datami in Roma dal padre vicario generale, nè havendolo trovato, la sera detto generale fu occasione che Sua Maestà sapesse il mio arrivo. Mentre stava la regina cenando, due cavalieri lamentavano che faceva freddo, e i generale Wachtmeister gli sgridò, dicendo che non avevano tanta paura del freddo due Italiani venuti in sua compagnia. Udì la regina questa contesa, e interrogatoli di che contendessero, udito ch'ebbe essere venuti due Italiani, richiese s'erano musici: ma rispondendo il generale che erano due galant' uomini che andavano vedendo il paese, Sua M<sup>ta</sup> disse che per ogni modo l' voleva vedere. Noi subito fummo avvisati di tutto cio ed esortati ad andare il giorno seguente alla corte: anzi dal sig<sup>r</sup> Zaccaria Grimani nobile Vezeto vi fummo condotti la mattina seguente e introdotti a salutare il conte Magnus de la Gardie primo ministro di Sua M<sup>ta</sup> per ottenere per mezzo suo l'onore di baciare la mano di Sua M<sup>ta</sup>: egli con somma cortesia ci accolse e ci assicurò che Sua M<sup>ta</sup> l'havria



havuto molto a caro. Era l'ora del pranzo, quando la regina uscì nel Vierkant, e noi fummo avvisati d'accostarci a Sua Ma<sup>està</sup>, e baciatale la mano fecimo un piccolo complimento in Italiano (che così ella haveva comandato, se bene ci aveva fatto avvisare ch'averia risposto in Francese, giacchè noi l'intendevamo) proportionato all'apparenza del personaggio che rappresentavamo: et ella con grandissima benignità rispose. Subito s'invio il maresciallo della corte e con lui tutti li cavaliere verso la sala dove stava preparata la tavola, ed io mi trovai immediatamente d'avanti alla regina. Ella, che la notte ripensando alli due Italiani e facendo riflessione che appunto era il fine di Febbraro, circa il qual tempo da Roma se l'era scritto che saremmo giunti, era venuta in sospetto che noi fossimo quelli che aspettava, quando fossimo poco lontani dalla porta e che già tutti erano quasi usciti dal Vierkant, mi disse sottovoce: 'forse voi avete qualche lettera per me,' ed io senza voltarmi che sì; soggiunse: 'non ne parlate con alcuno.' Mentre noi il dopo pranzo stavamo sopra ciò che era seguito discorrendo, ecco sopraggiunge uno che in Francese ci fa varii complimenti, poi s'avvanza a dimandarci se haveriamo lettere per Sua Ma<sup>està</sup>. Io cominciai subito a dar risposte ambigue, che non havevamo negotii, che non havevamo lettere di raccomandatione etc., sin a tanto che egli alla fine disse per ordine tutto quello che nel breve e fortuito colloquio m'haveva detto la regina. Allora m'accorsi che da lei sola poteva esser mandato: pure per maggior sicurezza lo richiesi del suo nome, ed udito che egli era Gio. Holm, gli consegnai la lettera. La mattina seguente, quasi due hore prima del tempo solito d'andar alla corte, ci avvisò Gio. Holm che Sua Ma<sup>està</sup> voleva parlarci. Subito andammo: e appena erano entrati nel Vierkant, dove era solo l'ufficiale di guardia, quando uscì la regina, e mostrò di meravigliarsi, sì perchè non fosse ivi ancora alcuno de' cavallieri, sì perchè noi fossimo stati i primi nell'andare: e dopo haverli interrogati d'alcune poche cose intorno al nostro viaggio, udendo l'ufficiale, gli dimandò se fosse comparso alcuno de' segretarii, e rispondendo quegli che no, comandolli andasse a chiamare uno di loro, e non tornò che dopo un'hora. Partito che ci fu, cominciò Sua Ma<sup>està</sup> con cortesissime parole a ringratiarci della fatica presa da noi per sua cagione nel viaggio, ci assicurò che qualunque pericolo potesse occorrere d'essere scoperti, non temessimo, perchè non havevamo permesso havessimo male alcuno. C'incaricò il segreto nè ci fidassimo di persona, additandoci nominatamente alcuni de' quali dubitava potessimo avere confidenza in progresso di tempo: ci diede speranza che havendo ella soddisfazione il nostro viaggio non saria stato indarno: c'interrogò dell'arrivo del padre Macedo e come noi fossimo stati eletti per andare colà: ci raccontò come fosse succeduta la partenza del padre Macedo . . . . ."

[Leaving Hamburg, after two days' stay at Rendsberg, we set out in company with the senator Rosenhan, who was returning to Sweden, and we proceeded with him as far as Roschilt, where the kings of Denmark are buried, with the exception of S. Canute, whose head is at Ringstede. Our companion went direct to Elsinor to cross the straits, and we to Copenhagen. This acquaintance formed with signor Rosenhan was of use afterwards to us in Stockholm, towards rendering us less sus-

pected; and when the queen said to him one day she did not know what to think of those two Italians, he told her there was nothing to fear, they were good people, and he always treated us with great courtesy. We had the luck, too, to fall in, for some days on our journey, with general Wachtmeister, grand equerry of the kingdom, who was likewise of no small service to us; for when we arrived in Stockholm on the 24th of February, old style, and sought to have speech the next day of John Holm, her majesty's valet-de-chambre, that I might be introduced, and might present the letters given me in Rome by the father-general, but could not find him,—the general was that evening the means of letting her majesty know my arrival. While the queen was at supper two gentlemen complained of the cold, and the general upbraided them, saying that two Italians, who had arrived in company with him, had not been so much afraid of the cold. The queen heard the altercation, and asking what it was about, when she heard that two Italians had arrived, she enquired were they musicians: but the general making answer that they were two gentlemen who were travelling to view the country, her majesty said that by all means she would see them. We were immediately informed of all this, and advised to go next day to court. Accordingly we were conducted thither next morning by Zaccaria Grimani, a noble Venetian, and introduced to salute count Magnus de la Gardie, her majesty's prime minister, to obtain, through him, the honour of kissing her majesty's hand. He complied with much courtesy, and assured us it would give her majesty great pleasure. It was dinner hour when her majesty came out into the Vierkant, and we were desired to approach her majesty; and having kissed her hand, we made her a little compliment in Italian, (for so she had commanded, giving us to understand that she would reply in French, since we understood it,) suited to our assumed characters, and she replied with extreme urbanity. Presently the court marshal went in, and with him all the cavaliers, to the hall where the table was laid, and I found myself immediately before the queen. She having thought over the matter of the two Italians the night before, and reflected that it was precisely the end of February,—about which time it had been written her from Rome that we should arrive,—had come to suspect that we were the persons she awaited; so when we were but a short distance from the door, and when almost all had left the Vierkant, she said to me in a whisper, "Perhaps you have letters for me," and I, without turning, answered, "Yes." She rejoined, "Do not mention them to any one." While we were talking after dinner about what had occurred, there comes up a person who makes us various compliments in French, and then proceeds to ask us if we had letters for her majesty? I immediately began to make ambiguous answers, that we were not engaged in business, that we had no letters of recommendation, &c.: till at last he repeated to us all that had passed in the brief casual discourse we had had with the queen. I was then convinced he could only have been sent by her. To make more sure, however, I asked his name, and hearing it was John Holm, I gave him the letter. The following morning, about two hours before the usual time of going to court, John

Holm informed us that her majesty wanted to speak with us. We went immediately, and had no sooner entered the Vierkant, where there was no one but the officer on guard, than the queen came out and seemed surprised, whether it was because there was no other cavalier there, or because we had been the first to arrive. After having asked us some few things about our journey, and hearing the officer, she asked him had any of the secretaries made his appearance: and on his replying in the negative, she bade him go and call one of them, and he did not return for an hour. When he was gone her majesty began very courteously to thank us for the trouble we had taken in making the journey for her sake, and assured us, that whatever was the risk of our being discovered, we need not be afraid, for she would not suffer any harm to befall us. She enjoined us to secrecy, and not to confide in any one; mentioning further, by name, some persons with whom she suspected we might grow confidential in the course of time. She encouraged us to hope that if she were satisfied, our journey would not have been made in vain. She asked us about the arrival of father Macedo, and how we had been chosen to go thither. She related to us in what manner the departure of father Macedo had taken place . . . .

132. *Relazione della corte Romana del Card. Corraro 1660.* [The cavalier Corraro's report on the court of Rome.]

Brilliant hopes had indeed been conceived of Alexander VII. Court and state looked to him for their renovation, the church for the re-establishment of her ancient discipline: even among the protestants there were many who inclined to him; the amazement, therefore, was general, when he so soon began to govern precisely like his last predecessors. His popularity gave place to violent antipathy.

The first ambassador the Venetians sent to Rome after the embassy of congratulation was Geronimo Giustiniano. His dispatches belong to the year 1656. He died of the plague. Anzolo Corraro, then podesta of Padua, was appointed to succeed him. He delayed so long that another was actually elected instead of him; upon this, however, he hastened to Rome and resided there from 1657 to 1659.

The report he made of the court on his return did not prove very favourable. The pope and his family were loaded with censure.

It is not necessary, however, for a special reason, that we should make any extracts from the document.

The report excited so strong a sensation, that it immediately found its way to the public.

A French translation of it appeared in Leyden,—"Relation de la cour de Rome faite l'an 1661(0) au conseil de Pregadi par l'excell<sup>me</sup> Seigneur Angelo Corraro: chez Lorenz, 1663,"—which, as far as I have compared it with the Italian original, renders it perfectly; nor is it by any means rare at the present day.

It was printed at the moment when the quarrel between Chigi and Crecquy drew the general attention towards Rome: the publication was intended to kindle public feeling against the pope. It is

dedicated to Beuningen, who had not yet said, "Sta sol."

133. *Relazione di Roma dell' eccell<sup>mo</sup> Sig<sup>r</sup> Niccolò Sagredo. 1661.* [Niccolo Sagredo's report on Rome.]

A report of which I met with no authentic copy, and one which is also to be found under the name of Anzolo Correro.

But as there can be no doubt that the preceding report is by Correro, whose active participation in the war against the Barberini is mentioned in it, whilst the author of this one expresses the wish to be released from his twenty-seven years' wanderings, and allowed to devote himself at home to the education of his children,—which certainly is not applicable to Correro, whose last employment had been that of podesta of Padua—I do not hesitate to conclude that Sagredo's is the right name. Sagredo I ad, as we know, been once already sent to Rome and then to Vienna: he now went for the second time to Rome. He was in fact one of the most abundantly employed statesmen of Venice, and was at last made doge.

This report is far from being so severe as the preceding one: still it is not eulogistic: it has rather the character of dispassionate observation.

Speaking of the rise of the nephews, Sagredo remarks, that it was curious how pope Alexander constantly inveighed against the wealth of the Borghesi, the Barberini, and the Ludovisi, at the very time he himself spared no opportunity to enrich his own nephews.

Description of Alexander. "Placido e soave: nei negotii nè facile nè molto disposto: per natura è dubbioso nelle risoluzioni grandi, ossia per timore che non rieschino, o perche mal volentieri s'affatichi nel procurarle, da ogni spina, benchè lontana, parendogli sentirsi pungere." [Placid and gentle: in business neither easy nor of much alacrity: he is by nature dubious in questions of moment, whether from fear of ill-success, or because he does not like the trouble of carrying them through, seeming to feel pricked by every thorn, however distant.]

He thought he had done enough to satisfy the Venetians by the suppression of the orders before mentioned, and he even thought there was no danger to be apprehended from the Candian war in the long run. It touched him directly that Parma and Modena were supported by France in their pretensions against the states of the church. The Portuguese affair, too, was not settled. "Vedutosi quel regno in mancanza assoluta di vescovi e dilapidate le rendite di tutte le chiese, si sono sentiti molti clamori non solo, ma vivissime l'istanze del card<sup>e</sup> Orsino protettore, perche fossero provvedute: ma non si è lasciato condurre il papa mai a farlo." [The total want of bishops in that kingdom, and the ruined state of the revenues of all the churches, have occasioned not only numerous clamours, but very urgent demands on the part of the cardinal protector Orsino to have the matter remedied: but the pope has never been prevailed on to do so.]

We find the popedom already at variance with most of the catholic states. There was not one that had not an utter horror of the jurisdictional and financial pretensions of the curia.

Of all that occurred in Rome our author most extols Alexander's buildings. We see that the public greatly preferred the Cattedra di S. Pietro in St. Peter's to the Colonnades. The embellishments in the city itself were often carried into effect in a somewhat violent and arbitrary manner. "Molte strade della città con getti di case e di palazzi drizzate: levatesi le colonne et impedimenti che stavano avanti le porte di particolari: allargatasi la piazza Colonna del collegio Romano ad istanza de' Gesuiti col abbattimento del nobilissimo palazzo Salviati: ristrettisi tutti i tavolati delle botteghe: opere tutte che come riescono in fine di grand' ornamento della città, così il peso delle medesime su la borsa de' privati cadendo, non puonno che delle mormorazioni partorire, il vedersi gittar a terra il proprio nido, il contribuirsi summe rilevanti per l'aggiustamento di strade ch'ai medesimi particolari nulla profittano, sotto colore che le loro habitazioni habbiano a godere della vista più bella, non equivalendo all'aggravio che ne risentono et alla forza con cui sono a consentirvi costretti." [Many streets of the city have been straightened by pulling down houses and palaces; the columns and other obstacles before the doors of private individuals have been taken away; the piazza Colonna of the Collegio Romano has been enlarged, at the solicitation of the Jesuits, by pulling down the magnificent palazzo Salviati; all the shop signs have been restricted: though all these operations result in the great adornment of the city, yet as the burthen of them falls on the purses of private individuals, it cannot fail to excite much murmuring to see one's own nest hurled to the ground, and to be obliged to contribute considerable sums for the arrangement of streets that are of no advantage to the individuals who pay, under the pretence that their houses will have the enjoyment of a handsomer view,—no recompense for the cost they are put to, and the force by which they are constrained to submit to it.]

134. *Relazione di Roma del K<sup>e</sup> Pietro Basadona, 1663.* [Pietro Basadona's report on Rome.]

Written in Corraro's manner, but exaggerated. I will give a few passages.

First as to the quarrel with France, undoubtedly the most important occurrence that took place during this embassy. "Quanto alle brigho correnti, so di havere nelle mie successive lettere dispolpate le ossa di tal materia quanto conviene: però non devo tacere che se l'imprudente superbia fece cadere i Chigi nella fossa, l'ambitiosa mellonagine vi gli habbia miseramente involuppati. Costoro si persuadevano che Roma fosse il mondo: ma il re di Francia a spese loro gli ha dato a vedere che non havevano bene studiata la geografia. Varie ciarle hanno divulgato le passioni degli huomini circa l'insolenza d'imperiali\* e di Don Mario contra l'immunità dell' ambasciatore Francese. Io non dirò che fossero innocenti, ma effettivamente affermo che congiunta alla loro mala volontà qualche colpa del caso, che accresce o sminuisce non di rado le humane operationi, li costituisca per rei et obligati a rendere puntualmente soddisfatte le pretensioni che il re di Francia può legittimamente fondare sulle ingiurie pur troppo sostenute nella persona del suo ministro: e siccome io conobbi questa verità, così contribuì indefessa applicatione per interdire le mosse di Crequi, e

prima che le cose corressero a manifesta rovina, saldare la scissura col balsamo de' negoziati. Ma erano troppi umori nelle teste Chigiarde e troppa ostinatione per condescendere ad una convenevole humiliatione verso il re, di cui non si volevano temere le bravate, quasiche fatte in credenza e non durabili più di una effimera Francese. Insino mi hebbe a dire Sua B<sup>ne</sup> che i cuori Romani non havevano paura delle smargiassate de' giovinastri Parigini. Al che risposi, compiere tal volta più pigliarsela con gli assennati vecchioni che con giovinastri cervelletti, i quali sogliono per isfogare un favorito capriccio avventurarsi anche sull' orlo de' precipitii, e che il trescare con chi ha de' grilli in capo, esserciti a fianchi e milioni sotto i piedi, non era buon giuoco per li pontefici, che hanno solamente le due dita alzate. Rappresentai più volte, quando si vide che il re diceva da senno, essersi pur troppo ruinato il dominio ecclesiastico dai quattordici milioni che spese nella guerra Barberina, che i milioni di cui la camera è debitrice passano cinquanta, e che in somma Sua S<sup>tà</sup> senza rovinarsi non poteva armarsi, senza perdersi non poteva combattere, anzi che senza combattere il nemico poteva rovinarlo. Ma vane furono queste e cento altre più massicce ragioni, havendo troppo amore per non allontanarsi i parenti e troppo umore per il puntiglio di Castro. Ed un giorno che lo trovai di vena, mi disse queste formali parole: "Tutti esclamano che si scameri Castro, a nessuno dice che si restituischi Avignone: tutti espongono che il re merita esser risarcito degli affronti presenti ricevuti, e nessuno parla che si rifacciano gli strapazzi degli ecclesiastici, se fosse vero, come si sa non essere, che imperiali\* e nostro fratello Mario habbiano\* dati gli ordini a corsi contro l'ambasciatore e potrebbe il re pretendere soddisfazione contro questi due: ma come ci entra Castro? e poi se Mario è innocente, come si ha d'allontanare da noi?"

[As to the present troubles, I know that I have sufficiently extracted the marrow of the subject in my successive letters: I must not, however, omit to say, that if the imprudent pride of the Chigi made them fall in the ditch, their ambitions blundering has miserably smothered them in it. They had taken it into their heads that Rome was the world: but the king of France taught them, to their cost, that they had not rightly studied geography. Passion has given rise to various idle reports about the insolence of Imperiali and Don Mario in disputing the immunities of the French ambassador. I will not say that they were innocent, but I do affirm, that besides their ill intentions there was some fault of accident, such as not unfrequently adds to or takes from the effect of human efforts, which makes them culprits, and bound to render punctual satisfaction to the claims the king of France may legitimately ground upon the injuries he has palpably sustained in the person of his ambassador: and whereas I was aware of this truth, I was no less indefatigable in my efforts to mitigate Crequi's irritation, and, before matters were pushed to the last extremity, to heal the breach by negotiation. But the Chigi had too many humours in their heads, and too much obstinacy, to condescend to a suitable humiliation towards the king, whose bravadoes they would not

\* Qu. Imperiali? (See note p. 288.)—habbiano?—TRANSLATOR.

fear, esteeming them as mere words, and no more lasting than a French one-day-fever. His holiness even said to me that Roman hearts were not to be frightened by the blusterings of Parisian hobbe-dehoyes. To this I replied, that it was sometimes better to have to do with steady veterans, than with hair-brained boys, who to indulge a whim would venture to the very verge of the precipice; and that to play with one who had crotchets in his head, armies at his side, and millions under his feet, was a bad game for the popes, who have only two fingers raised. I frequently represented to him, when it was seen that the king was in earnest, that the ecclesiastical government was too ruinously embarrassed by the fourteen millions spent in the Barberini war; that the debts of the treasury exceeded fifty millions, and that in fine his holiness could not arm without ruining himself, nor fight without destroying himself, whereas the enemy could ruin him even without fighting. But vain were all these and a hundred other more weighty arguments, he having too much love for his relations to repudiate them, and too much wilfulness and sore-feeling about Castro. One day when I found him in the vein he said to me these very words: "Every body cries out, that Castro must be given up, but no one says that Avignon must be restored: every one declares that the king deserves compensation for the affronts endured by him, but no one says a word of recompense for the insults inflicted on the clergy: supposing it were true, which is by no means the case, that Imperiali and our brother Mario ordered the proceedings against the ambassador, and that the king might claim satisfaction of these two,—still, what has Castro to do with the matter! and then if Mario is innocent, why should he be repudiated by us?"

So it goes on; a tissue of self-sufficient invectives; full of profound contempt for the whole ecclesiastical body; a wholly modern tone of feeling. The possibility of the French making themselves masters of Rome is already contemplated. At times we are almost tempted to doubt whether such things could really have been read before the senate. But if we reflect that just then violent attacks were directed from all quarters against the Roman see (the fiercest satires appeared, e. g. "Le putanisme de Rome," in which it was said point blank that the pope must be given a wife to prevent greater evils, and that the papacy must be made hereditary), and that this was the period in which its credit began generally to decline, we shall then cease to consider the thing so improbable. On the whole our author had a very good knowledge of the court and the country: it is worth while to hear what he says about the States of the Church.

"Si palpa con mano, l'eccelesiastico dominio essere totalmente aggravato, sì che molti possessori non potendo estrarre da i loro terreni quanto basti a pagare le pubbliche imposizioni straordinariamente aggiunte, trovano di consiglio di necessità l'abbandonare i loro fondi e cercare da paese men rapace la fortuna di poter vivere. Taccio da datii e gabelle sopra tutte le robe comestibili, nimia eccettuata: perche le taglie, i donativi, i sussidii e le altre straordinarie angherie che studiosamente s'inventano, sono tali che eccitarebbono compassione e stupore se i terribili commissarii che spe-

disce Roma nelle città suddite con suprema autorità d'inquire, vendere, asportare, condannare, non eccedessero ogni credenza, non essendo mai mese che non volino su le poste grifoni ed arpie col sopramantello di commissarii o della fabrica di S. Pietro o de' legati pii o de' spogli o degli archivi o di venticinque altri tribunali Romani: onde restano martirizzate le borse, benche esaste, de' sudditi impotenti ad ultima prova. E però, se si pongono da parte Ferrara e Bologna, con le quali si usa qualche riguardo e le quali sono favorite dalla natura ed arte di ottimi terreni e di mercatura industriosa, tutte le altre città della Romagna, della Marca, Umbria, Patrimonio, Sabina e Territorio di Roma sono miserabili per ogni rispetto: nè trovansi (oh vergogna de' Romani comandanti) in alcuna città l'arte della lana o della seta, non che de' panni d'oro, se due o tre piccole biocche di Fossombrone, Pergola, Matelica, Camerino e Norcia n'ecceitno: e pure facilmente per l'abbondanza della lana e seta si potrebbe introdurre ogni vantaggievole mercatura. Ma essendo il dominio ecclesiastico un terreno che si ha ad affitto, coloro che lo noleggiano, non pensano a bonificarlo, ma solamente a cavarne quella pinguedine che può spremersene maggiore che sia del povero campo, che smunto et arido a nuovi affittuali non avrà agio di porgere che sterilissimi suffragi. E pare arso l'erario pontificio da un abisso di voragine: si hebbe per bene armare per due volte, quasi che il primo errore, che costò due milioni, fosse stato imitabile per qualche civanzo alla difesa dello stato, quando alle prime rotture ogni prudenza insegnava a stringere l'accomodamento per (non) dare pretesto a Francia di chieder peggio. Un calcolo, che feci nella mozzatura di quattro e mezzo per cento che rendevano i luoghi de' monti, come fanno di sette per cento nella nostra zecca, ridotti a quattro solamente, trovai che a un mezzo scudo per cento in cinquanta milioni effettivi di debito, la camera venne a guadagnare 250 m. scudi di entrata, che a quattro per cento formerebbe un capitale di sei milioni e mezzo."

[It is palpable that the ecclesiastical realm is utterly overwhelmed by its burthens, so that many proprietors, finding it impossible to draw from their estates enough to pay the extraordinary impositions of the state, take counsel of necessity, throw up their possessions, and go seek the means of subsistence in less rapacious countries. I say nothing of the dues and customs upon all eatables, none excepted; for the tolls, donatives, subsidies, and other extraordinary extortions which are studiously invented, are such as would excite compassion and amazement, if the terrible commissioners whom Rome sends into the aforesaid cities with supreme authority to inquire, sell, carry off, and condemn, did not exceed all belief, there never being a month but sees these griffins or harpies fly to their posts in the assumed form of commissioners of the works of St. Peter's, or of pious bequests, or of spogli, or of the archives, or of a score of other Roman boards: hence the exhausted purses of the helpless subjects are tortured to the last degree. And thus, setting aside Ferrara and Bologna, which are treated with some consideration, and which are favoured by nature and art with excellent lands and with manufactures, all the other cities of Romagna, the March, Umbria, the Patrimonio, Sabina, and the Territorio di Roma

are wretched in every respect : nor (O ! shame to Roman rulers) is the manufacture of wool or of silk, not to speak of cloth of gold, found in any town, two or three petty villages of Fossombrone, Pergola, Matelica, Camerino, and Norecia excepted ; and yet from the abundance of wool and silk a very profitable trade might be created. But the ecclesiastical territory is an estate leased out to tenants who do not think of improving it, but only of squeezing the most they can out of the ill-fated soil, which, worked out of all heart, will have nothing but the most barren returns to offer to new tenants. The papal treasury too seems a bottomless pit : it was thought right to take up arms twice ; as if the first error, which cost two millions, was to be imitated for any advantage it promised in defence of the state, whereas upon the first breach every consideration of prudence demanded that an accommodation should be at once concluded, to avoid giving France a pretext for insisting on less favourable terms. By a calculation I made of the reduction of interest on the luoghi di monti from four and a half per cent (they pay seven per cent in our mint) to four, I found that at half a scudo per cent on fifty millions of debt the treasury gained 250 thousand yearly, which at four per cent would form a capital of six millions and a half.]

135. *Vita di Alessandro VII. Con la descrizione delle sue adherenze e governo. 1666.* [Life of Alexander VII. With a description of his adherents and his government.]

This is not a biography, at least not such an one as Pallavicini wrote, but a general account of the proceedings of this pope, in the light in which they were regarded in Rome, composed by a well-informed and on the whole a well-meaning contemporary.

"Egli è," it says of the pope, "veramente d'animo pio, religioso, divoto, e vorrebbe operare miracoli per conservazione del christianesimo : . . . ma è pigro, timido, irresoluto, e molte volte mal opera per non operare." [He is of a truly pious mind, religious and devout, and would fain work miracles for the preservation of Christianity. . . . but he is sluggish, timid, irresolute, and sometimes works amiss to avoid working.] He denounced nepotism at first, and afterwards carried it to the highest pitch. All financial matters were in the hands of the nephews ;—they enriched themselves very much ;—the quarrels with Créqui were to be imputed entirely to them ; the pope reserved only foreign affairs to himself. But he paid too little attention to them. He held literary meetings at home that took up much of his time : in the evening Rospi-gliosi spent an hour in conversation with him. In fact, matters went on but very indifferently. The pope gave his answers in general terms, while yet there was no minister to whom parties could address themselves.

The conclusion is not very cheering. The author sums up in these words : "L'ambizione, l'avaritia et il lusso dominano il palazzo : e pure la pietà, la bontà et il zelo dominano Alessandro VII." [Ambition, avarice, and luxury sway the palace ; yet piety, goodness, and zeal sway Alexander VII.]

136. *Relazione di Roma di Giacomo Quirini K. 1667(8) 23 Febr. — [Report on Rome by Giacomo Quirini.]*

Giacomo Quirini passed three years and a half at the court of Alexander VII., and was afterwards accredited for a while to Clement IX. : his report comprises this whole period.

He first describes the last years of Alexander VII., not indeed with the animosity of his predecessors, but essentially to the same purpose \*.

"In 42 mesi che servii Alessandro VII., conobbi esservi il solo nome del pontefice, ma non l'uso del pontificato, dandosi quel capo alla quiete dell' animo, al solo pensare di vivere, e con severo divieto ripudiato il negotio, scemate tutte quelle virtù che da cardinale prestantemente teneva con vivacità di spirito, ingegno nel distinguere, prontezza nei partiti, disinvoltura nel risolvere e facilità supragrande dell' esprimersi." He depicts the abuses of nepotism. He predicts mischief from the building of the colonnades of St. Peter's, the blame of which is imputed to the cavalier Bernini :—"renderà per sempre disabitata la città Leonina, spianate le case, moltiplicate l'acque delle fontane, scemati i fuochi : cagiona in conseguenza la mal' aria." [It will for ever depopulate the Leonine city, cause the houses to be levelled, the water-works to be increased, hearths to be diminished in number : malaria will be the result.] He relates the abuses of pensions and places with special reference to Venice, from which every year the sum of 100,000 ducats found its way to Rome. It is remarkable that Alexander VII. was, on his side, very much dissatisfied with the cardinals ; he complained that they sided with the temporal princes, even in the affair of Castro, and that they would not even give him good advice : "Si lagnava non esser dottrina e virtù soddisfacente in quei porporati, non arricordando mai ripieghi o partiti che prima lui non li sapesse." There was an universal degeneracy.

The conclave was overruled through Chigi's concessions to the Squadrone volante. It proved afterwards, however, that Chigi had done well in this : to these concessions he owed it that Clement IX. granted him some share in the government.

Quirini describes Clement IX. as weak and burthened with diseases, but firm, nay obstinate in his opinion : he sometimes forbade his ministers to revert to a subject on which he had once made up his mind. A musician of Pistoja, of the name of Atto, well known in Venice, was admitted to confidential intercourse with him. Quirini characterises as heroic his determination to make some remission of the taxes. "Mostrò eroica pietà, levando due giulj di gabella di macinato dei rubiatelli, privandosi di 2 milioni di seudi."

He proceeds to speak of the family of Clement IX., particularly cardinal Rospi-gliosi, whom he thus describes.

"Tuttoche il giorno innanzi della mia partenza seguisse la promozione, restando al cardinalato promosso l'abate Rospi-gliosi in età di 38 anni finiti, ciò non ostante, avendolo per due volte conosciuto in Spagna e trattato in Roma con negotii diversi come cospicuo del cardinal Chigi, posso con distinta cognizione riferire all' EE VV che il papa

parlando meco frequentemente nelle audienze e lasciandosi con giustizia rapire lo considerava per cunto ministro, o per consentimento comune gli attribuiva merito e lode : et in questo credo che moralmente non si possa ingannare, perche niun nipote di papa è comparso in teatro più informato di lui, mentre in corte cattolica fu sempre a parte della lunga nunciatura del zio. Nella secretaria di stato in Roma era l'unico direttore, formando lettere e risposte negli affari de' principi. Insorti poi li turbini per le pessime risoluzioni con l'ambasciatore Crechi fu prima espedito a S. Quirico e poi a Livorno, con intenzione più tosto di portar le lusinghe di palazzo che di soddisfare l'ambasciatore duca : et aggiustato in fine il negotio fu nella legatione di Chigi spedito in Francia a consultare le formalità del trattamento : e ritornato in Roma col titolo d'internuncio passò in Fiandra : et assunto al pontificio papa Clemente credè con la speranza e con l'opinione di poter conciliare le differenze conservando nello stesso tempo gli ornamenti della pace e rimuovere i pericoli della guerra, dove gli espedi la plenipotenza per aggiustare i dispareri venturi tra le corone. Nelli di cui viaggi et impieghi siccome nei primi giorni profuse con grande generosità molt' oro : così, caduto mortalmente inferno in Susa, convenne con prodigalità dispensare infinito contante, a segno che 140 m. scudi ne risente d'aggravio la camera apostolica. Nel resto il naturale suo melanconico : uomo di poche parole e ritirato in se stesso : et in tanti anni di conversazioni e d'anticamera si dimostrò con tutti indifferente, non palesando sviscerata amicitia o confidenza con alcuno, essendo più tosto misurato che sostenuto nei discorsi : et hora a causa del patimento sofferto resta per qualche momento predominato da certa fissazione de' pensieri, e tende nel negotio, nelle visite e nell' agitation della corte • s'applica e divertiscen : con tutto cio dirige la secretaria di stato il card<sup>e</sup> Azzolini sottoscrivendo lo stesso card<sup>e</sup> gli ordini alle legationi non meno che alle nunciature de' principi. Sin qui resta poi dalla beneficenza del papa provveduto di 30 m. scudi di pensioni e badie che teneva il pontefice, di quattro mila scudi per la morte del card<sup>e</sup> Palotta, e di dodici m. scudi della legatione d'Avignone come cardinal padrone." [Notwithstanding that the promotion took place the day before my departure, on which occasion the abbatte Rospigliosi was made cardinal in his 39th year, still, as I had known him twice in Spain, and had dealings with him at various times in Rome as cupbearer to cardinal Chigi, I can distinctly relate to your excellencies that that pope, frequently conversing with me, spoke with just warmth of him as a courteous minister, and one who, by common consent, was deserving of high praise. And in this I think it morally impossible he can be mistaken ; for no pope's nephew ever appeared on the stage better informed than he, since he was all along employed in his uncle's long nunciature at the Spanish court. He was sole director in the secretaryship of state at Rome, dictating all answers and replies in the affairs of foreign princes. When the troubles arose in consequence of the very injudicious measures pursued towards the ambassador Créquy, he was sent first to S. Quirico, and afterwards to Leghorn, rather as the bearer of palace flatteries, than with a view to give satisfaction to the ambassador duke. When

this affair was at last settled, he was sent in Chigi's legation to France, to arrange the formalities of the treaty ; and on his return to Rome he was dispatched to Flanders with the title of internuncio. On the accession of pope Clement he entertained confidential hopes of preserving peace and preventing war, being employed as plenipotentiary to adjust the differences between the two crowns. In his journeys and employments he scattered gold with lavish generosity ; and on being seized with a deadly illness at Susa, he thought proper prodigally to expend a vast amount, so that the apostolic treasury suffered to the amount of 140,000 scudi. His character is melancholy : he is a man of few words, and retired within himself ; and during so many years of intercourse and antechamber commerce, he has shown himself indifferent to all, never manifesting any cordial or confidential friendship for any one, and he has always been rather measured than bold in his discourse. At present, in consequence of the sufferings he has endured, there are moments when he labours under a certain stagnation of thought, and then he plunges into business, and endeavours to amuse himself with visits and the bustle of the court. In consequence of all this, the secretaryship of state is directed by cardinal Azzolini, who signs the orders to the legations, as well as to the nunciatures at the courts of princes. Up to this time he has been provided by the pope's beneficence with pensions and abbeys, formerly held by the pope, to the amount of three thousand scudi ; he has derived four thousand scudi from the death of cardinal Palotta, and twelve thousand scudi from the legation of Avignon, as cardinal padrone.]

137. *Relatione della corte di Roma al re christianissimo dal Sr<sup>e</sup> di Charne 1669.* [Report to the king of France on the court of Rome, by monsieur de Charne.]

A report which has been printed both in French and Italian, but which (and perhaps this is the very reason why it was printed) contains very little of importance.

The disorders of the apostolic camera are here also set forth, and it is remarked how little they were remedied by the restrictions imposed by Clement IX. on his nephews ; how little, too, was the efficiency of any congregation, and how a general bankruptcy was to be feared.

Grimani's remarks on the dearth of able men, the good intentions, but little energy, of Rospigliosi, and the state of the prelature and the country, are here confirmed.

There are editions of this work in which several things have been taken unaltered from Grimani.

I rather doubt, however, that this work was the production of a French ambassador ; if so, its author must have been the duke de Chaulnes, whom we find mentioned in the "Négotiations relatives à la succession d'Espagne, II." p. 579, as ambassador to Rome : at any rate, it is the work of a contemporary who was not uninformed.

138. *Relatione della corte di Roma del sig<sup>r</sup> Antonio Grimani, ambasciatore della repubblica di Venezia in Roma durante il pontificato di Clemente IX. 1670.* [Report on the court of Rome

by Signor Antonio Grimani, ambassador from the republic of Venice during the pontificate of Clement IX.]

Quirini expressed himself somewhat dubiously as to the virtues of Clement IX. The experience people had had of Alexander VII. might have made him cautious. On the other hand, Grimani bursts out into unbounded eulogy, at least as regards the pope's moral qualities. "Veramente la manguetudine, la modestia, la piacevolezza, la moderazione, la clemenza, la candidezza dell' animo, la purità della coscienza sono doti sue particolari." [In truth, gentleness, modesty, amiability, moderation, clemency, candour, and purity of conscience are his special gifts.] He declares he had never known a better man.

He first relates the moderation displayed by Clement in providing for his nephews. It appears, however, that there were objections alleged on this head in Rome. Grimani even thought that the Pistojese would revenge themselves at some future time on the nephews for the unexpected repulse they had received.

This much, however, is certain, that Clement made no serious efforts to reform other abuses: the cry was soon, that if another Sixtus V. did not arise, the papacy was in danger of utter ruin.

Grimani enumerates the most prominent evils: the sale of offices, whence resulted the dearth of able men; bad financial economy; above all, the neglect of the monks. "Al presente i religiosi sono tenuti in un concetto sì vile che da per loro si allontanano di comparir nella corte per non ricevere affronti da' cortigiani più infimi. Le porpore e vescovadi si tengono vilipesi su le spalle de' religiosi, e nelle concorrenze un pretuccio ignorante e vitioso ottienar il premio sopra il religioso dotto e da bene. I nipoti non curano de' religiosi: perchè non possono da questi esser corteggiati come da' preti. Se si parla di aggravi, i monasterj sono i primi: se di riforma, non si parla di preti, ma di religiosi. In somma, si toglie affatto ad ogni uno la volontà di studiare e la cura di difender la chiesa dalle false opinioni che vanno seminando i nemici di Roma: de' quali moltiplicandosi giornalmente il numero, e deteriorandosi quello de' religiosi dotti et esemplari, potrebbe in breve soffrirne non poco detrimento la corte. Onde al mio credere farebbono bene i pontefici di procurar di rimettere i regolari nel pristino posto di stima, partecipandoli di quando in quando cariche e dignità, tanto più ch'essendo grande il numero possono scegliere i soggetti a loro piacere: e così nelle religioni vi entrerebbono huomini eminenti, dove che tengono a vile hoggi di coprirsi le spalle d'un cappuccino i più falliti mercanti, nè si veggono entrar ne' monasterj che gente meccanica." [The regular clergy are at present held in such contempt that they are loth to appear at court, that they may not be insulted by the lowest courtiers. It seems to be considered that the purple and the episcopal robes would be disgraced if put on the shoulders of monks and friars; and in all competitions, an ignorant and vicious fellow, if he be a priest, will carry off the prize in preference to a learned and worthy member of a religious order. The nephews have no regard for monks, because they do not pay them court as the priests do. If burthens are to be imposed, the monasteries are

the first to be visited with them; if the question of reform be entertained, the priests are never talked of, but the monks. In fine, all love for study, and care for the defence of the church, are effectually smothered by the false ideas sown by the enemies of Rome: those enemies daily increasing in numbers, whilst that of learned and exemplary monks diminishes, the court may soon suffer no little detriment. Wherefore, in my opinion, the popes would do well to endeavour to restore the regular clergy to their former credit, by bestowing employments and dignities on them from time to time, the more because there being a great number of them, selections might be made from them at pleasure. In this way men of eminence would be induced to enter the orders, whereas, now-a-days, the most broken traders scorn to cover their shoulders with the hood, and none but handicraftsmen will enter the monasteries.] But, unfortunately, no remedy for this state of things was to be expected from Clement IX.: he was far too lukewarm, of too easy a temper.

After the description of the pope, the ambassador passes on to his nearest kindred. First he speaks of cardinal Rospigliosi, of whom it was hoped "quod esset redempturus Israel." He points out why this hope had been disappointed. "Tre cose per mio credere sono quelle che fanno camminar col piede di piombo il cardinal predetto, accusato di lentezza di genio e di mancanza d'applicazione. La prima è il gran desiderio di voler far bene ogni cosa e di dar gusto a tutto il mondo, cosa che difficilmente può riuscire ad un' huomo che non è assoluto padrone. La seconda è che la sua volontà viene imbrigliata e trattenuta dal papa, il quale, se bene ama e considera con amore straordinario questo nipote, gode però di fare il tutto a suo modo: onde dubbioso il Rospigliosi d'incontrar nelle sue risoluzioni le negative dell' papa e dall' altra parte volendo soddisfare gl'interessati, fugge le occasioni di concludere cosa alcuna. E finalmente gli nuoce ancora la capacità del proprio intendimento, particolarmente in quelle cose che dipendono da lui: poiche abbondando, come si è detto, di ripieghi capaci da sostenere il posto di nipote, da sì gran copia nasce la gran penuria nelle risoluzioni, perdendo la maggior parte dell' hore più pretiose a meditare e crivellare le materie, et intanto che si medita e crivella il modo da elegere senza mancare le più adequate, il tempo vola e le occasioni fuggono." [There are three things in my opinion that make the aforesaid cardinal leaden-paced, accused as he is of sluggishness of mind and of want of application. The first is his great desire of doing everything well, and pleasing everybody,—a thing which no man can very readily accomplish who is not absolute master. The second is, that his will is bridled and retarded by the pope, who, though he regards his nephew with extraordinary affection, is fond, for all that, of doing everything in his own way: the consequence is, that Rospigliosi, fearful of having his resolutions met by the pope's veto, and, on the other hand, wishing to satisfy parties interested, shuns occasion to adopt any conclusion. Lastly, the very power of his own understanding is prejudicial to him, especially in those matters which depend on himself. For whereas he abounds, as I have said, in expedients adapted for maintaining the post of nephew, a great practical penury springs from his mental abundance,



the most valuable time being for the most part consumed in pondering and sifting his subject; and while he is doing this, and striving not to miss one grain, time rolls on, and the opportunity slips away.] The justice, however, must not be denied him of admitting that he had not enriched himself: "havendo trascurato molte occasioni d'arricchirsi, e l'avrebbe possuto fare senza scrupolo e con buona coscienza" [but had let slip many opportunities, when he might have done so without scruple, and with a clear conscience]. It was thought, indeed, that Rospigliosi favoured Chigi, particularly with a view to himself becoming pope one day through his aid. The ambassador confutes this opinion.

It is remarkable how the character and tone of thought of the pope and the cardinal padrone were reflected in the subordinate members of the court. They were not without good intentions and capacity, but from one cause or another they could give no practical proof of them. "Di due ministri si serve particolarmente il cardinale nelle cose che corrono alla giornata. L'uno è monsignore Agustini, huomo prudente e di vita esemplare, che può dirsi di lui come di Giobbe Vir simplex et timens deum, ma del resto lento, lungo e irresoluto e tanto inclinato a voler far bene che fa poco per lo dubbio di non far male: onde con questa natura ha saputo dare così bene nell'humore del padrone che lo decanta per un' oracolo e lo stima il principal ministro della corte, benché quelli che continuamente lo sentono nelle congregazioni, ne fanno altro concetto, e lo confessano bene per un soggetto mediocre, ma non più oltre, e della stessa opinione è ancora il papa. L'altro è mon<sup>s</sup> Frani, a cui fu dato il carico di segretario della consulta, officio veramente che ricerca gran confidenza col card<sup>l</sup> padrone: onde con ragione Rospigliosi scelse questo huomo che conosce il dovere dell'amicizia e che in effetto non può desiderarsi maggior capacità nel governo, tuttavia inhabile quasi di esercitare il suo officio per esser polagroso e infermo, prolungando per questo ogni cosa con gran rammarico della corte, dalla quale vien poco accettato, tanto più che si è vociferato haver le mani inclinate a ricever presenti, ma per me credo che questa sia una vera malignità di dettatori."

[The cardinal particularly employs two ministers in the current matters of the day. The one is monsignor Agustini, a sensible man, and of exemplary life, of whom it may be said as of Job "Vir simplex at timens Deum," but on the other hand slow, procrastinating, and irresolute, and so possessed by the desire to do well, that he does nothing for fear of doing ill. With such a character he accords so well with his patron's humour, that the latter cries him up for an oracle, and esteems him the principal member of the court; though those who hear him constantly in the congregations are of a different way of thinking, owing him indeed to be a man of middling ability, but nothing more; which is also the opinion of the pope. The other is monsignor Frani, to whom was committed the secretaryship of the consulta, an office which really requires great trust on the part of the cardinal padrone. Rospigliosi has therefore rightly selected this man, who knows what is due to friendship, and who really has all the capacity that can be desired for government, though almost unfitted for discharging his functions, being gouty

and infirm; so that he protracts everything, to the great annoyance of the court with which he is not much in favour, the more so as he is reported to have a ready hand for receiving presents; but for my part I believe this to be a malicious calumny.]

It is not necessary to repeat the further details respecting the papal family, since it never attained to any influence. The pope's brother, Don Camillo Rospigliosi, would have deserved, as our author says, to have been canonised in his lifetime, had such been the custom. He had five sons, of whom, however, only two need be named: the second, Don Tommaso, who had already conceived the idea of promoting the manufactures of the ecclesiastical states; and the youngest, Giambattista—"giovine di bellissimo aspetto e d'un cervello acuto e penetrante" [a very comely youth, of acute intellect]—who was married to a Pallavicini of Genoa, and founded the house of Rospigliosi. It is enough to give merely a general description of the new relations entered into by these nephews. "Fra tutti li pontefici che sono stati nel Vaticano, non se ne è forse veduto mai alcuno più politico e più prudente nel mantenersi con i suoi parenti come fece Clemente IX, il quale godeva di esser con loro, ma non già di darsi in preda di loro: anzi quanto più li mostrava segni di affetto e di ottima volontà, tanto maggiormente li teneva indietro senza parteciparli in modo alcuno i segreti de' suoi pensieri. Alla buona intenzione del papa di torre via dalla chiesa lo scandolo introdotto da lungo tempo mediante la comunicazione di quasi tutta l'autorità del Vaticano che i pontefici hanno costumato di partecipare ai loro nipoti, è andata congiunta la bontà del nipotismo: perché si può dire con buona ragione che mai in Roma si sono veduti parenti di papa più modesti, più humili, più caritativi e meno disinteressati de' Rospigliosi, e quel che più importa, tutti dotati d'una stessa bontà e modestia, che però sarebbe stato un disumanarsi di lasciarli d'amare: anzi si può dire giustamente che il papa non li amò mai quanto sarebbe necessario al merito delle loro ottime qualità, havendoli tenuti più tosto come stranieri che come parenti per non comunicare con essi loro alcuna cosa di conseguenza: con che si rendeva infelice, mentre dall'una parte si privava volontariamente della soddisfazione necessaria a' principi di sfogarsi con i congiunti, e dall'altra si vedeva privo di potersi aprire con i domestici, che per lo più erano gente idiota e di spirito ben mediocre. Si crede che il papa non confida le cose più importanti della corte che colla persona del card<sup>l</sup> Chigi, il quale come astuto et accorto ha saputo benissimo guadagnarsi il suo affetto."

[Of all the popes who have been seated in the Vatican, never perhaps was there one more politic and prudent in his bearing towards his relations than Clement IX.; he enjoyed their society, but never let them get the upper hand of him: nay, the more he lavished his affection upon them, the more he kept them back and never suffered them in any wise to participate in his secret thoughts. With the pope's laudable intention of abolishing the scandal long introduced into the church, by the delegation of almost the whole authority of the Vatican, were joined all the good points of nepotism: for it may be affirmed that never were there seen in Rome a pope's relations more modest, humble, charitable, and disinterested than the

Rospigliosi, and, what is more important, all endowed with such goodness and modesty that it would be confessing one's self not human to avoid loving them: it may therefore be said that the pope never loved them as their excellent qualities deserved, treating them rather as strangers than as relations, in never imparting to them any thing of consequence. He made himself unhappy by this, on the one hand voluntarily depriving himself of the enjoyment, necessary to sovereigns, of unbosoming themselves to their kindred; whilst on the other hand he was debarred from the possibility of unburthening himself to those of his household, who were for the most part simple folks and persons of very ordinary capacity. It is thought that the pope never confides the more important matters of the court to any one but cardinal Chigi, who, being astute and skilful, has known very well how to win his good-will.]

There follows a description of the cardinals, and of the ambassadors who resided at the court. But the individuals are too insignificant, and the interests discussed are too transient, to allow of our dwelling upon them.

139. *Relazione dello stato delle cose di Roma del mese di Sett. 1670.* (Alt. 9 leaves.) [Report on the state of Roman affairs in the month of September 1670.]

Besides the Venetian reports, and those professing to be French, there are Spanish also: undoubtedly this report was drawn up for Spain. Mention is made in it of another which was sent to the Spanish court, and this is alleged as reason for omitting certain matters contained in it from the one before us.

Clement X.: "la sua natura è placida: perche non viene alcuno a suoi piedi al quale egli non desidera di fare qualche gratia. . . Va ristrettissimo nelle spese e parchissimo nel dare a suoi." [His character is gentle; no one approaches his feet to whom he does not wish to do some favour. . . He is very parsimonious in his expenditure, and very sparing of gifts to his followers.] Cardinal Altieri: "opera tutto da se, e poca influenza riceve da altri. Sono secoli che non si è veduto un nepote di pontefice nè di maggior autorità nè d'abilità ed integrità." [He does everything of himself, and is very little influenced by others. For ages there has not been seen a pope's nephew of greater weight, or of greater ability and integrity.] We perceive that under this reign, too, most of the public functionaries had been left unchanged.

But the most important matter related by this author is the division in the court. Chigi, Barberini, and Rospigliosi were most closely connected with Altieri. The Spanish ambassador had, above all, contributed to this. Opposed to these allies were the Squadronists, that is, the cardinals of Innocent's creation, who had had so much influence in the last papal election, and who under the two former reigns had carried their friends into office. To this party belonged Onodori, Ottoboni, Imperiali, Borromeo, and Azzolino. The queen of Sweden entered with great warmth into the disputes of these two factions. We know how highly she esteemed Azzolino. In this report she

is called his faithful servant, and she is charged with a thousand intrigues in favour of the Squadronists.

140. *Memorie per descrivere la vita di Clemente X Pontefice Massimo, raccolte da Carlo Cartari Orvietano, decano degli avvocati consistoriali e prefetto dell'archivio apostolico di castello S. Angelo di Roma.* (Alt. 211 pages.) [Memoirs towards a life of Clement X. collected by Carlo Cartari Orvietano, dean of the consistorial advocates, and prefect of the apostolic archives in the castle of S. Angelo in Rome.]

Composed immediately after the death of the pope, and finished in Oct. 1676: the author expressly binds himself to avoid all flattery and to speak the simple truth. "Da questi fogli sarà l'adulatione, mia nemica irconciliabile, affatto sbandita, alla sola verità candida e pura attenndomi." According to the author's intention it is the only collection to be used at a future time by another writer.

At first it would seem as though this declaration was only the language of modesty.

The pope's father, old Lorenzo Altieri, is admirably described: Cartari had been well acquainted with him: he speaks of him as a man of majestic deportment, but modest withal, as his very countenance denoted. Though only a collector, our author cannot refrain from subjoining a conceit in the style of his age; "di altrettanto bella canitie nell'esterno ricoperto quanto di una candidezza di costumi, di una rara pietà a meraviglia dotato."

Emilio Altieri was born in 1590: took his doctor's degree in 1611: was for a while in the studio of Paulini, who was afterwards pope. In 1624 he went to Poland with that bishop of Nola, Lancelotti, whose instruction has come down to us. On his return he was made bishop of Camerino in place of his brother Giovan Battista, who was advanced to the college of cardinals. It is said, though Cartari does not mention the fact, that Emilio himself had been already designed for the cardinalate; he was better liked than his brother; but he had the self-command to quit Rome at that moment, in order not to stand in his brother's way. Innocent X. sent Emilio as nuncio to Naples, and it is asserted that he was instrumental there in allaying the disturbances excited by Massaniello. Alexander VII. made him secretary of the congregation de' vescovi e regolari, a career which every one had found extremely tedious. It was not till his 79th year that he obtained important promotion. On the 29th of November 1669, Clement nominated him cardinal, but that pope had not time even to give him the official hat: Altieri entered the conclave without having received it, and on the 29th of April 1670, he was himself elected pope. He refused the dignity for a while, he declared there were others more deserving, and even pointed out a cardinal, Brancacci, by name: at last, however, he accepted the supreme authority.

Such was the advanced age of the new pope: he had not one nephew; he was forced to adopt one, to share the weight of affairs with him.

"Ritrovavasi S. Beatitudine nell'anno ottantesimo di sua età: ond' per questa ragione e per

imitare i suoi antecessori, quali ben conoscendo la pesante mole del pontificato stimarono necessario di deputare per proprio sollievo alcuno de' cardinali col titolo di soprintendente generale dello stato ecclesiastico, si compiacque a dichiarare l'istesso giorno a questa laboriosa carica il card<sup>l</sup> Paluzzo Paluzzi degli Albertoni suo attinente, permutandogli quel cognome coll' altro d'Altieri." [..... he was pleased to appoint on the same day to this arduous post, cardinal Paluzzo Paluzzi degli Albertoni, changing his surname at the same time for that of Altieri.]

Let us now proceed to the transactions of the pontificate. The author speaks first of those pertaining to Rome itself.

The arrival of the envoys of Ferrara and Bologna to tender their allegiance:—Discovery of the monument of Constantine at the foot of the steps of St. Peter's:—Decoration of the bridge of St. Angelo with ten angels in Carrara marble:—Building of the Altieri palace, on which there were expended about 300,000 scudi; which, however, were not squandered away, since they benefited the poor:—erection of a second fountain in the piazza S. Pietro, which the pope, however, did not live to see finished:—these are the principal points on which Cartari dwells. Speaking of the palace, he describes the library also. "Vedesi in sito quasi il più alto elevato del medesimo palazzo un vaso per libreria, altrettanto capace quanto vago per la veduta della città e della campagna, in maestose scanzie riempite della generosità del card<sup>l</sup> Altieri di pretiosi libri d'ogni scienza, che giungono al numero di 12,000." [Almost at the top of the palace there was an apartment for a library, as remarkable for its extent as for the beauty of the view obtained from it of the city and surrounding country; its majestic ranges of shelves were fitted up by the liberality of cardinal Altieri with precious books, in every department of knowledge, to the number of 12,000.] Well do I know it; I have climbed its steps many a time! Of the fountains: "Trasportata la fontana di Paolo V con machine meravigliose, quasi dirsi tutte d'un pezzo, dal sito vecchio dove si ritrovava all' altro dove hoggidi si vede stabilita in corrispondenza degl'ingressi laterali del teatro, per accompagnamento della medesima ordinò se ne fabbricasse un' altra affatto simile verso il giardino de Cesi, come fu eseguito." [The fountain of Paul V. was transported by prodigious machines, in one piece, so to speak, from its old site to that which it now occupies, corresponding to the site entrances of the theatre; and to match it he ordered another precisely similar to be constructed towards the Cesi garden, which was done.] But the most remarkable thing he relates, is about the mosaic attributed to Giotto, the Navicella di S. Pietro. After it had frequently changed its site since the destruction of the portico of the ancient basilica where it originally stood, having been carried into the palace by Paul V., by Urban VIII. into the church, and by Innocent X. back again to the palace, where Alexander VII. again found it inconvenient, as it appeared impossible to remove it as it was, it was thought better to take it to pieces, putting the stones belonging to each figure into a separate bag. It was proposed by cardinal Barberini in the reign of Clement X. to have it restored from a copy taken under Urban

VIII. Upon this it was put together once more, and placed in the lunette over the middle door of the hall. But how it fared in this situation we may gather from Cartari's words. "Perche il vano non era capace, fu detto che lasciandosi le figure nel proprio essere, potevano restringersi i spatii: come fu diligentemente eseguito." [The recess not being large enough, it was suggested that the figures might be left of their original size, but the spaces diminished: and this was carefully done.] Thus we see that the new master was not without reason regarded by some persons as the real executor of the work.

At last the author arrives at matters of state, but on this subject he is very defective. He tells us that in spite of all his financial difficulties, Clement X. would never have recourse to a reduction of the monti, in consideration of the numerous families, and, above all, of the pious institutions that would suffer thereby:—"ben considerando il danno che a tante famiglie ed in particolare a luoghi pii ne resultarebbe;" he preferred retrenchment, and even the cardinal nephew offered to give up his salary as soprintendente dello stato. Some money was sent notwithstanding to Poland, which was sorely pressed by the Turks; on one occasion 30,000, on another 16,000, and once more 70,000 scudi. A separate collection had been made among the cardinals.

This is the only mention I find of foreign affairs. The affairs of the ecclesiastical states are not, however, very profoundly treated. "Si adoperò alla libera introduzione delle merci forestiere, e furono rinvocate tutte le esenzioni delle gabelle: si diedero ordini circa gli officii vacabili della dataria e frutti di essi:—si estinse la gabella del quattrino degli artisti:—si dichiarò che alli Romani et altri nobili dello stato ecclesiastico sia lecito di esercitar commerci senza pregiudizj della nobiltà." [He laboured for the free introduction of foreign goods, and all exemptions from the customs were repealed: regulations were made as to the officii vacabili of the dataria, and their proceeds:—the tax of the quattrino degli artisti was abolished:—it was declared that it was lawful for the Roman and other nobles of the ecclesiastical state to engage in commerce without prejudice to their nobility.] This is, in fact, all he says of any importance.

He hardly alludes to any transactions of the papacy in reference to the internal affairs of the catholic church.

141. *Clementis Decimi Pontificis Maximi vita.* (Alt. pp. 288.) [Life of pope Clement X.]

Cartari supposed there would be many who would write the life of Clement X., and to such he dedicated his materials. An author was soon found to undertake the task, but he was a Jesuit, and wrote by order of Oliva, his general. Cardinal Pauluzzi Altieri furnished him with the materials.

Although this author does not name Cartari, it is plain he had his work before him. He frequently does no more than translate and amplify it.

If Cartari purposely avoided flatteries, not so the Jesuit writer. He relates, that in the year Clement X. was born, there was a violent overflow of the Tiber, "quasi presentiret imperantis urbis

fluvius augendam ab exorto tum infante Romanam gloriam," [as though the imperial stream predicted the augmentation of Roman glory by the infant then born.]

Sometimes, however, his additions are more interesting. He recounts that characteristic anecdote of Clement's spontaneously giving way to his brother.

In the latter chapters he enters into the affairs of the church. "Innumeros in callem salutis re-ducos illo regnante vidit Hungaria, quam catholicam, ut Francisci card<sup>is</sup> Nerli verbis utar, pene totam effecit." [In his reign immense numbers were brought back to the path of truth in Hungary, which, to use the words of cardinal Francis Nerli, he made almost wholly catholic.] Truly a startling hyperbole, for neither was Hungary in that day by any means so catholic, nor did Clement X. contribute much to make it so. "Ad veram religionem in Hibernia conservandam ac propagandam solertem industriam contulit: . . . plurimos in Vaticanum regressos Boemia et cetera Boemie regna atque inter hos magnos principes, plurimos Rhaeti atque iis finitimae valles, magnam illorum vim Hollandia, majorem vidit Gallia." [He laboured industriously for the preservation and propagation of the true religion in Ireland. . . . In Bohemia and the kingdoms connected with it a vast number, among them great princes, retraced their steps to the Vatican, so likewise did numbers in Rhaetia and the neighbouring valleys, multitudes in Holland, and still more numerous converts in France.] All this, however, is in very general terms.

Whilst he extols the pope's justice and his love for his subjects, he excuses him for having raised contributions for the Poles in their struggles against the Turks, by impositions on the clergy, and for having raised new loans. He abolished oppressive taxes, and instead of them imposed burthens on articles of luxury, on foreign wines, and tobacco; with regard to his relations, too, he displayed the greatest moderation. What if he had enabled them to build the Altieri palace? think, on the other hand, how few estates the Altieri family had laid their hands on: "Quam minimum in spatium contrahantur Alteris principibus subjecta oppida et rura, cum latissime pateat aliorum ditio."

142. *Nuovo governo di Roma sotto il pontificato di papa Clemente X.* (Barb. 17 leaves.) New government of Rome under the pontificate of Clement X.]

This document gives an account of the family affairs of Pauluzzi, and his singular elevation to the position of papal nephew.

The pope's brother, the head of the house of Altieri, had left only a daughter, and had ordered that, if she married, her husband should take the name of Altieri.

Cardinal Pauluzzi's nephew married this heiress of the house of Altieri. By this means the two families were united.

All the other relations—for instance, the Gabrielli, who were the next of kin—were thrown into the background.

On the whole, the government was, from the first, less lenient than the former one, which was in fact

owing to the circumstance that Clement IX. had burthened with debt even those branches of revenue which till his time had always been reserved. Already the little army began to be disbanded. The author thinks that even the trifling diminution effected by Clement IX. in the taxes would oblige the state to divest itself of all armed force.

He also complains of the mode of administration,—of the recklessness which was already become habitual with the rulers of the ecclesiastical states. "Vedendosi odiati et abborriti tanto più s'inferano, e tiratosi il cappello sugli occhi non guardano in faccia a nessuno, e facendo d'ogni erba fascio non pensano che al proprio interesse senza minima apprensione del publico." [The more they find themselves abhorred, the more dogged they become,—slouching their hats over their brows, and looking no one in the face. All is fish that comes to their nets, and they care for nothing but their own interest, not giving the slightest thought to that of the public.]

143. *Relazione dello stato presente della corte di Roma, fatta all'emo principe di Ligni governatore di Milano dall' Illmo Sr Feder. Rozzoni inviato straordinario da S. E. alla corte appresso Clemente X.* (24 leaves.) [Report on the present state of the court of Rome, presented to the prince di Ligni, governor of Milan, by Federigo Rozzoni, his excellency's ambassador extraordinary to Clement X.]

Written somewhat later than the foregoing report.

The position of parties had already undergone another change. Rospigliosi and Chigi were neglected by the reigning house, which sought the alliance of the Squadronists.

The mutual relations of the pope and cardinal Altieri are thus described:—

"Il papa non ha applicazione alcuna, sì per la cadente sua età, como anche per esser sue connaturali attendere alla propria quiete e sottrarsi dalle cure gravi che potrebbero turbare la serenità dell'animo suo, solo inclinato a vivere tranquillamente. Egli perciò non può sapere le amministrazioni della giustizia né altri negotii politici della corte e dello stato ecclesiastico; onde il ricorrere a lui non giova punto a quelli che da suoi ministri vengono oppressi: e per havere pretesto più colorito di non ingerirsi in simili affari, più volte si fa stimare ammalato, non tralasciando per questo le sue domestiche conversazioni, che dopo desinato giornalmente si prende con giuochi di carte e godimento di suoni e canti.

"Lascia il governo della chiesa totalmente al cardinale Altieri, et in esso non si ingerisce se non quanto è necessario per la sua approvazione in voce o scritto: nel resto ha rassegnato in tal maniera che più volte l'ha tenuto e nascostamente ha fatto fare elemosine, regali e cose simili: ma la collazione de' benefici, vescovati et elezione de' soggetti alla porpora resta al totale arbitrio di esso cardinale: il quale è uomo flemmatico, e difficilmente si sdegna esternamente, e quando ciò fa, cessa di vendicarsi. Ha molt'attitudine a sostenere la carica che tiene, et in fatti vuole sapere et indrizzare tutti gli affari grandi e piccoli non solo della corte ma ancora di tutto lo stato ecclesiastico, il che da alcuni si attribuisce a grande avidità di

suoi interessi, nelli quali è vigilantissimo, non lasciando passare occasione alcuna di non approfittarli : ogni giorno in tal' hore determinate da audienza a tutti i ministri della corte et alli loro segretarij, et esso da le regole et istruttioni non solo generali ma anche particolari, di modo che li giudici et il medesimo governatore non hanno nelle loro cariche arbitrio alcuno.

"Il principale ministro del medesimo cardinale è stato et è l'abbate Piccini, soggetto di deboli parti et inferiori natali, che prima della promotion di Clemente Decimo era suo cameriere : onde per introduzione, anzi per l'arbitrio, conforme la comune stima, che haveva de' voleri di esso cardinale, ha congregato un'annua entrata di 12 m. scudi et un capitale di 200 m., havendo altrettanto empito il capo di fumo quanto la borsa d'oro. Però al presente è cessata tant' aura sua, vogliono alcuni per punti politici e non già perche si sia diminuita la sua gran fortuna dall' unione delli quattro regj ambasciatori : ancorche detto abbate Piccini unitamente col commissario della camera chiamato monsignor Zaccaria siano li più intimi del cardinale : quanto a ciò, spetta all' interesse, mostrandosi esso cardinale da questo alieno, volendo lasciar cadere sopra di questi due ministri o torciannli l'opinione volgare di molto interessato."

[The pope shows no application--both from his declining age, and because it is his nature to look to his own quiet, and to withdraw himself from grave cares, that might ruffle the serenity of his soul, the only desire of which is to live tranquilly. Hence he cannot be acquainted with the administration of justice, or with other business of state in the dominions of the church ; so that those who are oppressed by his ministers are nothing helped by having recourse to him. To give himself a more colourable pretext for not meddling in such matters, he frequently feigns illness, not omitting, for all that, his private conversazioni, in which every day after dinner he enjoys himself with cards, and music, and singing.

[He leaves the government of the church entirely to cardinal Altieri, interfering no more than is necessary to give his assent by voice or in writing : in other respects, he has so entirely resigned matters into his hands, that frequently he has been afraid of him, and has made a secret of his alms-gifts, and so forth ; but the collation to benefices and bishoprics, and the election of candidates for the purple, rest exclusively with the cardinal, who is a phlegmatic person, and is not easily roused to any outward show of anger ; and when he is, he forbears to revenge himself. He is very well qualified for the post he fills ; and in fact he aims at knowing and directing all things, great and small, pertaining not only to the court, but even to the whole state. This is by some imputed to his great avidity in the pursuit of his own interests, of which he is most watchful, not letting any profitable opportunity escape him. He gives audience every day at an appointed hour to the ministers of the court and their secretaries, and gives them orders and instructions, not merely general, but special ; so that the judges and the governor himself can exercise no discretion in their several offices.

[The cardinal's principal minister has all along been the abbate Piccini, a man of weak parts and low birth, who had been the chamberlain of

Clement X. before his promotion. Having, therefore, the means of prompting--nay, as it is commonly thought, of determining--the wishes of the said cardinal, he has got together an annual income of 12,000 scudi, and a capital of 200,000, and his head is as full of smoke as his purse is of gold : for at present he has ceased to be in such great vogue, as some say on political grounds, and not because his high fortune has been diminished by the union of the four royal ambassadors ; although the said abbate Piccini and the commissioner of the treasury, monsignor Zaccaria by name, are the cardinal's most intimate counsellors. After all, this is for a cloak to private interest, to which the cardinal affects to be averse, wishing to shift off upon these two ministers, or interpreters, the popular opinion of his extreme interestedness.]

144. *Relatione della corte di Roma del N. II. Piero Mocenigo, che fu ambasciatore a papa Clemente X, fatta l'anno 1675. (44 leaves.)* [Report on the court of Rome by N. H. Piero Mocenigo, formerly ambassador to pope Clement X.]

P. Mocenigo had previously been in England ; he now went to Rome, which offered him so totally different an aspect, especially in a commercial point of view. There he soon became involved in violent altercations with the house of Altieri ; he put himself at the head of the ambassadors, whom it was attempted to deprive of some of their privileges. No wonder that he does not appear to have been much edified by what he heard and saw.

He divides his report into three parts.

I. "La qualità di quella corte, sua autorità così spirituale come temporale, con aggiunta dell' erario e delle forze. Tutto il reflesso," he begins, "dei pensieri de' regnanti è rivolto a non lasciar la propria casa esposta alle persecuzioni et al ludibrio della povertà. Di ciò deriva che la tramontana di quella corte è l'interesse privato, e cola non s'applica la publico bene che colla speciosità delle apparenze." [The character of this court, its authority both spiritual and temporal, with remarks on the treasury and the forces.--The whole thought of the rulers is bent on preserving their own fortunes from the outrages and the scorn of poverty. Hence the cynosure of this court is private interest, and the public welfare is pursued only in specious appearance.] The favour shown to the great families had now the effect of preventing all advancement of the inferior nobility, and, above all, of the middle class. They had not money enough to raise themselves by their own strength, and were yet too independent to debase themselves to the servility of the indigent class.

"Flattery," says P. Mocenigo, "is here at home ; nevertheless there are here many people who console themselves for their disappointments by back-biting and slander, acting on the maxim, that one cannot be mistaken if he thinks the worst."

Important congregations ;--of the inquisition, ecclesiastical immunities, the council, the propaganda, bishops and orders, the index.--If the court wishes to refuse anything, it refers it to these congregations ; they abide by their canons and the practice of the last century : thus the merest trifles are magnified into importance. But if the court is favourably disposed, it takes the matter into its own hands.

This absolute power of the court is particularly manifested in secular affairs. Cardinals would never have approved of the carrying on of war.—(This, we may add, had for a long while ceased to be the case.)

The condition of the country grew daily worse. Within the last forty years, says the author, the number of the inhabitants has diminished by one-third: where there were formerly reckoned one hundred hearths, there are now but sixty; many houses are pulled down, though this is forbidden by the consulta; day by day less land is cultivated; marriages are on the decrease; and parents seek an asylum for their children in the convents.

He estimates the interest on the public debt, that is, on the monti and officii vacabili, at 2,400,000 scudi; the deficit, at several hundred thousand.

II. "Il presente governo di Clemente X, sua casa, sacro collegio, e corrispondenze con principi." [The present government of Clement X., his household, the sacred college, and correspondence with princes.]

Clement X.—He gave audience, it is true, at the appointed hours to the datary, the segretario de' brevi, the secretaries of state, and cardinal Altieri, but he only went through the formality of signing. Everything unpleasant was concealed from him; this was the grand object of cardinal Altieri's efforts. The ambassador asserts that the pope had no knowledge of the affairs of the world. "In Roma si dice che benedire e santificare sia del pontefice, reggere e governare sia dell' Altieri." [In Rome they say that the pope's business is to give his benediction and to sanctify, to reign and to govern is cardinal Altieri's.]

Cardinal Altieri: "di complessione delicata: . . . la sua natura è ardente, impetuosa e di prima impressione. . . . Assuefatto alla cortesia Romanesca di non negare cosa alcuna, anzi di concorrere con parole officiose ad esaudire le istanze facilmente, poi quando ha ponderato il negotio, dà indietro, anco col negare l'impegno, e dà nelle scandescenze. . . . Da poca speranza vien sollevato, come per contrario da poco timore abbattuto." [of a delicate constitution: . . . his character is ardent, impetuous, and obedient to first impressions. . . . He is habituated to the Romish courtesy of refusing nothing, and of even showing a prompt alacrity, with abundance of obliging words on hearing requests; but when he has weighed the matter, he retracts, even denying his engagement, and giving way to passion. . . . He is elevated by slight hopes, and, on the other, depressed by considerable alarms.] We see plainly in these expressions the operation of personal dislike.

The other personages are described in the very same spirit. Laura Altieri, to whom the family owed its fortune, was not happy in it, he says. She was, therefore, never allowed to approach the pope's feet. This I scarcely believe.

The author's testimony is less suspicious when he describes the union of the court with the Squadronists. We have already seen how it was prepared. Barberini, Rospigliosi, and Chigi were now in less consideration; the Squadronists insisted particularly on the independence of the curia as to foreign courts, and they had completely gained Altieri over to them. The author asserts that to him were ascribable the embarrassments in which the court was entangled.

He enters minutely into these, with his usual tone of irritation.

The court was obliged to propitiate the emperor now and then with spiritual presents, Agnus Dei, &c. The court had so many quarrels with France that it would gladly see her involved in war. Now, under such circumstances, should the pope effect a peace!—Spain complained, among other things, that the bandits of Naples were allowed refuge in the states of the church, and that the stolen property was even permitted to be sold there. "Ma non segli danno orecchie: perche così compe alla quiete di quei confini, promessa e mantenuta dai medesimi banditi." [But no heed is given to these complaints; for this state of things is necessary to the quiet of those frontiers, which is promised and maintained by the banditti themselves.] The court of Rome neglected to urge the Poles strenuously to war against the Turks, lest it should be obliged to afford them aid therein. It would not grant the Czar that title, and therefore would not form any alliance with him, great as was the assistance that might be expected from him against their hereditary enemy. "Per timor d'ingombrarsi in obbligazione di rimettere e contribuire soccorsi maggiori si sono lasciate cadere le proposizioni fatta da un' inviato Polacco, che l'armi del re sarebbero passate il Danubio, entrate nella Bulgaria, e promettevano di portar la guerra nelle viscere dell' imperio Ottomano." [For fear of incumbering themselves with obligations to contribute larger subsidies, they neglected the propositions made by a Polish envoy, that the king's army should pass the Danube, enter Bulgaria, and undertake to carry the war into the heart of the Ottoman empire.] I only notice this, because it shows that such hopes were, even by that time, entertained: for it is not easy to conceive what the court of Rome could have done in furtherance of the matter, especially when the papal treasury and territory were in the condition above described. The court would not concede to the king of Portugal the patronage of his transmarine churches, nor grant the duke of Savoy an indult for filling the vacant bishoprics in his dominions. Even in Tuscany and in the smaller principalities this claim to ecclesiastical independence was set up.

The incarceration of Castro proved even injurious. The interest on the debts thus taken upon itself by the treasury amounted to 90,000 sc., while the farmer of the revenue paid only 60,000. The answer in Rome was, that was not the way for a prince to calculate.

III. "Corrispondenze colla Repubblica:" very short, and relating chiefly to personal disputes. "Impiego scabrosissimo." All in the same spirit.

In Venice they had already been prepared for a report of this kind. Before Mocenigo's return there appeared a "Lettera scritta a Venetia da soggetto ben informato sopra l'ambasceria (another hand has added to this, 'infame') del Sr. Kavr Mocenigo," in which the little man with the big wig, with his everlasting talk about England, is very severely handled. He was now closeted day and night with a literary man, blackening the court of Rome in his report: "un governo, migliore del quale per i principi secolari non è stato da S. Pietro in qua, piacevole, moderato, senza puntiglio." [A government than which there has been none better for secular princes from the days

of St. Peter till now,—easy, moderate, and far from capricious.]

Mocenigo has certainly exaggerated: but we must not therefore reject all he says.

After all, every one carries the colour of his own opinions into the account he gives of things: it is for us to discriminate between object and subject.

143. *Scrittura sopra il governo di Roma.* (MS. Rom.) [Essay on the government of Rome.]

This is to be found among writings relating to the years between 1670—80, and belongs somewhere to that period; it is quite as desponding as the lamentations of Sachetti. I. “Sopra il cattivo stato de’ popoli. Come mai in ogni pontificato, s’ha da trovar modo di metter 100 et anco 150 m. scudi in una casa, e non è possibile di levarne 50 m. di peso agli aggravati popoli. . . Il peggio è non voler permettere i modi honesti di riempire le borse con procacciarsi per mezzo di lecite mercantie quei guadagni ch’altri con l’autorità indebitamente s’appropria.” [On the unhappy condition of the people. In every pontificate it is contrived to bestow one hundred, or even one hundred and fifty thousand scudi on one house; but it is never found possible to take off fifty thousand from the burthens of an oppressed people. . . The worst is, that people are not allowed to fill their purses by honest means, in acquiring in lawful traffic those gains which others unduly monopolize through influence with the government.] II. “Sopra la gran povertà et il gran lusso.” A rhetorical contrast. III. “Dell’ amona e del vino.” Chiefly respecting the abuses of the amona. “I ministri del principe vogliono far da mercanti. Quindi tanti fallimenti di mercanti e di fornari, tanti sconcerti nelle case e nelli luoghi pii, il cui loro maggior avere consiste in terreni, e tanti grani lasciati marcire ne’ granari a chi non ha voluto soccombere all’ estorsione di sì detestabile traffico.” [The ministers of the sovereign will play the part of merchants; hence so many bankruptcies of merchants and bakers, so many embarrassments of houses and luoghi pii, whose chief property consists in lands; and so much grain left to rot in granaries, because people would not submit to the extortions of so detestable a traffic.] IV. “Del ritardamento della giustizia e de’ frutti de’ luoghi di monte.” The depositarii de’ monti too are accused of embezzlement and dishonesty. V. “Sopra l’irreverenza nelle chiese:”—he says, it was the same as in the theatres. VI. “Sopra il fasto de’ banchetti palatini.” VII. “Sopra l’abuso del cerimoniale.” The author disapproves of the frequent employment of the epithet Sanctissimus; he is incensed that people should dare to say of the Corpus Christi procession “Sanctissimus Sanctissima portat.” VIII. “Sopra l’immunità ecclesiastica:”—he complains that criminals find asylum in the churches. IX. “Sopra le lordure delle strade.” The report is well-meaning, observant on the whole, but not profound.

146. *Vita del servo di dio papa Innocentio XI raccolta in tre libri.* (MS. Rom.) [Life of the servant of God, pope Innocent XI., comprised in three books.]

A very handsome copy in 144 leaves, probably put into some later pope’s own hands.

The first book embraces the early life of Innocent XI. The author had taken the trouble to collect authentic information on the subject. He denies that the pope made a campaign in his youth: the question had been put to his holiness himself. On the other hand he relates that it was cardinal Cueva who pointed out to the young man (who had been recommended to him by the governor of Milan) the advantages to be derived from the career of the curia.

The second book contains the earliest measures of this pope’s reign, his financial economy, abolition of useless offices, lowering the rate of interest on the monti (even for the corporate bodies), restrictions on usury, which was carried on especially in the Ghetto, new taxes on the ecclesiastical fees. His maxim was: “essere egli non padrone, ma amministratore delle cose alla santa sede spettanti con l’obbligo rigoroso di distribuirle non secondo la gratia de’ parenti ma conforme la legge della giustizia. . . Egli medesimo disse che da cardinale haveva cominciato ad esser povero e da papa era divenuto mendico.” [That he was not master but administrator of the things pertaining to the holy see, and was strictly bound to distribute them, not from motives of family preference, but in accordance with the laws of justice. . . He said himself that from the time he became cardinal he began to be poor, and as pope he had become a beggar.] The author moreover alludes to the affairs of England, and does not hesitate to say that king James wished to make England catholic. “Volendo ricondurre al Romano cortile i suoi sudditi, cominciò a servirsi nel ministero di cattolici.”

In the third book the part taken by Innocent XI. in the Turkish war is considered, and his personal qualities are described. He is presented to us as he was, energetic, heedless of consequences, and honourable. His manners and habits are described with much penetration, far better than in the little work of Bonamicus, quoted by Lebrét, and which is in fact only a shallow panegyric.

We have here too remarkable instances of the opposition excited by the measures of this pope. What huge objections were raised against the draught of a bull for the abolition of nepotism! “Il volgo vedendo riformati molti ministri in palazzo et unite le loro cariche ad altri ministerj, che il papa non inclinava a spendere nè a beneficiare con gratie, senza pensare più oltre biasimava l’genio di Innocenza come incapace della condizione del principe.” [The populace seeing many offices in the palace abolished, and their functions superadded to others; and seeing too that the pope was not disposed to be lavish of his bounty, without further reflection inveighed against Innocent, as wanting the spirit becoming a sovereign.] This dissatisfaction was exhibited from time to time in various shapes.

147. *Memoriale del 1680 al papa Innocenzo XI concernente il governo e gli aggravi.* (Bibl. Vallie.) [Memorial of the year 1680, to pope Innocent XI. concerning the government and the public burthens.]

People acknowledge, says this document, the holy zeal of the pope. But unhappily the fruit of his proceedings is universal discontent. Numerous families have been ruined by the reduction of the



interest on the monti,—the cardinals are not listened to; no favour is shown to the temporal sovereigns; the prelates are robbed of their hopes; the poor are without alms; Rome is one great theatre of misery.

Who would imagine it? No sooner does a pope give ear to the incessant outcries against nepotism, and abolish it, than forthwith it is called for again. "Onde' è," says this memorial after stating some reasons, "che sia una gran fortuna per un principe haver parenti buoni e capaci del governo: poiche avendo questi più potenti motivi dei ministri d'interessarsi nella riputazione e gloria di lui, possono anco con maggior sincerità e franchezza dire i loro pareri." [Wherefore it is a great good fortune for a sovereign to have relations who are good and endowed with a capacity for government; for as they have more powerful motives than ministers to take an interest in his reputation and glory, they can also speak their thoughts with more sincerity and frankness.]

148. *Ode satirica contra Innocenzo XI.* (Library of Frankfort on Main, MS. Glanburg. n. 31.) [Satirical ode against Innocent XI.]

The foregoing works observe some moderation in their expression of dislike: but whether a real fault or a mere rumour gave occasion for censure, it found vent in the most violent outbreaks, such as the following:

"Io non ritrovo ancor ne' vecchi annali  
bestia peggior, che sotto hipocrisia  
col sangue altrui tinge-se e'l becco e l'ali.  
Per altri era zelante, ma concesse  
al nepote però che il gran comprasse  
due scudi il rubbio e nove lo vendesse."

[I find no mention even in ancient annals of a more cruel and hypocritical monster, with beak and wings tinged in the blood of its victims. With others he was fanatically rigorous, but he allowed his nephew to buy up corn at two scudi the rubbio, and to sell it again at nine.]

149. *Discorso sopra la soppressione del collegio de' secretari apostolici fatto per la S<sup>ta</sup> di N. S<sup>re</sup> Innocenzo XI.* [Discourse on the suppression by pope Innocent XI. of the college of the apostolic secretaries.]

Notwithstanding all this violent opposition, Innocent proceeded in his reforms. The discourse before us shows how he set about them in individual cases.

It describes in the first place the origin of these secretari, whom we meet with since the schism, and the mischiefs connected with their existence. These are attributed chiefly to the fact that no administrative functions belonged to the office. "I possessori degli officii di fatto non hanno amministrazione o servizio alcuno nella spedizione dei negozj: mentre così il segretario di brevi come quello delle lettere o brevi a principi, come versati nel mestiere, si sogliono deputare ad arbitrio del papa fuori del collegio, nè l'officio porta seco la prelatura conferendosi a persone secolari per lo più inesperte et in età tenera, a guisa di quelli

altri officii popolari i quali sono in commercio per il solo commodo et interesse borsale."

[The holders of these offices have in fact no administrative duties, nor any share in the dispatch of business: for the "segretario di brevi" and the segretario for letters or briefs to princes, being versed in the business, act directly upon the pope's instructions without the intervention of the college; nor does the office imply admission to the prelature, being bestowed on laymen for the most part young and inexperienced; just like the other popular offices, which subsist only for convenience and pecuniary advantage.]

The rate of interest being enormous, the treasury having to pay 40,000 scudi yearly for 200,000 received by it; Innocent resolved to suppress the college, and appointed a congregation to investigate the claims of the shareholders.

The pope would pay back only as much as had been actually received by the treasury: the shareholders demanded at least as much as the current price of the offices. The congregation could not come to any decision.

Our author is of opinion that the pope was bound only to the payment of the nominal price; he finds this principle established by the practice of the Roman see.

I have met with other writings also belonging to this subject, e. g. "Stato della camera nel presente pontificato d' Innocenzo XI.;" but they consist of figures, and do not admit of extracts being made from them.

150. *Scritture politiche, morali e satiriche sopra le massime, istituto e governo della compagnia di Gesù.* [Political, moral, and satirical writings concerning the maxims, the institution, and the government of the society of Jesus.]

A collection of all kinds of writings relating to the order, some of which, for instance a consulta of Acquaviva, are satirical and pure invention; but others are entirely in earnest, and derived from the best sources.

The most important is, "In nomine Jesu. Discorso sopra la religione de' padri Gesuiti e loro modo di governare:" this occupies by itself nearly 400 leaves. It was composed in the generalship of Noyelle, that is to say, between 1681 and 1686. It is certainly unfavourable to the order, but at the same time it is manifest from every word that the author was most accurately acquainted with its condition since the middle of the century. He takes the following course.

1. He arranges the defects he notices under certain headings. 1. "Di alcune loro massime:" such for instance as the idea that their order was the most illustrious, that all its prayers were heard, that all who died in the order were unquestionably saved. 2. "Della loro avidità et interesse." Their cozening tricks to obtain bequests—a multitude of stories are related of their way of fishing for presents—their trafficking, and various other worse things. He dwells most on their trade; but he takes too narrow a view, embracing only Rome and the ecclesiastical states. 3. "Del loro governo." The abuse of the monarchical power. The deposition of Nickel, see p. 128. 4. "Qualità proprie del governo." For instance, "Flagello sordo," which means that those who were punished

were not even told for what offence; denunciation without previous warning; the superior often employed an inferior in the duty of inspection, which was destructive of all order. 5. "Governo in ordine ai loro convittori e scolari." Their dishonouring punishments. 6. "La moltitudine delle regole." They were often contradictory; there was no one who knew them all.

II. Next, after repeated discussion of cause and effect, the author endeavours to point out the remedies for these evils. It is remarkable that under the latter head he names, as the most important of all, the appointment of vicars-general, which had so often been called for, but which the order would never consent to: "Constituire un vicario generale per le provincie della Spagna, Germania, Francia et Indie,—cacciar sangue ad un corpo troppo pingue,—leggi certe a delitti certi." [To appoint a vicar-general for the provinces of Spain, Germany, France, and the Indies,—blood-letting of the too plethoric body,—fixed laws for stated offences.]

III. He then returns to his first method of enumerating the defects of the institution under various heads. A multitude of particulars are mentioned that bear the stamp of more or less authenticity. Perhaps the most important section is the last, "Delle loro Indie missioni," founded upon the letters extant in the papal archives, and executed with great care, the originals being separately indicated. In this section the acts of disobedience to the pope, of which the Jesuits had been guilty, are enumerated, even so long before Père Norbert.

Assuredly this document is unfavourable to the Jesuits; but at the same time it is exceedingly instructive. It unveils the faults of the institution with shrewdness and penetration, so that we get a far clearer insight into its internal economy that would otherwise be possible. It cannot be said to be absolutely hostile, for it recognises the good as well as the evil. We perceive from it, however, what storms were already gathering in men's minds against the order.

151. *Relazione di Roma di Gio. Lando Sr., inviato straordinario per la se<sup>ma</sup> regia di Venetia ad Innocentio XI et amb<sup>ro</sup> straordinario ad Alessandro VIII in occasione della canonizzazione di S. Lorenzo Giustiniani. 1691. (17 leaves.)* [Report on Rome by Gio. Lando, envoy extraordinary from the most serene republic of Venice to Innocent XI., and ambassador extraordinary to Alexander VIII. on the occasion of the canonization of St. Lorenzo Giustiniani.]

It is much to be regretted that we have no report worthy of the name on the important reign of Innocent XI., none by which we might be impartially enlightened on the result of that pope's measures. The business of the republic was managed in the first years of that reign, from 1678 to 1683, by cardinal Ottoboni, a Venetian, afterwards Alexander VIII., who never returned to Venice, and therefore made no report. After him came Giovanni Lando, but without any properly official character. It is true, Lando nevertheless drew up a final report,\* but not till Alexander was dead and a conclave had again assembled. Besides this,

his report unfortunately departs from the tone generally prevailing in those of Venice.

He begins by discussing the divine right of the popedom, and laments that its power was not universally acknowledged. Nay, the number of the heretics exceeded that of the catholics. The accursed quietists even had set up their operations in Rome! They would not believe at the court of Rome that they were themselves to blame for this, yet the case was so. Even now a man who strove in the church's cause with profound erudition or, through the holiness of his example, was far less esteemed than the canonist who wrote in defence of the pope's dignity. Their exaggerations, however, had the very result of making secular princes set themselves against the court of Rome.

After having made an attempt himself to define the limits of the temporal and the spiritual authority, he slowly approaches secular affairs. He draws a melancholy picture of the condition of the ecclesiastical state: "desolato negli abitanti, spianato nella cultura, ruinato coll' estorsioni, mancante d'industria" [stripped of inhabitants, its cultivation neglected, ruined by extortions, destitute of trade and manufactures]. He estimates the debts at 42,000,000. Alexander VIII. had reduced the expenditure by 200,000 scudi, and thereby restored the balance between the outgoings and the income. The pope had a vein of gold in the dataria. Nevertheless, this money by no means stayed in Rome: it came in by retail and went out wholesale: Innocent XI. had certainly paid out two millions of scudi in aid of the Turkish war in Hungary. Of the forty-two millions of debt, fifteen perhaps had been contracted on behalf of Christendom.

He finds that Rome was still the common country and the general muster-ground for all nations. Still every one came thither in pursuit of his own interest. Few Germans or Frenchmen were seen there, because their promotion was not dependent on the court of Rome, and no Spaniards but those of the lower classes: were all the Italian princes in like manner to dispose of the ecclesiastical appointments in their own domains, the court of Rome would be ruined. But as a set-off against this, Italy had the patronage of the papacy. "Tutta la corte, tutte le dignità, tutte le cariche, tutto lo stato ecclesiastico resta tra gli Italiani." [The whole court, all dignities, all high offices, the whole ecclesiastical state are in the hands of the Italians.] And how much resulted from this! Seeing the insecurity of succession in all the Italian houses, the welfare of Italy depended wholly and solely on the union of Venice and Rome. He takes occasion to dilate on the necessity of a good understanding between those two governments. He is of opinion that much might be conceded on the part of Venice. The protection afforded to unruly frati, and certain claims to jurisdiction, were taken in very bad part in Rome.

Now these as we see are all very good practical remarks, that bespeak an honest character, but they cannot satisfy us, who seek for more positive information, respecting the administration of the state. The following is all that concerns the two popes under whom he serves, which is told us by Lando, a queer writer by-the-by, whose darling figure of speech is the anacoluthon. "Quando io rifletto a quello che ho sentito a risuonare senza

ritegno contro Innocenzio XI, il quale veniva accusato di non dare audienza, d'asprezza, di crudeltà, d'inflessibile nemico di principi, di studioso di controversie, d'irrisoluto e tenace, di distruttore delle diocesi e beni ecclesiastici: perchè stava molti anni senza provvederli, perchè aveva callati li monti senza sollevare lo stato coll'avanzo risultatone, per avere tenuta ferma l'estorsione che chiamano dell'annona, per essere stato indulgente a' quietisti, e tante altre cose con che non vi era persona che non esclamasse contro di lui: e pareva all'ora al volgo indiscreto che non fossero virtù d'alcuna importanza al pontificato, quale memorabilissimo d'una costante alienazione del suo sangue ed un' illibata disinteressatezza per lasciare intatto tutto quello era della camera, fuorchè impiegato nelle guerre contro gl'infedeli: e s'auguravano all'ora un pontefice che, se bene un poco indulgente alli suoi, lo fosse anco per gl'altri, e che fosse dotato di quelle virtù che all'ora si giudicavano più necessarie, perchè pareva mancassero. Ma veduto poi che assonto Alessandro VIII, benchè tutto umanità, facile all'audienze, dolce, compassionevole, pieghevole, rispettoso a principi, nemico d'impegni, sbrigativo, franco nei negotii ed in tutte le sorti di spedizioni, benefico allo stato, sollevato di 200 mila scudi di gabella e dell'angaria dell'annona, che ha fulminato li quietisti, che ha finito quietamente il negotio molestissimo del quartiere, ha soccorso lui pure la guerra contro il Turco, ed ha fatto ancora altre azioni importanti nella gran brevità del suo pontificato ad ogni modo, perchè all'incontro ha mostrato affetto alli suoi nipoti, perchè ha voluto fidarsi di loro più che degl'altri nelle cariche, perchè ha voluto provvederli con qualche larghezza ma di molto inferiore a quella hanno fatto tanti altri, e perchè in questa parte ha mostrato un poco d'umanità e la tolleranza del sangue, è stato anche egli bersaglio d'invettive maligne e continue fin alla morte, ma egualmente ingiuste dell'uno e dell'altro."

[When I reflect on what I have heard unreservedly advanced against Innocent XI, who was accused of not giving audience, of harshness, cruelty, inflexible enmity to princes, of love of controversy, of irresolution and obstinacy, of being a destroyer of dioceses and ecclesiastical property, because he remained many years without appointing to them, because he had suppressed the monti without relieving the state by any resulting advantage, because he had upheld the so called extortion of the annona, because he had been indulgent to the Quietists, and so many other things that there was not one who did not exclaim against him: and it then appeared to the rude vulgar that there was no virtue of any importance in that pontificate, which was most memorable for a constant alienation of its own blood, and for an unsullied disinterestedness in leaving untouched all that belonged to the treasury, except what was employed in the wars against the infidels: and they now longed for a pope, who, if even a little indulgent to his own followers, would be so likewise for others, and who should be endowed with those virtues which were now deemed most necessary, because it appeared that they were wanting. But after the accession of Alexander VIII., though all humanity, easy of access, gentle, compassionate, amiable, regardful of princes, averse to pledges, shunning quarrels, frank in business and in all sorts of contracts, a

well doer to the state, relieving it from taxes to the amount of 200,000 scudi and from the vexation of the annona, who crushed the Quietists, who quietly put an end to the very unpleasant business of the quarter, who himself too aided the war against the Turks, and did other important actions of every kind in his very brief pontificate; because on the contrary he showed affection for his nephews, because he was pleased to trust them more than others in grave employments, because he desired to provide for them with some liberality, but with much less than so many others before him, and because on this score he displayed some human feeling and the tolerance of blood, he too was made the mark of malicious invectives that never ceased till his death: but they were equally unjust in the one case as in the other].

Lastly he refers to his own services, stating that he had written in the course of his official duties upwards of seven hundred dispatches.

These may possibly contain more facts. They are to be found partly in Venice, partly in Vicenza.

152. *Confessione di papa Alessandro VIII fatta al suo confessore il padre Giuseppe Gesuita negli ultimi estremi della sua vita.* (MS Rom. 21 leaves).—[Confession of pope Alexander VIII. made to his confessor father Giuseppe, a Jesuit, in his very last moments].

G. B. Perini, a scriptor in the Vatican archives, narrates in sober seriousness that he found this document among other papers belonging to the times of Alexander VIII. He writes this on the 9th of November, 1736, when no one could have had any interest in slandering a pope who had so many successors. The little work is therefore worth consideration, in spite of its ominous title. What does the pope confess in it?

He begins by saying that he had never regularly confessed since 1669: he would do so now, since a heavenly voice had assured him of absolution. Hereupon he confesses to conduct such as follows:—he had availed himself of the permission once granted him by pope Clement to sign in his stead, to make the most unwarrantable concessions; he had prompted pope Innocent XI. to the steps he had taken against France, and yet had privily conspired with the French against the pope; when himself advanced to the papacy, he had knowingly and deliberately promoted incompetent, nay, abandoned men, had given no thought to anything but the enrichment of his followers, and winked at the sale of justice and mercy in the palace; with other things of the same kind.

It is plain enough this is no confession of a pope; that would run quite differently, it would reveal far other particulars. I am of opinion that it is one of those lumpoons, so frequent in those times, which may embody an opinion that had gained currency respecting Alexander, but by no means the truth. It got mixed up in all likelihood with the authentic writings of the period where it was found by some zealous clerk of the archives, and taken for genuine. In the Venetian archives likewise, I lighted upon many spurious documents.

153. *Relazione di Domenico Contarini K. Roma 1695 5 Luglio* (Arch. V. 18 leaves.)—[Report by Domenico Contarini.]

Contarini had already been employed at the French and the imperial court when he was sent to the pope's. His mission was originally to Alexander VIII., whom however he found so ill that he could not be presented to him. His report is devoted to an account of Innocent XII.

Antonio Pignatelli (born 1615) was sprung from the ducal family of Montelione in Naples, and entered the prelature at an early age. He was made vicelegat of Urbino, inquisitor of Malta, and governor of Perugia, a career which was not indeed to be despised, but which offered little that could satisfy ambition. Pignatelli was sometimes tempted to give up the ecclesiastical career altogether. At last, however, he succeeded in obtaining a nunciature, which appeared to him the surest road to promotion. He was nuncio to Florence, eight years to Poland, and to Germany; the latter nunciature usually led to the cardinalate. But, says Contarini, whether it was the influence of inauspicious stars, or the dislike of the then government of Clement IX., instead of being rewarded he was recalled, and sent as bishop to Lecce on the outermost confines of Naples. Under these circumstances he had to exert the whole strength of his mind and the most manly firmness; and in fact the moderation and resignation he displayed threw the whole court into amazement. With supernatural cheerfulness he returned thanks even for that appointment, "since he should now no longer have to bear the heavy burthen of those nunciatures." Contarini sets it down that Clement IX. banished Pignatelli to that bishopric, and that Clement X. recalled him to Rome: it is stated, however, by Roman writers, that both events occurred under Clement X. Be this as it may, whether cardinal Altieri was desirous of repairing an act of injustice of his own or of another's doing, he placed Pignatelli by his uncle as maestro di camera: Innocent XI. found him in that office and confirmed him in it.

But now his fortunes took a sudden start. He was made cardinal in the year 1681, and immediately afterwards bishop of Faenza, legate of Bologna, and archbishop of Naples. Upon the death of Innocent XI. he was already thought of in the conclave; after the decease of Alexander VIII. the French, contrary to all expectation, were in favour of him, a Neapolitan. The reason of this was, that they had need of a man of mild and quiet disposition. He was therefore elected, though not till after a tedious conclave, which lasted five months and wearied all the cardinals.

Innocent XII., too, retained Panciatichi and Albano, the secretary of briefs and the datary whom he found in office, though they were the creatures of his predecessor. The nomination of Spada to be secretary of state was universally approved; it was made by the advice of Altieri. It was only the nephews of Alexander VIII. whom Innocent XII. did not confirm in their posts: he adhered in all respects to the example of Innocent XI. "Andava procurando il papa d'imitare Innocentio XI, di cui è creatura et aveva preso il nome, forzandosi serviss& al modello del suo la

forma di quel governo, levandoli però quella parte che nell' austerità e rigidezza non era stata laudata." [The pope endeavoured to imitate Innocent XI., whose creature he was, and whose name he had assumed, taking the practice of that pope's government as a model for his own, only omitting the austerity and hardness which had not been approved of in it.] He strove, as we see, by greater gentleness, to surpass his model. He was easy of access; his public audiences for the poor particularly won him a good name; although they did not, as the latter expected, lead to a speedy termination of their differences, still they kept the tyranny of the nobles in check. "Tutti confessavano che questo publico ricorso portava un gran freno a tutti li ministri e giudici: mentre era troppo facile la strada di avvicinarsi all' orecchie del principe e di scoprirli quello che in alti tempi era impedito o dalla autorità o dall' astutia di chi s'appressava al papa." [It was confessed on all hands that this public hearing was a great check upon all the ministers and judges, by facilitating an approach to the ear of the sovereign, and affording the means of laying before him what in other times had been shut out by the influence or the craft of those around the pope.]

An unlucky accident for a while suspended his activity, but it was soon resumed.

The French question was settled; the most important reforms were begun. There appeared a bull respecting nepotism, in which it was provided that the benefices and ecclesiastical revenues for the future to be bestowed on a pope's nephew should not exceed the sum of 12,000 scudi. Innocent XI. abolished the sale of such important offices as those of the *chierici di camera*, and paid back the price, 1,016,070 scudi. "He thereby divested money of its might, and again afforded virtue a chance of mounting to the high places." Many other reforms were now looked for. "The pope," says Contarini, "has nothing before his eyes but God, the poor, and the reform of abuses. He lives most abstemiously; he devotes every hour to the duties of his office, without regard to his health. He is irreproachable in his habits, conscientious, regardless of his relations' interest, full of love for the poor, endowed with all the high qualities to be desired in the head of the church. Could he always act for himself, he would be one of the first of popes."

Every one, however, was not pleased with his conduct. Contarini regrets that Innocent had no nephews who could feel a personal interest in their uncle's fame, and that his ministers had too much latitude,—"vedendosi offuscate quelle grandi e risplendenti virtù dalla solertia de' ministri troppo pratici dell' arte della corte," [his noble and resplendent virtues being obscured by the craft of ministers too well versed in the arts of the court.] It is charged against these, that, in order to divert the zeal of Innocent XII. into another channel, they contrived to fix his attention exclusively on the relief of the poor. The hospital of the Lateran was proposed. This soon engrossed all the pope's thoughts. "Questo chiodo fermò l'ardente volontà del papa di riformare." [This put a stop to the pope's ardent desire to reform.]

The author is persuaded that the pope had saved and laid by about two millions of scudi. He is thoroughly convinced of the purity of his inten-

tions : he calls him a man of blameless and faultless morals.

154. *Relazione di Roma di Nicolò Erizzo K<sup>r</sup> 1702*  
29 Ottobre. (40 leaves.) [Report on Rome by Nicolò Erizzo.]

Nicolò Erizzo had already accompanied P. Mocenigo in his embassy to Clement X. : he was now himself made ambassador ; he reached Rome before the death of Innocent XII., and remained there during the first years of the reign of Clement XI. His report derives double value from the fact that he had already been long acquainted with Rome.

He treats first of former popes, and after some general remarks comes to Innocent XI. : "that holy man, whose highest merit certainly did not consist in his science and learning, but who, on the other hand, possessed financial knowledge, and who not only effected the restoration of the balance between expenditure and income, but was also able to afford liberal aid to the emperor and the Poles in their struggle against the Turks." Alexander VIII. at least did not bestow the money of the treasury on his nephews. On the other hand he lost enormously by the failure of the house of Merli, and many persons ascribed his death to that cause. Innocent XII. closed up the gulf of nepotism ; although he did so much for the poor, though he remitted a tax, and erected buildings for the court, and constructed harbour works, still he left behind a considerable sum in the treasury. But he lived too long for the college of cardinals, whom on his part he did not prize very highly. He seemed to them to sacrifice the interests of the holy see to his obsequiousness towards the royal courts.

At last he died on the 27th September, 1700, and the cardinals eagerly rushed to the business of the conclave. Their purpose was to elect a pope who should make good the injuries they thought they had sustained. They fixed their eyes on cardinal Marescotti, "a man of stout heart, worthy to rule, obstinate in his principles, and of inflexible determination." Erizzo calls him a great man. He was supported by the imperial and the Spanish ambassadors. But excessive zeal is often dangerous in the election of a pope, and it was fatal to Marescotti. The French, who feared his open hostility, succeeded in throwing him over. Upon this a multitude of others were proposed ; but there were objections to them all : one was too vehement, another too gentle, a third had too many nephews ; the friends of the Jesuits opposed cardinal Noris, because he had dealt somewhat severely with them in his history of Pelagianism. The hot zealanti (here so designated for the first time) would gladly have elected Colloredo, but the others thought him too austere. At last, when the news arrived of the death of Charles II., "the cardinal," says Erizzo, "were moved by the hand of God, so that in one moment they desisted from their passions, and from the hopes with which each had flattered himself, and turned their eyes on cardinal Albani with that instinctive movement which is the strongest evidence of divine prompting." Cardinal Albani refused the dignity ; Erizzo is of opinion that his refusal was genuine, and meant in earnest. At last he gave way, appar-

ently more from scruples, and to avoid being longer entreated, than of his own free will.

Erizzo now proceeds to describe the family and the personal character of the newly elected pope.

Albani's family came from Urbino. When the aged Francesco Maria of Urbino resolved to surrender his duchy before his death to Urban VIII., he sent an Albani—the same who had counselled him to that step—to make it known to the pope. Twice he sent him. On the first occasion he repented, and called back his ambassador. Erizzo asserts that he also changed his mind on the second occasion, and sent contrary orders ; but that Albani this time did not attend to them, but delivered the act of abdication to Urban VIII. without further hesitation. For this he was made senator of Rome, and his son became maestro di camera to cardinal Barberini : he was the father of Giovan Francesco Albani, the new pope.

Giovan Francesco Albani applied himself to literature and to the ecclesiastical profession ; fortune so far favoured him that he soon had personal access to the popes of his day. "Under Innocent XI.," says Erizzo, "he learned to form his decisions with more deliberation than he was by nature inclined to do, and to persist in whatever he had undertaken. Under Alexander he acquired freer and bolder habits of negotiation ; he was found to be at once wary and determined, prompt and deliberate, and in outward appearance well disposed to every body : these arts he next practised under Innocent XII. That suspicious old man could endure neither his datary nor his secretary of state : Albani alone had free access to him, and contrived to make himself equally indispensable to the pope and to the court."

The first step of Clement XI., after his election, was to notify to the ambassadors that he must repeal many innovations introduced under his predecessors ; he summoned the governor to the coronation, which the governors of Rome had always avoided on account of the disputes for precedence ; he abolished all asylums :—the ambassadors said that he did so only to make an impression on the court.

The appointments he now made were in Erizzo's opinion not very happy. Clement surrounded himself exclusively with weak men. "Felicitato il coraggio di questi suoi ordini dal successo e dal rispetto de' regj rappresentanti, non credette Sua S<sup>a</sup> d'aver bisogno a palazzo de' ministri di gran valore : onde chiamovvi per segretario di stato il cardinale Paulucci di cortissima esperienza, ed elesse per datario il cardinale Sacripante, infaticabile e diligentissimo per quell' impiego, ma non insignito che della qualità di buon curiale. Indi diede a mon<sup>s</sup> Olivieri suo parente la segreteria de' brevi, che aveva digià egregiamente esercitata sotto di lui stesso : e pose nelle cariche che più lo avvicinavano, li antichi suoi amici e parenti, come mon<sup>s</sup> Paracciani gran legista, mon<sup>s</sup> Origo per segretario delle lettere latine e Maffei per coppiere confidente, tutta gente di pochissima estrazione, urbanati o delli vicini municipj, che non avendo veduto se non Roma hanno per conseguenza pochissima cognizione delli principi e molto meno poi degli affari del mondo. Non volle presso di se cardinali di grande testa nè ministri che da essi dipendessero, preferendo la sua quiete e la sua autorità a que' consigli che non gli potevano venire

dalle suddette persone domestiche non esercitate nelli maneggi e digià tra loro gelose e discordi. Meno volle Don Orazio suo fratello, padre di tre figlioli di grande aspettazione, uomo d'una singolare modestia ed integrità, lasciati alle sue angustie per pompa dell'osservanza della bolla contro il nepotismo, che la S<sup>ta</sup> Sua giurò nel giorno della sua esaltazione con aspetto d'evitarne interamente lo scandolo, il quale però, per sentimento di molti, semper vetabitur et retinebitur semper."

[His boldness in these arrangements being crowned with success, and with the respect of the royal representatives, his holiness thought there was no need of ministers of much ability in the palace: wherefore he promoted to the secretaryship of state cardinal Paulucci, a man of very brief experience, and he chose for datary cardinal Sacripante, a man of indefatigable diligence in that post, but not distinguished by any qualities beyond those of a good routine officer. Then he gave to his relation, monsieur Olivieri, the secretaryship which had formerly been admirably managed by himself; and he put into the offices nearest his own person his old friends and relations,--such as monsieur Paracciani, a great legist; monsieur Origo, whom he made secretary for Latin letters, and Maffei, as his confidential eulpearer; all of them persons of very low extraction, from Urbino or the neighbouring boroughs, who having never seen more than Rome, had consequently very little knowledge of foreign sovereigns, and much less of the affairs of the world. He does not desire near him cardinals of great ability, nor ministers who should depend on them, preferring his own quiet and his own authority to those counsels, which he is sure of not hearing from his aforesaid servants, who have had no practice in public life, and who are moreover jealous and at variance among themselves. Nor will he admit to him his brother Don Orazio, the father of three sons of great promise; a man of rare modesty and integrity, whom he has left in his narrow fortune from an ostentatious parade of observing the bull against nepotism, which his holiness swore on the day of his elevation, with the intention of avoiding entirely the scandal of this practice; a practice which, nevertheless, as many think, will always be forbidden and always retained.]

Very great difficulties immediately presented themselves. The dispute about the Spanish succession was become exceedingly dangerous to the court of Rome. Clement XI. acted at first very vacillatingly. The ambassador thinks his whole conduct traceable to an excess of cunning. His chief object, he thinks, in proposing an Italian league to the Venetians was to sound the intentions of Venice.

From these political and general considerations Erizzo passes on to the affairs of the church, particularly to the controversies that were incessantly plied between Venice and Rome. Rome, he says, is of a two-fold character, the one holy, in so far as the pope is the guardian of the sanctuary and of the divine law; this must be revered: the other is secular, in so far as the pope seeks to extend his power, which has nothing in common with the practice of the first ages; against this it behoves men to be on their guard. He cannot digest the thought that Venice had been passed over in a promotion of cardinals in the last reign.

He laments that the republic no longer possessed as formerly the patronage of her own bishoprics; how many poor nobles would she then be able to succour!--now the subjects of Venice seek to arrive at places by indirect means, and even through the efforts of foreign princes. Cardinal Panciatichi had introduced into the practice of the dataria the maxim, that precisely those persons were to be favoured, who were most independent of the princes in whose dominions the benefices were situated. He looks on it as an abuse that the pope's nephews should possess so much share in the ecclesiastical property of his native land: why too were they so readily granted the rank of Venetian nobili!--Other states, even the grand duke of Tuscany had lists of nuncios presented to them, out of which they might select one; but such an honour was not done the republic;--the title of Carissimo too was refused by Rome to the doge of Venice. We see that new subjects of quarrel were continually arising in addition to the old ones.

The ambassador therefore recommends his republic to give its serious attention to Roman affairs. If a pope could now no longer be as helpful as formerly, yet he could still do much mischief, especially if he was young, spirited, and economical.

155. *Relazione del N. U. Gio. Franc. Morosini K<sup>r</sup> fu ambasciatore al sommo pontefice Clemente XI. 1707 17 Dec. (36 leaves.)* [Report of Gio. Franc. Morosini, formerly ambassador to pope Clement XI.]

Morosini, Erizzo's successor, was from Jan. 1702 till Nov. 1706, at the court of Clement XI, whose government then first fully displayed its peculiar character.

Morosini relates with what zeal Clement XI. imitated the example of his most renowned predecessors. Even the tears with which he refused the papal dignity were not without a precedent. He fulfilled all those outward observances which afford a good example. "Vita sobria e regolata: frequenti pubbliche devotioni alla scala santa, a visite di chiese, al servizio negli hospitali: somma edificazione et accuratezza nei riti sacri e nelle più solenni ed humili funzioni, ai quali vuol supplire anche con pregiudizio della salute. Al paragone pure dell' interesse comparisce egualmente incolpabile: prima consultore, poi esecutore delle bolla del nepotismo. Con ogni facilità dona ai vescovi poveri le sue propine, e nudrisce del proprio molti operarij ed opere pie. Nella scelta de' vescovi, sopra tutto essenziale al servizio della chiesa, con la debita pesatezza procede, cercando l'informazione dai fonti più sinceri, senza dar luogo che molto parcamente al favore. Ne esamina talvolta alcuno egli stesso ad usanza dei papi antichi. Dell' altre dignità parimenti e beneficj ecclesiastici va così misurato ed attento nella distribuzione che anche sopra gli stessi suoi congiunti vuol che si scorga giustificata la convenienza d'accomodarli dal requisito di studj e costumi commendabili."

[His life is sober and well regulated: he is constant at public worship at the scala sancta, in visits to the churches, and in attendance at the hospitals: he is most strictly and edifyingly attentive to sacred rites and to the most solemn and humble duties, even to the injury of his health. He appears likewise a paragon of disinterested-

ness: he was first adviser and then executor of the bull respecting nepotism. He bestows his gratuities with great alacrity on poor bishops, and supports many pious works and workmen at his own expense. He proceeds with due deliberation in the selection of bishops, a matter of vital importance to the church, seeking information at the most authentic sources, without giving room, except very sparingly, to favour. He sometimes himself examines episcopal candidates, after the manner of the ancient popes. He proceeds with the same care in the distribution of other dignities and ecclesiastical benefices, exacting even of his own relations that they own the propriety of conforming to the required standard in point of acquirements and laudable morals.]

In the same spirit Clement dealt with jurisdictional matters, that is to say, with all the zeal demanded of him by his office; he even gained ground in some points. The new king of Spain was induced to solicit his permission to summon clergymen before the secular tribunals, and to levy tithes. The king of Poland sent some members of the higher clergy to be tried before the pope's tribunal. The viceroy of Naples submitted to the papal orders, after long resistance, at the critical moment when the Germans were advancing upon lower Italy: "un trionfo che sarà registrato negli annali della chiesa" [a triumph which will be registered in the annals of the church.] Savoy and Lorraine were therefore beset with the more vigour. The pope knew how to strike the favourable moment. "Studiosissimo d'ingrandire con i motivi di pietà la potenza." [Most intent on augmenting his power from pious motives.] Morosini finds the whole court pervaded by a similar spirit. They would admit of no distinction between church and state: the church was everything: every congregation was styled holy, be the subject of its deliberations what it might: no distinction was made between pastors of the church and prelates of the court; the former were even excused from their spiritual functions, and employed in matters of state. Piety moreover was used as a sort of coin indispensable towards advancement in life. Four of the congregations are distinguished as particularly deserving of attention:—the inquisition, which merited all support, since it watched over pure doctrine, only it was a startling thing that the worst heresy was to be met with precisely in Rome (he means quietism);—the propaganda; unfortunately there were now but few who would devote themselves with all their hearts to the missions;—the congregation of the bishops and orders, which exercised a very necessary supervision, especially over the latter;—and that of immunities; this was set up like a sentinel as it were to watch the bounds between the temporal and the spiritual authority: were everything to proceed as it desired, the power of temporal sovereigns would be totally destroyed.

Morosini now directs his attention to the state. He repeats the complaints so frequent for some time previously, respecting the decline of population and of agriculture. The pope would gladly have introduced improvements, such, for instance, as the cultivation of the Campagna; but all this ended merely in brilliant projects. The ambassador remarks that the spiritual dignity increased the temporal authority. The power of the senate

he considers a burlesque upon the name. The barons were subjected to the same punishments as the lowest of the people; the pope kept them under rigorous inspection, knowing very well that there was something violent in the nature of the body.—At last our author comes to speak of politics. I must extract verbatim the most important passage, which treats of the relation of the pope to France and the emperor, upon which everything once more depended in those days.

"Se il papa abbia avuto mano o partecipazione nel testamento di Carlo II, io non ardirei d'asserirlo, nè è facile penetrare il vero con sicurezza. Bensì adurrò solo due fatti. L'uno che questo arcano, non si sa se con verità, fu esposto in un manifesto uscito alle stampe in Roma ne' primi mesi del mio ingresso all'ambasciata, all'ora che dall'uno e l'altro partito si trattava la guerra non meno con l'armi che con le carte. L'altro che il papa non s'astenne di far pubblici elogi al cristianissimo d'essersi ritirato dal partaggio, ricevendo la monarchia intera per il nipote. Fatto riflesso a tali premesse, non pare che rendano stupore le conseguenze vedutesi di direzione fluttuante e fra se stessa contraria, non potendo mai riuscire uniformi attioni nate da diversi principj: e tali erano l'obbligo da una parte d'ostentar indifferenza propria di padre comune, e l'occulto affetto et impegno preso dall'altra nel giudicare senza maggior pesantezza li vantaggi et il merito della causa. Considero piamente la S<sup>ta</sup> Sua il decoro e beneficio della religione nell'escludere gli eretici dall'usurpato. Concepi speranza, facilitata dal genio a Francesi, che o non vi sarebbe guerra o si farebbe inutilmente contro le forze di quell'invitata nazione: e dandosi a credere che la monarchia si manterrebbe unita, non stimò in un tal vaticinio meritar disprezzo, errando con la finezza Spagnola, la quale in tal caso ebbe ragioni di necessità più che di politica. L'esito instrui dell'altre ponderazioni che dovevano avanzarsi. S'ammassò, scoppio e tuttavia infuria fatale agl'inimici et agli amici quel fiero nembo che la gelosia, l'astio, l'interesse eccitarono nelle potenze collegate ad abbattere la macchina sospettata nella Francia di monarchia universale. . . . Riusci ad ogni modo per molto tempo ai Francesi lo studio di mantenersi nel credito d'invincibili appresso il papa, il quale pieno di confidenza seguendo tacitamente i loro consigli veniva dagli incauti lodato d'una condotta che oscurasse quella d'ogni altro: perche dove la Sopra Repubblica in particolare osservando una sincera neutralità pareva, patisce danni nelle sostanze de' sudditi, aggravò al decoro e lo sdegno d'ambi li partiti: egli all'incontro col professare neutralità e minacciare assieme di romperla immanemente contro quel partito che l'offendesse, ma intendendosi occultamente con Francesi, era da questi coltivato et occorrendo difeso senza dispendio, da Cesarei trattato con riguardo per non fornirlo di pretesti a deponer anche l'apparenza di neutrale: furon immuni per un pezzo li suoi stati: vide rispettate le censure in mezzo all'armi, e comparse flotte di eretici ne' suoi mari senza il minimo oltraggio. Ma il rovesciamento della fortuna Francese, particolarmente in Italia, ha fatto scorgere se meritasse allora encomio o la condotta o la sorte, e se le sane e sincere insinuazioni fatteli da VV EE replicar spesso col mezzo dei loro ministri di soda indifferenza come padre comune per rendersi arbi-



tro e venerato a beneficio proprio e della cristianità e d'aumentare le sue truppe sotto buoni ufficiali per appoggiar meglio il rispetto contro l'altrui intemperanza, dovessero sbracciarsi come consigli infelici, anche nell'esperienza di chi li porgeva. Il frutto d'aver preferite arti più oblique e studj d'economia, li peggior consigliere della politica, fu di soffrir dopo e tutt'ora ciò ch'è noto, ma quel ch'è più, con apparenza di non soffrir senza colpo nel tribunale della fama, ch'è sovrano anche ai principi. Spedì, come adduce in sua difesa numej straordinarj per la pace universale senza riguardo a spesa et all'ingiuria dell'esclusione incontrata a Vienna: propose leghe, accordi, armistitj per la quiete particolare di questa provincia, ma fuor di tempo e dopo che le dimostrazioni di partialità del principio e nel progresso notate introdussero il verne nei migliori semi: onde l'essersi reso una volta sospetto fu un spogliar il zelo di autorità e costituire per sempre impotente il principal strumento della concordia. Difficile riuscirà in effetto alla S<sup>ta</sup> Sua il purgar questa imputazione, anzi quella d'aver contribuito a tirare nel suo senso tutti li principi d'Italia appresso quali voleva, notoria essendo la condotta non solo di quelli di Parma, suo feudatario, ma della casa di Fiorenza: onde la sola cautela costante della Ser<sup>ma</sup> Republica ha data soggezione al papa e documento agli altri, mercandone però immeritata odiosità appresso Francesi che sopra di lei fu da Sua B<sup>ne</sup> scaricata."

[I will not pretend to affirm whether or not the pope had hand or part in the will of Charles II., nor is it easy to arrive at the truth. I will mention, however, but two facts. The one is that this secret was published, whether with truth or not is not known, in a manifesto which issued from the Roman press in the first months of my embassy, at the time when war was actually waged between the two parties. The other fact is, that the pope did not abstain from publicly eulogizing the most Christian king because he had discountenanced the partition, and received the monarchy entire for his nephew. Reasoning from these premises, we can hardly wonder at the consequences we see to have resulted from fluctuating and discordant plans, for uniformity of action can never spring from diversity of principles: and even such were the obligations on the one hand to manifest the indifference belonging to the common father, and on the other the secret bias and the engagement entered into without more mature deliberation as to the advantages and the merits of the cause. His holiness piously considered the honour and profit to religion of shutting out the usurpation of the heretics. He conceived hopes, encouraged by the French character, either that there would be no war, or that it would be waged in vain against the forces of that unconquered nation; and as there was reason to hope that the monarchy would be preserved entire, he did not think himself wrong in such an anticipation, miscalculating the Spanish subtlety, which in such a case was justified by necessity rather than by policy. The event taught other considerations, which ought to have been previously weighed. There gathered, burst, and still rages, fatally to friends and foes, that fierce thunder-cloud of jealousy, envy, and interest, which urged the confederate powers to defeat the suspected machinations of France for universal monarchy. . . . For a long while the French

fully succeeded in keeping up their credit for invincibility with the pope, who, in the fulness of his confidence, implicitly following their counsels, was praised by thoughtless persons for a conduct that would have tarnished the reputation of any other: for whilst the most serene republic in particular, observing a strict neutrality, suffered losses in the substance of its subjects, wrongs to its honour, and the resentment of both parties, he on the other hand professing neutrality, and at the same time threatening to break it immediately against any party that should offend him, but all the while having a secret understanding with the French, his friendship was cultivated by the latter, and he found himself defended without cost, and he was treated with consideration by the imperial party, in their desire to avoid furnishing him even with a pretext to lay aside the appearance of neutrality: his states enjoyed immunity for a while; he saw his censures respected in the midst of war, and heretic fleets appeared in his seas without offering him the slightest insult. But the reverses of fortune sustained by France, particularly in Italy, made it clear whether the aforesaid encomiums were due to conduct or to chance, and whether the sound and sincere suggestions repeatedly made by your excellencies through your ministers to the pope, that he should, as the common father, observe a steadfast indifference, so as to make himself a revered arbiter, to his own benefit and that of Christendom, and that he should augment his troops under good officers, the better to sustain the respect due to him against the waywardness of others, should have been rejected, as counsels proved inauspicious even by the experience of those who tendered them. The fruits of having preferred oblique practices and devices of economy, the worst counsellor in politics, were the suffering, since and now, what is notorious; and what is still worse, to have the justice of all these sufferings confirmed by the verdict of fame, which is the sovereign even of princes. He sent, as he states in his defence, nuncios extraordinary, for the ratification of a general peace, without regard to expense or to the injurious exclusion encountered at Vienna: he proposed leagues, agreements, and armistices for the special repose of this province; but he did so unseasonably, and after the demonstrations of partiality witnessed in the beginning and in the progress of events had let the canker into the best seeds: hence his having rendered himself once suspected, robbed him of the prestige of his authority, and made the principal instrument of concord for ever impotent. His holiness, indeed, will find it hard to purge himself of this imputation, as well as of that of having contributed to draw over to his own views all the princes of Italy with whom he had influence; notorious being the conduct not only of Parma, his feudatory, but also of the house of Florence: hence it was solely the constant prudence of the most serene republic that kept the pope in check, and gave a lesson to others, in return for which, however, it incurred the undeserved enmity of the French, which was discharged upon it by his holiness.]

156. *Lorenzo Tiepolo K<sup>r</sup> Proc<sup>o</sup> Relation di Roma 1712. (40 leaves.)* [Lorenzo Tiepolo's report on Rome.]

The contests between the spiritual and the tem-

poral jurisdiction excited more and more attention every year. L. Tiepolo begins with this subject.

But he treats it with unusual earnestness. The question, he says, was purposely confused; to unravel it, to assign to sovereigns their own, and yet not to violate the reverence due to the papal see, this doubly demanded the grace of God.

First he describes anew the personal character of Clement XI. He too admires the erudition, the zeal, the affability, and the moderation of that pope; still it was possible, he says, that these qualities might be assumed, not from the only unfailing motives, real virtue, but from human considerations, and that therefore they might not receive God's blessing; it might be that the zeal with which the pope devoted himself to the business of the state, was associated with too high an estimation of his own merit, and aimed less at things themselves than at the applause and the honour to be derived from them.—Praise was all powerful with him. His physician, for instance, made use of this weakness to maintain his influence over him: flattery incited him to uphold the honour of the holy see; thence it was that he paid so little regard to the rights of sovereigns and states; the persons about him even dared to speak in so scurrilous a manner, as was neither consistent with the pope's high station, nor perhaps with Christian charity.

From the pope he proceeds to his ministers, whom our author no more than his predecessors considers peculiarly distinguished, describing them as fitted only for a subservient station and not for the conduct of affairs. 1. Cardinal Albani. The pope had waited till after his mission to Germany, before he would make him cardinal. The court approved of this nomination, because they thought it would afford them a channel of access to the pope and an interest with him; Clement XI., however, allowed the cardinal little or no influence, ("è certo che l'autorità del cardile nipote non apparisce a quel segno che per l'ordinario s'haveva veduto in quella corte"). 2. The secretary of state cardinal Paulucci, a thoroughly good man, of no great ability, depending with a sort of awe upon the pope. 3. Corradini, auditors of papa: "dotto nel dritto, ma di non uguale esperienza negli interessi dei principi:—forte nell'impegno, ma pieghevole alla ragione;" [learned in the law, but not of equal experience in the interests of sovereigns;—steadfast to his engagements, but docile to reason:] the only one who might be thoroughly depended on; it was advantageous to bring matters before him in which one was decidedly in the right; this was not so advisable in doubtful matters: he was not on good terms with the nephew; it was even thought that the latter had helped him to the cardinalate to get rid of his vicinity to the pope. 4. Orighi, secretary of the consulta, Corradini's rival, and for this reason a close ally of the nephew; "pare che più con l'accortezza et adulatione che con la fermezza et ingenuità abbia avanzato la sua fortuna" [he appears to have advanced his fortunes rather by shrewdness and adulation than by firmness and sincerity]. 5. Cardinal Sagripante, the datario, who had grown rich only by thrift, strict in the discharge of his duties, taking no share in politics. The dataria was daily losing more and more; even in Spain people would no longer submit to its cozening practices; thence

it came to pass, that those cardinals who had not learned how to manage their property judiciously, could no longer maintain the ancient splendour of their rank—"si può dire essere un vero distintivo dell'abbadie de' cardinali il ritrovare le case in abbandono e le chiese diroccate. [It may be pronounced to be a true character of cardinal's husbandry to find houses left to decay and churches in ruins.]—Were a papal election to take place, the creatures of Clement XI. would hardly attach themselves very closely to cardinal Albani, so little influence had he.

Tiepolo now proceeds to sketch the aspect of politics. His views, as we have said, are of a politico-ecclesiastical character; he investigates the disputes between the court of Rome and the temporal sovereigns:—it was said the pope had an equal love for all; it would be more correct to say he had an equally feeble love, and equally low esteem for all.

"E ben vero che se pochi si hanno preso a tal punto quest' assunto di far pompa di superiorità sopra i principi, è forza di dire che anche pochi pontefici hanno havuto la sfortuna uguale al presente di non poter uscire dagl' impegni volontariamente con gli stessi principi presi, se non con qualche diminutione del suo honore. Pure se ha qualche interna inclinazione, quest' è riposta verso la Francia, benchè quella corte replicatamente si dolga delle sue parzialità verso la casa d'Austria, e in fatti in più incontri l'evento ha comprovato i suoi lamenti, ma perchè ha havuto tutta la parte il timore. In ciò la corte di Vienna, o sia a caso o per la cognizione, rilevata del vero temperamento del pontefice ha nel trattar seco fatta la profittevole scelta delle minaccie e delle apprensioni."

[Truth compels us to say, that if few popes have carried to such an extent the ostentatious assumption of superiority over princes, so likewise few have been equally unfortunate as the present pope, in not being able to get out of engagements voluntarily entered into with sovereigns without a certain loss of honour. If he has any inward leaning, it is certainly in favour of France, although that court has repeatedly complained of his partiality to the house of Austria, and indeed on several occasions the fact confirmed their complaints, but this was entirely the result of timidity. The court of Vienna, whether by accident or from knowledge of the pope's real constitution of mind, in dealing with him, made a profitable use of threats and fears.]

He proceeds in these general remarks upon the several states successively till he comes to Venice, on the affairs of which, now certainly of no wide range of importance, he dwells at most length.

157. *Relatione di Andrea Corner K<sup>r</sup> ritornato dall' ambasciata di Roma 1724 25 Luglio.* (24 leaves)  
[Andrea Corner's report of his embassy to Rome.]

We have seen what vehement antipathies Clement XI. provoked, in spite of the best intentions and the most irreproachable practice. From this report, however, in which he once more figures, we see that after his death the public voice respecting him was mightily changed. Then every one admired him; even those who shortly before had

censured joined in the general applause. People now discovered what they had never before imagined, that if he sometimes promised more than he was able to perform, this was really the result of good-nature. It came to light that he had distributed out of his private fortune the most liberal alms; their combined amount during the twenty years of his sway reaching to a million of sc., a sum he might with a safe conscience have bestowed on his house. Corner relates, that shortly before Clement's death he begged pardon of his nephew cardinal Annibal, for not having left his family better provided for. "Parerà che il pontificato di Clemente sia stato effimero, quando fu de' più lunghi." [It will be thought that Clement's pontificate was ephemeral, whereas it was one of the longest.]

The change that was expected, took place in the conclave. The whole college, with five exceptions, had been renewed under Clement XI., but as cardinal Albani had had no greater part in the nominations than in the administration in general, the cardinals divided according to their respective nations. Paulucci, secretary of state, as we know, to the former pope was first proposed; but the imperial ambassador count Althan declared that his master would never recognise Paulucci as pope, this he submitted to their eminences for their consideration. Now some friends of the house of Albani had already before this cast their eyes on Michael Angelo Conti; one of them, monsignor Riviera, was secretary to the conclave. He first spoke on the subject to cardinal Spinola, who after he had reconnoitred the ground, and found that Conti was not disliked, gladly put himself at the head of the party and proposed him. Count Althan immediately demanded instructions of his court. It now turned out to Conti's advantage that he had been nuncio in Portugal, and had there gained the favour of the queen Maria Anna of Austria, sister to Charles VI. The Austrian court was on Conti's side, and the support of the whole Austrian connection, namely Portugal and Poland, might be relied on. The Spanish ambassador too consulted his court: its answer was not favourable, but it arrived too late; Innocent XIII. had meanwhile been already elected (May 8, 1721).

Innocent possessed excellent qualities, both for the spiritual and the temporal government: only he was of a sickly habit of body, for which reason he was sparing in giving audience. This, however, made the fact of having an audience of him a thing of importance in itself; and one answered instead of many. He apprehended very justly, and gave decided answers. The ambassador of Malta, says Corner, will long remember how upon his making a somewhat impetuous appeal to the pope for aid, his holiness gave him his blessing on the spot, and rang his bell by way of dismissing him. When the Portuguese ambassador solicited the promotion of Biechi to the cardinalate, Innocent at last would not hear him any more, "non ritrovando merito nel prelado e passando sopra tutti li riguardi che poteva avere per una corona di cui era stato protettore" [not finding the prelate deserving, and overlooking all the partiality he might have entertained for a crown, of which he had been the protector].

The Roman families related to Innocent, which had hoped for advancement from him, found them-

selves much deceived: even his nephew had difficulty in obtaining the income of 12,000 ducats, which was now the usual income of a nephew.

The pope's chief endeavour was to settle the disputes respecting the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but in this he by no means fully succeeded. It was only with the imperial court a better understanding was effected; a result naturally to be expected, in consequence of the circumstances of Innocent's election.

158. *Relatione del N. H. Pietro Capello K. ritornato d'ambasciator di Roma 1728 6 Marzo.* (14 leaves.) [Report of Pietro Capello's embassy to Rome.]

Innocent XIII. died on the 7th of March, after a reign of little more than thirty-four months.

Capello, whose embassy began in Innocent's lifetime, agrees with the description given of him by his predecessor. He considers him pacific, sound in his judgment, deliberate, and firm. He confirms the rumour that the nomination of Dubois to be cardinal, to which he had suffered himself to be persuaded in consideration of the man's power and influence, caused Innocent painful scruples in his last moments. "La di lui morte fu ben un'argomento delle più morali riflessioni: mentre attaccato da scrupoli di coscienza, farlo che non lascia di rodere anco la mente dei papi, non pote mai lasciarsi persuadere a compire la nomina di quattro cardinali nella vacanza d'altrettanti cappelli: e per quello si è potuto iscoprire, fu giudicato che non sentisse di consumare una tale elezione forse per pentimento d'averne eseguita alcun'altra con maniere atte a turbare la di lui delicata coscienza. Tale non ordinario accidente partori funeste conseguenze alla di lui casa, a favor della quale non restò alcun partito da disporre dopo la di lui morte: ma con tutto ciò vi fu universale argomento per giudicar molto bene di sua persona, che dimostrò per tali suoi ottimi sentimenti un spirito egualmente nobile che rassegnato."

[His death afforded a striking subject for moral reflection. Being assailed by scruples of conscience, a moth that fails not to fret even the mind of a pope, he could never be persuaded to nominate four persons to receive the vacant cardinals' hats: and as far as could be discovered, he was probably disinclined to consummate such an election, from his repentance at having once before made one in a manner calculated to trouble his tender conscience. So unusual an incident produced fatal consequences to his house, which could command no party after his death: but for all this there was every reason to judge very well of him, who by such admirable sentiments displayed a spirit equally noble and resigned.]

Innocent was succeeded on the 29th of May 1724 by Benedict XIII. Capello thinks him very different from his predecessor; especially determined and impetuous in all ecclesiastical matters.

He notices few distinguished personages in the college of cardinals, no strong faction, nor any prospect of the formation of one under Benedict, since the jealousy between Coscia and Fini was enough to prevent it. There was a crown faction, but it had no real stability. A great sensation had been produced at court by the fact that the duke of Savoy had at last reached his ends.

Capello concludes from this, that at Rome everything was to be obtained with the help of time : all that was necessary was quiet ; a man's zeal in his own cause should never be allowed to break out into complaints.

Capello now enters more minutely into the interests peculiarly Venetian. First he again lays it down that Venice must assume a more imposing and dignified attitude at Rome. He again explains how the pope was to be dealt with. The aim should always be insensibly to gain his good will by ecclesiastical concessions. He then enters into the consideration of temporal affairs, particularly of trade. It is evident that in the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Roman state very earnestly devoted its thoughts to commercial and manufacturing improvements.

These inhabitants of Dulcignote and Ragusa carried on a trade with Ancona, which was not at all agreeable to the Venetians. In particular they imported thither a great deal of wax, an article formerly brought from Venice, and which now began to be manufactured also in the ecclesiastical states.

Innocent XII began the building of S. Michel a Ripa : Clement XI. enlarged it : it was now become important for the woollen and silk manufactures. "Dalla figura d'un' ospitale, dove per carità alimentavano molti giovani, fu convertita con amplificazione di sito e con grandissima giunta di fabbriche in una casa di commercio, nella quale a presente si travagliano le manifatture di lana e di seta." The cloth of S. Michel already rivalled that of France, and was exported by way of Ancona to Turkey and Spain. I will extract the whole passage. "In questo sontuoso edificio vi si è introdotto la fabrica degl' arazzi con egual perfezione di quelli che si travagliano in Fiandra et in Francia : e vi è fondato un lanificio, nel quale vi entra la lana et escano i panni perfettionati di tutto punto. La fabrica di seta dipendente da questo luogo s'esercita in più contrade di Roma, e quelle della lana sono in tanti generi divise, con idea d'adattarle all' uso del paese per haverne con un spaccio facile il pronto ritratto. Si fabricano in S. Michele tutti li panni per le milizie, li scoti per servitio de' monasterj, le tele di tutti i generi per il vestiario delle ciurme, e li panni sono divisi in varii generi che restano distribuiti per una data quantità, con obbligo alli mercanti di farne l'esito. Di recente si è dato anco mano alla fabrica di panni colorati ad uso di Francia, che passano in Ancona e Sinigaglia per concambio alle mercantie che vengono di Turchia. In somma, la casa di S. Michele è una delle più vaste idee che possa esser compita da un principe grande, e sarebbe sicuramente l'emporio di tutta l'Italia, se non fosse costituita in una città dove ad ogn' altra cosa si pensa che al commercio et alla mercatura, essendo diretti questi gran capitali da una congregazione di tre cardinali, tra quali vi è il segretario di stato, sempre occupato e divertito ne' più gravi affari del governo. Con tutto ciò questa casa di commercio sussiste con floridezza, e colli suoi travagli s'alimentano migliaia di persone ricavandosi dalle sue manifatture pronto il ritratto. La fabrica degl' arazzi si mantiene da se stessa, perchè si lavora ad uso de' particolari, et il maggior effetto di questi lavori si è quello desiderabile a tutti li stati, che il danaro non esca ad impinguare l'estere nationi."

[The manufacture of hangings has been introduced into this sumptuous edifice, and carried to as high a perfection as in France and Flanders : a wool-factory too has been established there, into which the wool enters in the raw state, and comes out in cloth of the most finished quality. The manufacture of silk depending on this place is carried on in several districts of the Roman states, and that of wool is divided into various kinds adapted to the usage of the country, so as to have a prompt supply without an inconvenient occupation of space. There are manufactured in S. Michel all kinds of cloths for the soldiery, for the use of the monasteries, and for the crews of the galleys ; and they are divided into various classes, which are distributed in a given quantity, with an obligation on the part of the merchants to dispose of them. Of late they have also begun to make coloured cloths in the French style, which are put off in Ancona and Sinigaglia, in exchange for the goods imported from Turkey. In fine, the establishment of S. Michel is one of the grandest conceptions that could be worked out by a great sovereign, and it would certainly be the emporium of all Italy, were it not placed in a city where they think of anything rather than of trade and commerce ; the great capital of this institution being managed by a congregation of three cardinals, one of whom is the secretary of state, whose attention is continually engrossed by the gravest concerns of government. For all that, the establishment is in a flourishing condition, and supports thousands of persons, its manufactures realizing a prompt return. The manufacture of tapestry is maintained by itself, because it is for private customers : the best effect of these works is that so very desirable one for all states, that the money is not sent out of the country to enrich foreign nations.]

How curious to find a Venetian advising his native city to copy a manufacturing institution of the pope's ! Already, too, establishments for intellectual culture had been formed, which he also recommends for imitation. "Oltre le arti meccaniche vi sono pure le arti liberali, che servono ad ornamento ed utilità dello stato. Il solo nome di Roma ed il credito degli antichi suoi monumenti attrae a se stessa molte estere nation et in particolare gl'oltramontani. Sono in quella città istituite molte academie, dove oltre lo studio delle belle lettere non meno fiorisce quello della pittura e scoltura : oltre quella di Campidoglio, che sussiste sotto la protezione di quel rettaggio d'autorità esercitata con tanto credito ne' secoli passati da quella insigne repubblica. Ve ne sono pure anco dell' altre instituite e governate dall' estere nationi, tra le quali si distingue quella che sussiste col nome della corona di Francia\*." [Besides the mechanical, there are the liberal arts, which serve for the adornment and advantage of the state. The mere name of Rome, and the fame of its ancient monuments, attract to it many foreign nations, and particularly the ultramontanes. There have been instituted in this city many academies, in which the study of painting and sculpture flourishes, no less than that of polite letters ; besides that of the Campidoglio, which subsists under the protection of the remnant of that commanding in-

[\* I suspect that this passage is incorrectly pointed.—TRANSLATOR.]

fluence so nobly exercised in past ages by that illustrious republic, there are others also founded and governed by foreign nations, among which, that which bears the name of the crown of France holds a distinguished place.]

The author thinks that a similar academy should be established in Venice. That city also possessed the finest monuments of antiquity. Even Bologna had been able to attempt something of the kind with great success!

There were associated in those days with the tendencies pointed out by Correr some others of a similar kind, of which other documents give us an account.

159. *Osservazioni della presente situazione dello stato ecclesiastico con alcuni progetti utili al governo civile ed economico per ristabilire l'erario della santa camera apostolica dalli passati e correnti suoi disordini.* (MS. Rom.) [Observations on the present situation of the ecclesiastical states, with some useful projects of civil and financial administration to repair the past and present deficiencies of the apostolic treasury.]

In the beginning of the eighteenth century the nations of the whole south of Europe arrived at the conviction that they were in a bad condition, that they had been unwarrantably neglected, and a craving need was felt for the introduction of a better state of things. How much was written and devised in Spain for the re-establishment of the finances and of trade. The "Testamento politico d'un accademico Fiorentino," Colonia, 1734, a work setting forth the means by which trade, agriculture, and the exchequer might be ameliorated,—is still well thought of in the ecclesiastical states. It is indeed a well-intentioned, able, and striking work, full of sound observations. But these efforts were not confined to private individuals. We find in the collections of those times a host of projects, calculations, and plans to the same end, of a more or less official character. The *Osservazioni* before us are of this class; they were intended for Clement XII. himself, and belong to the same period as the Political Testament. The author makes it his special business to point out the disorders and abuses which called for abolition.

After dwelling awhile on the melancholy fact that so many assassinations took place in the ecclesiastical states (a full thousand yearly, even exclusively of Rome and the four legations), and urging the necessity of inquiring what preventive measures were taken by other sovereigns, the author comes to the question of finance. He states the yearly deficit to be 120,000 scudi, and he makes the following proposals:—1. The discharge of the officers who drew heavy pay without even residing in their garrisons. 2. Retrenchment in the expenditure of the palace. 3. The direct administration of the dogana by the government instead of farming it out,—a system which he moreover condemns on the ground that the farmers opposed the prohibition of foreign manufactures. 4. The restriction of the influence of subordinate functionaries, who had an interest in the augmentation of the taxes. He remarks that the annona could not maintain itself, because there was now so much importation from Turkey and from the North, that the corn-dealer could not bear up against the com-

petition. What enrages him beyond measure is, that so much money should be sent out of the country for cattle, oil, and wine, all of them articles produced in superfluity at home. What did it signify, though they cost somewhat dearer, so that money, "the blood of the state," was in due circulation? The shareholders in the monti, who drew their interest without residing in the country, should at least be taxed, as was the case with the absentee feudal proprietors in the neighbouring kingdom of Naples.

He regards the state of the March, which was yearly decreasing in population, as particularly deplorable. He ascribes it especially to the very heavy burthens imposed on the exportation of grain. This was altogether prohibited between the months of June and October, and in other months it was only allowed on the payment of tolls, the amount of which were of trifling importance to the treasury, whilst the effect of them was to make the foreigner prefer seeking cheaper corn elsewhere. The fair of Sinigaglia proved mischievous; it made the surrounding districts dependent on foreign parts. For evidence of this, one need but visit Urbino, the March, and Umbria, where neither arts nor prosperity were any longer to be found, but every thing was in deep decay.

The author conjures the pope to appoint a congregation of a few but chosen members, who should search out means for remedying these evils; above all, to select only able and honest functionaries, and to chastise those of a different character. "Such," he concludes, "are the hopes of the subjects of your holiness."

160. *Procedimento per lo stato ecclesiastico.* (MS. Rom.)—Autograph instructions for state functionaries.

We see that here, too, projects were conceived for the introduction of the mercantile system which was then in such high esteem in the rest of Europe. Had they been but carried out with spirit, perhaps a certain impulse would have been given to the trade and manufactures of the land. But the misfortune of the Roman administration was, that each succeeding pope so gladly pursued measures the very opposite to those of his predecessor. An example of this is afforded us by the document before us.

The importation of foreign cloth from Venice, Napoli, and, above all, from Germany, increased in the year 1719 to that degree, that Clement XI. was induced to prohibit it absolutely. The two decrees to that effect—namely, of August 7, 1719, and August 1, 1720—are mentioned also by Vergani (*Della importanza del nuovo sistema di finanza*). Vergani, however, undoubtedly errs in saying that they produced no effect. As early as 1728, Pietro Capello noticed the improvement that had taken place in Roman industry. In this *Procedimento*, composed under Clement XII., it is expressly averred, that manufactures had greatly increased in direct consequence of that prohibition. It was confirmed by Innocent XIII. and by Benedict XIII. "In pochi anni si crecessero a proprie spese de' particolari in molte città e terre dello stato fabbriche nuove di lanificii, di valehe, di spurghi, di tintorie et altre, in specie a Roma, Narni, Perugia, Rieti, Tivoli, Alatri, Veroli, Segni,

Subiaco, S. Severino, Giulianello." [In the course of a few years there were erected in many towns and districts of the state, at the cost of private individuals, new manufactories of woollens, . . . . . (?) dye-stuffs, and so forth, particularly in Rome, Narni, &c.]

But a congregation appointed by Clement XII. in the year 1755 was induced to withdraw this prohibition, and again to admit the importation of cloth at a duty of 12 per cent. in the provinces and 20 per cent. in Rome. The consequence was, —at least, as asserted by the document before us, —that the recently established manufactories were ruined. Our MS. calculates that a sum of 100,000 scudi was sent out of the country for cloth. It expresses a desire for the renewal of the prohibition, and for its extension also to silk goods; but I do not find that this wish was realized.

161. *Altri procedimenti di commercio.* (MS. Rom.)

Confirmation of the momentary rise of manufactures since the issuing of the above prohibition: —the old complaints against the prohibition of exportation. A multitude of things came from Tuscany; but if any one should think of shipping one bushel of corn thither, he would bring upon himself confiscation of his property, excommunication, nay, loss of life. Moreover, an extreme confusion of the currency had gained ground in the ecclesiastical states as well as in Germany. The papal coin was too heavy, though Innocent XI. and Clement XI. had issued some of a lighter form. A great quantity of foreign money, on which much loss was sustained, got into circulation. The pope was urged on his part also to coin lighter money, as he had already begun to do with regard to the zecchini.

Several other documents of the same tenor lie before us. To give abstracts of them would lead us into too minute detail. It is enough to remark, that the ecclesiastical states participate in the same views and principles as to trade, manufactures, and finance, which had taken hold of the rest of Europe, though they were prevented from ripening into any considerable result by circumstances, by the nature of the constitution and incurable abuses, by the listlessness of the aristocracy, the charms of a life of mere enjoyment without any ulterior object, and the "dolce far niente." Winckelmann, the German, was enraptured when he arrived in Italy shortly after this period. The habits of life there dawned upon him like an emancipation from the busy activity and the strict subordination of his native regions. The scholar's views were right in reference to himself; he had need of studious leisure; he wanted to draw freer breath; and these were things attainable for the moment and for the individual. But a nation can never become flourishing and mighty, otherwise than by putting forth its entire strength.

162. *Relazione 28 9bre 1737 del N. U. Aloise Moenigo IV K<sup>e</sup> e Pro<sup>ce</sup> ritornato di Roma.*—(Arch. Ven.) [Report of the embassy to Rome of Aloise Moenigo IV.]

This document acquaints us with the obstacles thrown by the government in the way of commercial prosperity. Moenigo is by no means a caval-

ier: he admits the increase of trade in Ancona, and even expresses some anxiety on the subject: he thinks the administration of justice in a sound condition, particularly in the Rota; but he declares the administration to be rotten from the foundation: falsification of documents was the order of the day; the expenditure was greater than the income; there was no prospect of better things. Pope Clement had resorted to the lotto; but the ambassador pronounces it pernicious in the highest degree ("l'evidente estermínio e ruina de' popoli").

His opinion of pope Clement XII. is, that he was more distinguished for the accomplishments of a cavalier and of a stately prelate, than for the talent or the energy to bear the heavy burthen of the pontificate. He describes him and his government only in the few following lines. "Il pontificato presente influisce piuttosto le nobili intraprese e la magnificenza, tale essendo stata sempre l'inclinazione del papa sino dalla sua gioventù, e tuttavia nell'età sua cadente e rovinosa sostenuta dal genio e dagli esempi del card<sup>e</sup> Corsini nipote, che più ancora si distingue nell'inclinazione per le belle arti e per il modo affabile di trattare che per un fondo di vera sufficienza negli affari del governo. La serie dei successi nel cadente pontificato, in cui per lo più ha governato l'Eminenza Sua, rende chiara testimonianza a questa verità, e si può dire che i dissapori violenti occorsi quasi con tutte le corti avrebbero dovuto opprimere il card<sup>e</sup> nipote, se egli non fosse stato sostenuto da un credito fondato in un cuore disinteressato e mancante piuttosto per difetto di talento che di cattiva volontà. Vero è che Roma non senza in lui la premura con cui vuole in ogni caso disporre di tutti gli affari politici, geloso sino all'eccesso della sua autorità, e quindi aver egli allontanato dal ministero il card<sup>e</sup> Riviera, il più capace di tutti per gli affari di stato, ed aver ivi sostituito il card<sup>e</sup> Firau per disporne a piacere e senza contrasto. Per altro, sia inclinazione, sia virtù, certa cosa è che durante tutto il pontificato di Clemente XII nel corso di sette anni con la disposizione assoluta delli tesori pontificj la casa Corsini non ha aumentate le rendite sue patrimoniali di 8 m. scudi annui, esempi ben raro." [The present pontificate chiefly affects noble enterprises and magnificence, for such has always been the pope's taste from his youth, and it is still fostered in his declining and decrepit age by the mental character and the example of his nephew, cardinal Corsini, who is more distinguished for his fondness for the fine arts, and for his affable manner of dealing, than for real capacity in matters of government. This truth is clearly evidenced by the series of events which have taken place in the declining pontificate, in which his eminence hes for the most part had the rule; and we may be assured that the violent dissensions which have occurred with almost all the courts, must have overwhelmed the cardinal nephew, if he had not been upheld by the credit granted to the disinterestedness of his heart, which failed rather from defective talents than from ill intentions. Rome, however, does not excuse him for the eagerness with which he insists in every case on disposing of all political matters, and his excessive jealousy on the subject of his own authority, in consequence of which he removed from the ministry cardinal Riviera, the ablest of all in affairs of state, and put cardinal Firau in his place, in order that he might himself do as he

pleased without contradiction. In other respects, whether it were from inclination or from virtue, certain it is, that during the whole pontificate of Clement XII., in the seven years they have had the absolute disposal of the papal treasures, the Corsini family have not increased their patrimonial estates by 8000 scudi,—a very rare example.]

The pope's nephew was again possessed of great power, though he did not enrich himself. The secretary of state was wholly dependent on him, nor might any one venture to rely on the expressions of the latter, if he was not sure of the nephew.

Mocenigo passes from the home affairs to the relations with foreign courts, which, as already hinted at, were daily becoming more difficult. I will extract the whole of this portion, as important towards the history of the ecclesiastico-legal controversies.

“La corte di Napoli anela continuamente all'abolimento della solita investitura con argomenti legali, istorici e naturali: nè sarebbe difficile che vi riuscisse, quando il re Don Carlo acconsentisse ad una solenne rinunzia di ogni sua pretesa sopra Castro e Ronciglione. Ma questo non è il tutto: mentre i Napolitani condotti dalle scuole dei loro giuriconsulti sono talmente avversi alla corte di Roma che ogni cosa studiano per sottrarsi dalla dipendenza del papa nel temporale: e quindi ogni giorno escono nuovi regolamenti e nuove pretese così ben sostenute dai scrittori loro valenti che la corte Romana n'è più che mai imbarazzata e già si vede nella necessità di rilasciarne una gran parte per mettere in salvo il resto. Il punto si è che queste riforme tendono principalmente ad impinguare l'erario regio e quindi a scemare le rendite e l'autorità pontificia in quegli stati. Il padre Galliani, uomo di profonda dottrina ed erudizione, è in Roma il grande propugnatore per la corte di Napoli, tanto più efficace quanto nelle sue lunghe consuetudini in quella metropoli ha penetrato nel più fondo dei misteri del papato, e provveduto d'una memoria felicissima tutto ha presente per prevalersene nell'opportunità.

“Il grande appoggio della corte di Napoli è quella di Spagna, dove l'irritamento parve tempo fa giunto all'eccesso e dette occasioni a quelle strepitose proposizioni di riforma della dataria e ristabilimento del juspatronato regio, delle quali ebbi più volte l'onore di trattenero Vra Serenità nei riverenti miei disparei, e che ora si vedono già concluse con aggiustamento più utile per la corte di Spagna che per quella di Roma.

“La corte di Torino con costante direzione nel maneggio degli affari politici, protetta dalle bolle e concessioni di Benedetto XIII., non si è mai lasciata rilasciare un momento da quei fondamenti che per essa sono inconcussi e troppo facilmente attaccati del presente pontificato. Il card<sup>le</sup> Albani, uomo per sagacità e risoluzione senza pari, ha sin ora sostenuto con tutta l'efficacia le ragioni di quella corte, a segno che non lasciò mai giungere ad effettuazione le minacce fatte dal pontefice presente, e secondo tutte le apparenze ne deve sortire fastoso col successore.

“Anco la corte di Francia pati alcuni motivi di querela per le vicende della Polonia: ma furono cose di sì poco momento che può ella sola contarsi affezionata e stabile al presente pontificato, e ciò perchè negli affari ecclesiastici poco o nulla più

resta da discutere con Roma, osservandosi puntualmente dall'una e dall'altra parte i concordati e la prammatica, ma principalmente perchè la corte di Roma va con essa più cauta che con qualsivoglia altro nell'introdurre, sostenere e resistere alle novità che intervenir potessero. Il sempre mai lodevole card<sup>le</sup> Fleuri, grand' esemplare nel ministero politico, ha saputo tener sempre soggetta la politica alla religione senza mai confondere l'autorità spirituale con la temporale: e questo fa che durante il suo ministero la corte di Roma sia sì trattennuta nei limiti devoti e quasi con una perpetua condescendenza a segno che l'avrebbe costituito l'arbitro di tutte le sue differenze, se gli altri potentati non avessero temuta la grande equità e l'imparzialità di quell'eroe nel ministero politico.

“Gravissimi furono i sconcerti, tuttavia non appianati ancora, con la corte di Portogallo, dove il carattere di quel re fa che acquistano giornalmente vigore ed insistenza le sue pretese quanto più si contrastano: e per dirla con chiarezza, le differenze insorte col Portogallo e con la Spagna avendo da qualche tempo sospese le rendite opulenti di que' vasti regni, ha quasi scompagnata la corte e la città di Roma, dove migliaia di famiglie da qualche anno in qua sono ridotte dall'opulenza alla povertà e tante altre dalla sufficienza alla miseria. Questo fa che la disposizione d'infiniti benefecij in Spagna, in Portogallo e nel regno di Napoli rimanendo sospesa, anzi correndo apparenza che rimaner possa all'autorità temporale di que' regnanti, gran numero dei loro sudditi secolari e regolari altre volte consecrati a sostenere la corte di Roma presentemente l'abbandonano, e gran numero ancora dei Romani stessi vengono condotti a cultivar le pomezze straniere dall'avidità e necessità loro. Particolare e curiosa è stata la condotta della corte di Roma verso le pretese di questo principe di aver il cardinale nato il patriarca di Lisbona. Fu considerato da quel re come condizione indispensabile dell'accomodamento delle vertenze che corrono tra le due corti, di godere una tal distinzione, ed il papa, usando in ciò dell'antico costume Romano, si è dimostrato alcune volte del tutto alieno, altre quasi propenso di soddisfare le premure del re. La cosa non è ancora decisa, ed in ogni maniera che venghi consumata fornirà argomenti non indifferenti di discorsi e forse di querele tra gli altri principi.

“Altro volte il pretendente faceva un'oggetto massimo della corte di Roma, la quale si lusingava molto sopra l'appoggio delle corti di Francia e Spagna, dacchè si riunirono ambedue nella casa di Borbon: ma in oggi scopertasi la gelosia tra la linea primogenita e la cadetta e conosciutosi che la regina di Spagna non ha veramente altre mire che l'ingrandimento dei propri figli, l'esule pretendente e la degna sua famiglia divengono presto a molti oggetti più grave ancora che di conforto.

“L'imperatore ha fatto e fa tuttavia tremare il presente ministero di Roma, vedendosi egli stesso dar mano ad introdurre nei suoi stati d'Italia quelle riforme d'abusi che devono col tempo servire di esempio sommamente pregiudiziale ai Romani: e ciò ch'è peggio per loro, appena ha introdotto le sue truppe nella Toscana, che ivi pure si veggono incamminate le medesime direzioni, a segno che di tutti gli stati esteri al dominio Romano non se ne vede pur uno continuar ciecamente sul piede dei secoli passati. La corte di Vienna professando



tempo fa acri motivi di querela per le distinzioni usate a Spagnoli, poco amati dal popolo Romano, si è totalmente attratto il favor d'esso popolo in Roma e nello stato sotto il pontificato presente col maneggio accortissimo de' suoi ministri ed emissarj, ch'è cosa maravigliosa l'udire in universale il popolo Romano dichiarato in favore dell' imperatore. Tuttavia in oggi tanta è la forza dell'interesse della famiglia Corsini che non vi è sacrificio che non si faccia affine di guadagnarsi l'amicizia di Cesare : di che l'Eccell<sup>to</sup> Senato ne ha abbondanti prove nelle direzioni de' negozj vertenti."

[The court of Naples struggles incessantly for the abolition of the accustomed investiture by arguments from law, from history, and from the nature of things ; nor would it be very unlikely to succeed, if the king Don Carlo would consent solemnly to renounce all pretensions to Castro and Ronciglione. But this is not all ; for the Neapolitans, instructed in the school of their jurisconsults, are so averse to the court of Rome, that they try every means to withdraw from their dependence on the pope in temporal things ; hence every day produces new regulations and new claims, so well supported by their able writers, that the court of Rome is more than ever embarrassed, and already finds itself compelled to let go a part that it may not lose the whole. The fact is, these reforms tend to enrich the royal treasury, and hence to diminish the papal revenues and influence in those states. Padre Galliani, a man of profound erudition, is the great champion of the court of Naples in Rome, and his efficiency is the greater, inasmuch as by long practical experience in that metropolis he has fathomed the secrets of the papacy to the very bottom, and being endowed with a very happy memory, he has everything at hand to use as occasion requires.

[The great prop of the court of Naples is that of Spain, where irritation appears for some time to have risen to excess, causing those boisterous outcries for reform in the dataria, and for the re-establishment of the royal right of patronage, of which I have several times had the honour to make mention to your serenity in my respectful dispatches, and which now seem to have been put a stop to by an arrangement more advantageous to the court of Spain than to that of Rome.

[The court of Turin, in its whole course of policy, protected by the bulls and concessions of Benedict XIII., has never for a moment parted from those bases, which it now finds too easily assailed by the present pontificate. Cardinal Albani, a man of unequalled sagacity and resolution, has till now upheld the cause of that court with complete efficacy, inasmuch that he never allowed the threats of the present pope to be put in force, and according to all appearances he will carry it with a high hand with the pope's successor.

[The court of France too had some grounds of quarrel on account of the affairs of Poland ; but they were of so little moment, that this court may be accounted the only one well disposed and steadfast to the present pontificate, and this because its ecclesiastical affairs present little or no matter for discussion with Rome, both sides punctually observing the concordat and the pragmatique, but chiefly because the court of Rome deals more cautiously with the French court than with any other in introducing, upholding, and resisting

whatever innovations may present themselves. The ever to be extolled cardinal Fleury, that great and exemplary statesman, has always known how to keep politics subordinate to religion, without ever confounding the spiritual with the temporal authority : in consequence of this, the court of Rome has always during his ministry confined itself within due limits, and observed, so to speak, a continual condescension, inasmuch that it would have constituted him the umpire of all its difficulties, if the other potentates had not feared the justice and impartiality of that hero in statesmanship.

[Very serious were the disagreements, not yet adjusted, with the court of Portugal, the character of the king giving daily increased vigour and intensity to his pretensions in proportion as they are opposed : and to speak plainly, the difficulties with Portugal and Spain having for some time suspended the very abundant income from those vast realms, have almost broken up the court and city of Rome, where thousands of families have within the last few years been reduced from opulence to poverty, and as many more from competence to destitution. Hence, as the disposal of an immense number of benefices in Spain and Portugal and the kingdom of Naples remains suspended, and as there is rather a probability that they will fall permanently under the temporal authority of the respective rulers, a great number of their subjects, secular and regular, formerly devoted to the court of Rome, now abandon it ; and great numbers besides of the Romans themselves are induced by their cupidity and their need to cultivate the favour of foreign powers. Singular and curious was the conduct of the court of Rome with respect to the claims of that sovereign to have the cardinal his son made patriarch of Lisbon. It was considered by the king as an indispensable requisite for the accommodation of the matters current between the two courts, that his own should enjoy such a distinction, and the pope, adhering in this to ancient Roman usage, sometimes appeared altogether averse to the proposal, and at others almost eager to satisfy the demands of the king. The matter is not yet decided, and in whatever way it may turn out, it will furnish no insignificant subject of discussion, and perhaps of quarrels among the other sovereigns.

[Formerly the pretender was an object of the highest interest to the court of Rome, which flattered itself much with hopes of the support of the courts of France and Spain, since the two had become united in the house of Bourbon : but in this day, since the jealousy between the eldest and the junior branch has been disclosed, and since it has come to be known that the queen of Spain has really no other object in view than the aggrandisement of her own sons, the exiled pretender and his excellent family are almost become to many rather a burthen than hopeful objects.

[The emperor has caused and still causes the present ministry of Rome to tremble, being seen himself to set the example of introducing into his Italian states those reforms of abuses which must in time furnish a precedent highly prejudicial to the Romans : and what is worse for them, no sooner did his troops enter Tuscany than the same measures were entered on there, so that of all the states beyond the dominion of Rome not one con-

tinues to walk blindly in the ways of past ages. The court of Vienna having some time since very hotly taken up the question of the distinctions conferred on the Spaniards, who are little liked by the Roman people, completely won for itself the favour of the people in the city and in the states under the present pontificate, through the very judicious management of its ministers and emissaries; so that, marvellous to relate, the whole Roman people has declared in favour of the emperor. At the same time, so strong is the interest of the Corsini family in the present day, that they omit no sacrifice to gain the emperor's friendship, of which the most excellent senate has had abundant proofs in the current course of affairs.]

163. *Relazione del N. H. Franc. Venier K<sup>r</sup> ritornato ambasciat. da Roma, 1744, 24 Apr.* [Report of Francesco Venier's embassy to Rome.]

Unfortunately only two loose leaves relating to Benedict XIV.

Venier affirms that the cardinals had never really wished to have this pope: "inalzato anzi dalle sue rare virtù, dalle vicende di quel conclave, dalle sue note lunghezze, che da un' efficace favore de' Cardinali che lo esaltavano. Fu opera sola del divino spirito" [his elevation was due rather to his rare virtues, to the vicissitudes of this conclave, and to its well known protracted length, than to any active good will of the cardinals who promoted him. It was the sole work of the Holy Spirit].

"Il papa," he goes on to say, "dotato di cuore aperto e sincero trasecurò sempre ogn' una di quelle arti che si chiamano romanesche, e lo stesso carattere che fece conoscere senza riserva allora che era prelato, fu quello del card<sup>l</sup> Lambertini e si può dire quello del papa."

[The pope, endowed with an open and honest heart, always eschewed every one of those acts which are called Romish; and the same character he unreservedly exhibited when prelato was that of cardinal Lambertini, and by all means that of the pope.]

164. *Relazione di Aluise Mocenigo IV Kar<sup>r</sup> ritornato ambasciat. di Roma, 1750, 14 Apr.* [Report of the embassy of Aluise Mocenigo IV. to Rome.]

This is not the ambassador of 1737, who was the son of Aluise Mocenigo the third; the ambassador of 1750 was the son of Aluise Mocenigo the first.

Unfortunately he contented himself with filling three leaves: I will extract the most important passages in full, seeing the scantiness of authentic information respecting the court of Rome at this period.

"Il regnante Benedetto XIV non solo non è mai stato nell'impiego di nunziature presso alcuna corte, ma nè pur ha sostenuto alcuna legazione: egli essendo vescovo d'Ancona è stato fatto cardinale, et essendo arcivescovo di Bologna fu assonato al supremo grado in cui regna. Possede per pratica fatta sin dagli anni suoi più freschi l'ordine della curia, e non se ne scorda certamente, oltre di che si pieca d'esser perfetto canonista et ottimo legale, non ammettendo egli in ciò differenza dall' esser suo di decretalista, studio che non lascia al di d'oggi ancora. Cercio egli è parzialis-

simo del suo uditore monsr Argvilliers, perche si dirige colle stesse dottrine. Conformandosi dunque le massime del papa con quelle del suo uditore, si rende questi nel pontificato presente uomo d'importanza, quando particolarmente per l'esercizio suo, ch'è ristretto alle sole civili ispezioni, non avrebbe altro che il vantaggio di vedere in ogni giorno il monarca ed ora entra a dir parere negli affari di stato. Per dir vero, egli è uomo di probità, ma di nessuna esperienza negli interessi dei principi, austero ed inaccessibile, scarso di corrispondenza forastiere non solo ma ancora tra li stessi palatini. Per l'aura di favore ch'ei gode sembra che contrasti al card<sup>l</sup> Valenti segretario di stato l'accesso vantaggioso presso del papa, che la gran mente di quel porporato, quando voglia gli preme et a lui convenga, in mezzo alle più difficili determinazioni e massime sempre possiede ed ottiene. Ed eccomi al caso di superfluità e repetitione. Di questo soggetto, perspicace nella cultura degli affari politici e di stato, ministro d'esperienza acorto e maneroso, avran detto quello conviene li miei ecc<sup>mi</sup> predecessori, e circa questo non altro posso aggiungere se non ch'egli col nuovo posto di camerlengo di S. Chiesa, conferitogli da S. S<sup>a</sup> in tempo della mia ambasciata, ha fermato anche dopo la vita del pontefice quel ben onorifico e lucroso posto, che lo renderà ancora necessario e ricercato quando forse dopo di aver dimessa la secretaria di stato l'emulazione, l'invidia e li mal contenti avrebbero potuto spiegar la loro forza ed il loro sdegno. Va ora esente da questi sfoghi, non perchè sia da ogni parte circondato: ma sa egli far fronte e scusar ogni assalto: se a lui giova, eimenta: in caso diverso non cura. Oltre al nominato uditore del papa, poco o niente amico suo vi è ancora monsr Millo datario, con il quale benchè a mio tempo apparissero riconciliati in amicizia, in sostanza non lo erano, ed il detto datario è piuttosto del partito dell' uditore. Questi tre soggetti si possono dir quelli che nel presente pontificato abbino ingerenza ed intelligenza negli affari dello stato. Ma se li due prelati sono accetti per l'esposto di sopra ed il card<sup>l</sup> sa rendersi necessario per le tante ragioni ben note, però arrivano dei momenti che il papa ascolta gli uni e l'altro e poscia tutto a sua volontà e talento differentemente risolve. Per questo ancora, se vi sono degli altri ben distinti soggetti tra li palatini, non contano gran cosa nel presente pontificato o almeno in rapporto ai gravi affari dello stato. Uno è il card<sup>le</sup> l'Assoneti, studiosissimo ed amante delle scienze, pratico ministro per le nunziature sostenute, e non ha altra ingerenza che nella secretaria dei brevi. Del giovane prelato monsr Marcantonio Colonna maggiorduomo il zio card<sup>l</sup> Girolamo promaggiorduomo è uno tra li prediletti del papa: ma egli non si dà pena d'altro che di quelle cose che interessino le particolari sue brame. Il segretario alle zifre monsr Antonio Rota, conosciuto dal papa e dall' universale di tutto il sagra collegio ed a parte dalle congregazioni coram sac<sup>ti</sup>ssimo per un' uomo della più scelta politica et un pensamiento il più fino, che per l'aggiustatezza dell' estero, dove abbia ad esservi un tratto d'accortezza, altro non ha migliore, talmente conosciuto necessario che con distinto modo si ammette anche podagroso nelle occorrenti congregazioni, non ha però maggiori ispezioni che quelle del suo carico o le avventizie."

[The reigning pope, Benedict XIV., not only has never been employed in a nunciature to any court, but has never even discharged any legation; when bishop of Ancona he was made cardinal, and when archbishop of Bologna he was raised to the supreme rank in which he reigns. He is versed by long practice from his earliest years in the routine of the curia, and he certainly does not forget it; besides which, he piques himself on being a finished canonist and an excellent lawyer, and makes no less pretensions as a decretalist, his studies in which capacity he keeps up to this day. For this reason he is very partial to his auditor, Monsignor Argivilliers, because he acts upon the same principles. This conformity of opinion between the pope and his auditor renders the latter a man of importance during the present pontificate, whereas, in the mere discharge of his office, which is confined to civil inspections only, he would enjoy no other advantage than that of daily seeing the sovereign, and now he is admitted to speak his opinion in affairs of state. To say the truth, he is a man of probity, but of no experience in foreign affairs, austere and inaccessible, sparing of his intercourse, not with inferior people only, but with men of the foremost rank. From the high favour he enjoys, he seems to dispute with cardinal Valenti, secretary of state, the advantageous footing with the pope, which the great mind of that dignitary, whenever he is so pleased, always obtains for him in all occasions of most importance and difficulty. But I am running into superfluity and repetition. My very excellent predecessor will have told you all that was requisite about this luminous politician and statesman, this experienced and courteous minister, and I have nothing to add respecting him, but that the place of chamberlain of the holy church has been newly conferred on him by his holiness during my embassy, and that he has had confirmed to him, even after the pope's lifetime, that very honourable and lucrative post, which will render him still necessary and sought after, even though, when he shall have lost the secretaryship of state, rivalry, envy, and ill-will should seek to try their strength to his disadvantage. At present he is exempt from these annoyances; not that he is guarded on all sides, but he knows how to make head and ward off every assault: if it suits him, he engages; if not, he gives no heed. Besides the pope's before-named auditor, there is also (no great friend to Valenti) Monsignor Millo, the datary; though these two were outwardly friends in my time, they were not so in reality, and the datary is rather of the auditor's party. These three persons may be said to be all who in this pontificate are privy to and participate in affairs of state. But if the two prelates are in favour for the reasons above, and the cardinal knows how to make himself necessary upon so many well-known grounds, still there are moments when the pope hears them all, and afterwards decides differently from them of his own will and device. Again, if there are other very distinguished men among the leading personages, they are of no great weight in the present pontificate, at least as regards matters of state. One such is cardinal Passionei, a most ardent lover of the sciences, a minister of experience from the nunciatures he has filled, and yet he has no voice except in the secretaryship of briefs. Cardinal Girolamo, promaggiorduomo, uncle of the young prelate,

Monsignor Marcantonio Colonna, the maggiorduomo, is one of the pope's favourites; but he takes no trouble about any matters but such as concern his private desires. The secretary of accounts, Monsignor Antonio Rota, known by the pope and the whole sacred college, and especially by the congregazioni *coram sanctissimo*, for a man of the choicest policy and the most subtle shrewdness, so that for any foreign arrangement, where a stroke of cleverness were necessary, his better there could not be, though his indispensable value is so well known that his presence is specially required in the congregations notwithstanding his gout, yet has no more important matters under his control than those of his office or casualties.]

165. *Girolamo Zulian Relazione di Roma 15 Dicembre 1783.* [Girolamo Zulian's report on Rome.]

Towards the close of the republic, the disposition towards this kind of political business declined.

The reports became briefer; the observations they contain are not to be compared for penetration and comprehensiveness with those of the older reports.

Zulian, whose report is the last I have met with, no longer treats at all of politics, of foreign affairs, or of the personal characteristics of Pius VI: he confines himself merely to a few leading points of the internal administration.

The papal treasury, he tells us, showed a considerable deficit, which was further increased by the extraordinary expenditure, the building of the sacristy of St. Peter's, and the works in the Pontine marshes, which together might have already cost two millions: attempts were made to cover this deficit by anticipations and creation of paper money. Moreover, much money went out of the country. "Le canapi, le sete, le lane che si estraggono dallo stato, non compensano li pesci salati, li piombi, le droghe e la immensa serie delle manifatture che si importano in esso da Genova specialmente e dalla Francia. Il gran mezzo di bilanciar la nazione dovrebbe essere il commercio de' grani: ma la necessità di regolarlo per mezzo di tratte affine di proveder sempre l'annona di Roma a prezzi bassi lo rende misero e spesso dannoso. Quindi resta oppressa l'agricoltura e spesso succedono le scarsezze del genere che obbligano a comprare il formento fuori dello stato a prezzi gravissimi. E comune opinione pertanto che questo commercio cumulativamente preso pochissimo profitto dia alla nazione. Resta essa debitrice con tutte quasi le piazze colle quali è in relazione, e da ciò deriva in gran parte quella rapida estrazione di monete che mette in discredito le cedole e forma la povertà estrema della nazione. Si considera che il maggior vantaggio di Roma sta colla piazza di Venezia per li varj generi che lo stato pontificio tramanda a quelle di vostra Serenità." [The cordage, silks, and woollens, exported from the state, do not counterbalance the salt-fish, lead, drugs, and manufactures in immense quantities which are imported into it from France, and particularly from Genoa. The grand means of adjusting the balance of the national commerce should be the corn trade; but the necessity of regulating

it artificially, so as always to provide for the supply of Rome with corn at a low price, makes the trade a languishing and often a losing one. Thus agriculture is oppressed, and dearths frequently occur of such a nature as to make it necessary to purchase corn from abroad at very heavy prices. Accordingly it is the common opinion, that this trade taken altogether affords extremely little profit to the nation. It is debtor to almost all those places with which it is in connexion, whence follows in a great measure that rapid outgo of cash which brings down the commercial credit of the nation, and causes its extreme poverty. It is thought that Venice is the most profitable customer Rome has, from the various kinds of com-

modities furnished by the papal states to that of your serenity.]

It is well known what measures Pius VI adopted for the relief of the country. They are here considered, but without any very profound views.

Zulian remarks, that Pius VI had made the cardinals still more insignificant than they were before. On his return from Vienna he put them off with obscure and scanty information. To this indeed it may be replied that he had but little to impart. The fact however is not true. Pallavicini, the secretary of state, a superior man, could not accomplish much in consequence of his frequent ill health. The author states that Rezzonico was the person who had most influence with Pius VI.

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